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VOLUME XXIII

OCTOBER 1917 TO JULY 1918

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

LONDON: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

1918

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

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The
American Historical Review

A CASE OF WITCHCRAFT

THE accessible materials for a history of Elizabethan witchcraft are scattered and fragmentary. Much is lost, and much remains inedited. Yet we cannot hope to understand the prosecutions of the last sixty years of the seventeenth century, whether in Old England or in New, until we arrive at a substantially accurate comprehension of what was thought and done at the close of the great queen's reign. It is not only the dogmas of the theologians, the tenets of the physicians, and the rules of the law that we need to know, but, above everything else, the beliefs and feelings of the populace—of the folk itself. For it is in this matter of witchcraft, if anywhere, that public opinion is supreme. The populace may, perhaps, be restrained by the more enlightened part of the community, but the so-called governing classes cannot prosecute with success if the populace does not approve. Witch-hunting never flourishes unless the common people are eager for it. It is to them that the officers of the law must look for testimony, and it is the jury of the vicinage that renders the verdict. Experience has taught, over and over again, how hard it is for the most skeptical judge to bring about an acquittal in a particular case when the neighborhood from which the jury comes is convinced of the reality of the crime in general.

There was a famous witch-trial at Exeter, England, in 1682. Roger North was present, and here is his account of the state of public opinion:

The women were very old, decrepit, and impotent, and were brought to the assizes with as much noise and fury of the rabble against them as could be shewed on any occasion. The stories of their arts were in everyone's mouth, and they were not content to belie them in the country, but even in the city where they were to be tried miracles were fathered upon them, as that the judge's coach was fixed upon the castle bridge, and the like. All which the country believed, and accordingly

persecuted the wretched old creatures. A less zeal in a city or kingdom hath been the overture of defection or revolution, and if these women had been acquitted, it was thought that the country people would have committed some disorder.¹

This was a case in which it seems clear that the judges would have preferred a verdict of "not guilty" if they had been left to themselves.

Another striking example is that of Jane Wenham, who was condemned to death for witchcraft in 1712. Her trial is notable for its recent date. By that time there was much incredulity on the subject in the minds of educated men. Chief Justice Powell, who presided, made open fun of the evidence and summed up strongly in the defendant's favor, but in vain. He was obliged to sentence the woman to death and to content himself with procuring her pardon from the crown. Nor was it until 1736 that the English and Scottish statutes against witchcraft were repealed. In considering the tenacity of the popular belief on this subject, we should never forget that the essence of witchcraft is *maleficium*. The hatred and terror which a witch evokes is due to her will and her power to inflict bodily injury. Compacts with the devil, the suckling of imps, the violation of graves, the abominations of the Witches' Sabbath—these are mere incidentals, the paraphernalia of the art. They aggravate the offense, to be sure, and proof that a woman is implicated in such horrors may send her to the scaffold or the stake. But, in the last analysis, every witch is prosecuted, not because she amuses herself with riding a broomstick or because she has taken a fiend for a lover: she is hunted down like a wolf because she is an enemy to mankind. Her heart is full of malignity. For a harsh word, or the refusal of a bit of bread, she becomes your mortal foe. And her revenge is out of all proportion to the affront, for she is in league with spirits of evil who are almost infinite in strength. She sends blight upon your crops, the rot upon your sheep, the murrain on your cattle; your house takes fire; your ship is cast away. She visits you and your family with strange wasting diseases—with palsy, with consumption, with raging fever, with madness, with death. Witch-trials are not prompted by theological hair-splitting, by systems of devil-lore, by the text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live". *These all come after the fact*. It is self-protection that incites the accuser. His cause is fear—and fear of bodily harm. The witch is a murderer, or may become a murderer on the slightest provocation. Her life cannot be spared, for there is no safety until she is sent out of the world.

¹ *Autobiography* (Jessopp, 1887), ch. X., pp. 131-132; cf. American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, new series, XVIII. 191 ff.

Now the mere creed—the belief that witches exist and that they can work supernaturally to the injury and even to the destruction of their enemies—is the heritage of the human race. The Englishman of the sixteenth or seventeenth century did not excogitate or dream it for himself, or borrow it from the Continent, or learn it from his spiritual advisers whether before the Reformation or after. He inherited it in an unbroken line from his primeval ancestors. And along with it came another dogma, likewise of abysmal antiquity—the theory that all diseases are of supernatural origin. This dogma had, to be sure, been somewhat limited in scope as the shaman developed into the physician, but it was still extant and still vigorous. Every malady that baffled the doctors was ascribed to witchcraft, often by the doctors themselves; and all sudden or virulent or wasting maladies lay under suspicion. These things are truisms, but they are continually lost sight of by the investigators of English witchcraft. There is a constant assumption that such beliefs are abnormal, a persistent tendency to ignore the fact that it was rather a mark of exceptional enlightenment to look to natural causes in popular diagnosis than a mark of positive credulity or superstition to look to supernatural causes. In brief, the ordinary Elizabethan, in this essential particular—the doctrine of *maleficium* and its application to disease—had not yet emerged from barbarism. And it was the doctrine of *maleficium*, and nothing else, that made the witch-creed terrible.

After a witch had been arrested, it is true, she often fell into the hands of the learned who asked her questions based on an elaborate system of demonology, and, when so interrogated, she often confessed strange things, which the industry of scholars may trace to foreign creeds or imported philosophies. Some of this erudite material, through the pulpit or otherwise, did certainly attach itself to the native and popular beliefs. And thus we may easily be led to fancy that judges, philosophers, divines—and even King James I.—were to blame for the prevalence of English witchcraft in the seventeenth century. But such elaborations were merely incidental. They came into a particular case, if at all, only when the witch had once been cried out upon. Somebody falls sick, and the doctors cannot cure him; a child has hysterical fits and is grievously tormented. There are aged women in the village at whom we have long looked askance. They are foul-mouthed, perhaps, and prone to curse when we offend them; or they have laid claim to occult power, and have traded on the terror they inspire. They may even imagine themselves to hold intercourse with Satan, for they share

the current superstitions and are not very strong in their wits. One of these beldames is mentioned as the bewitcher, perhaps because the patient's distempered fancy has seen a face and called a name. Then old rumors are revived: Smith's cattle died year before last, or Jones's little son. For there is ever at hand a huge mass of such latent evidence, all connected with the primitive doctrine of *maleficium*, and only waiting for a prosecution to bring it before the courts. When the trial begins, we may hear of compacts with Satan, of flights through the air, of sordid and hideous revels at the Witches' Sabbath. But such things are mere confirmatory details. The essential point, the really efficient impulse, is always *maleficium*—injury to goods or body or life through supernatural means.

For England, the worst period of witch-prosecution is, by common consent, the seventeenth century—the century of the Lancashire witches, of Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne, of Glanvill's *Saducismus Triumphatus*. The reign of James, we remember, covers exactly twenty-two years, from March, 1603, to March, 1625. In 1604 Parliament enacted a famous statute against witchcraft, usually called the statute of James I. The idea has been prevalent that the delusion was dying out at the close of Elizabeth's reign, and that the advent of the British Solomon gave it fresh vigor.²

My purpose is to report an extremely interesting case of alleged witchcraft which occurred in Devonshire in 1601 and 1602, just before James came to the throne. This alone would make it significant enough. But it is still further noteworthy because it exhibits the phenomena in what we may call a pure form. We have only the testimony of voluntary, and for the most part aggrieved, witnesses. There are no arguments, no confessions, no comments from the bench. There is nothing but the beliefs and experiences of the witnesses themselves, honestly detailed according to their lights. Hence the documents afford us a perfect picture of the witchcraft creed as held by the common people. And we find, as we should expect, that the sum and substance of it all was *maleficium*—injury to the property and the health of the victims, amounting even to ruin and death.

The documents have never been printed.³ They consist of eleven "examinations",⁴ taken before a Devon justice of the peace,

² For arguments against this idea see *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (1912), pp. 1-65; cf. *American Historical Review*, XX. 570 (1915).

³ I have mentioned the case in the *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 17. Apart from this mention it seems to have eluded investigators of the subject.

⁴ One of these includes the testimony of a man and his wife, so that we really have twelve witnesses.

Sir Thomas Ridgeway, in 1601 and 1602. The manuscript was acquired by the Harvard College Library, in loose sheets, in 1905.⁵ The papers are the original records, each examination being written out by a clerk and signed by the magistrate. Most of them are in duplicate, both copies bearing Ridgeway's signature, and one is in triplicate. Such examinations were regularly taken to perpetuate testimony, and were offered as evidence at the assizes. The method

⁵ It is now numbered 24241.5. The examinations are divided into sections, numbered by a clerk, and the sheets are now bound in the order thus indicated. The contents of the manuscript are as follows (no folio numbers in the original): Leaf 1a: Alyce Butler, October 2, 1601 (§§ 1, 2). Leaf 1b: blank. Leaf 2a: Johan Baddaford, October 2, 1601 (§§ 3, 4, 5 begins). Leaf 2b: Johan Baddaford concluded (§ 5 ends); William Tompson (§ 6) and Elizabeth, his wife (§ 7), October 2, 1601. Leaf 3a: Christian Webbar, October 2, 1601 (§§ 8, 9); Christopher Honywell, October 2, 1601 (§ 10). Leaf 3b: blank. Leaf 4a: Johan Davye, January 20, 1601 (*i. e.*, 1602) (§ 10 [*bis*]). Leaf 4b: blank. Leaf 5a: William Cozen, October 2, 1601 (§§ 11, 12); Suzan Tooker, October, 1601 (§§ 13, 14, 15 begins). Leaf 5b: Suzan Tooker concluded (§ 15 ends, § 16). Leaf 6a: Johan Laishie, October 2, 1601 (§ 17). Leaf 6b: blank. (The lower half of leaf 6 has been torn off and is lost. It must have contained another examination (§ 18). Johan Laishie's examination is complete.) Leaf 7a: John Denman, before Ridgeway, March 13, 1601 (*i. e.*, 1602) (§ 19). Leaf 7b: blank. Leaf 8a: John Denman, before Ridgeway, March 13, 43 Elizabeth (*i. e.*, 1602) (§ 20), duplicate of § 19. Leaf 8b: blank. Leaf 9a: John Galsworthe, April 8, 1602 (§ 33). Leaf 9b: blank. Leaf 10a: Alice Buttler, October 2, 1601 (§ 36), duplicate of §§ 1, 2. Leaf 10b: blank. Leaf 11a: Johan Baddaford, October 2, 1601 (§ 37), duplicate of §§ 3-5. Leaf 11b: blank. Leaf 12a: William Thompson and Elizabeth, his wife, October 2, 1601 (§§ 38, 39), duplicate of §§ 6, 7. Leaf 12b: blank. Leaf 13a: Christian Webbar, October 2, 1601 (§ 41), duplicate of §§ 8, 9. Leaf 13b: blank. Leaf 14a: Johan Davye, October 2, 1601 (§ 45), duplicate of § 10 [*bis*]. Leaf 14b: blank. Leaf 15a: John Denman, before Henry Hayward, October 2, 1601 (see below) (§ 46), duplicate of § 19 and § 20; Suzan Turke, October 2, 1601 (§ 47), duplicate of §§ 13-16 (there called Suzan Tooker). Leaf 15b: blank. Leaf 16a: Christofer Honywell, October 2, 1601 (§ 48), duplicate of § 10.

Thus it appears that there are duplicates of all the examinations but three (William Cozen, Johan Laishie, and John Galsworthe), and that John Denman's testimony appears thrice. Denman appears to have been first examined before Henry Hayward, mayor of Dartmouth. This examination is found on leaf 15a (§ 46). It is headed "*The*examinacon of John Denman of Kingsweare taken before *Sr. Thomas Ridgwaie Knight the second daye of October, 1601. et Ao R Rne Eliz etc. xliijmo.*" But the words here italicized are crossed out, and another hand has interlined "*Henry Heyward Mayor of Dartmth.*" Since "*the second*" is included in the cancellation, the date is left doubtful. Ridgeway does not sign § 46, though his signature is appended to § 47 (Suzan Turke's examination), which follows on the same page. Denman was re-examined, this time before Ridgeway, on March 13, 1601 (*i. e.*, 1602), and of this examination we have two copies, both signed by Ridgeway, one on leaf 7a (§ 19), the other on leaf 8a (§ 20). There are slight variations among the three copies, and this is true of the duplicates in the case of the other witnesses.

The examinations are in two clerkly hands. One clerk wrote § 20 (Den-

may be conveniently seen in Thomas Potts's account of the Lancashire witch-trials of 1612, at which he acted as clerk of the court.⁶ Thus our Devon record contains a considerable body of material of unquestionable authenticity.

Sir Thomas Ridgeway was a man of first-rate intelligence, and is remembered as one of the Planters of Ulster. He was born about 1565. In 1600, shortly before the date of our examinations, he was appointed high sheriff of Devon and received the honor of knighthood. In 1616 he was raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Lord Ridgeway, and in 1623 he became Earl of Londonderry.

The scene of the trouble was Hardness, a village close to Dartmouth. Here lived Michael Trevisard, a fisherman, with his wife Alice and his son Peter. All were defamed for witchcraft, and suspicion against Michael and Alice was of long standing. The witnesses against them were persons of their own humble condition, belonging in Hardness or the vicinity. There is no trace of influence from the clergy or the gentry. It was the villagers themselves who appealed to the magistrate for protection. One witness speaks of a number of them as going to Tunstall, to the house of Sir Thomas Ridgeway, to make a complaint, and as meeting Alice Trevisard on the way back. Whether the accused persons were ever brought to trial we do not know, but it is clear that Ridgeway had these documents prepared for eventual use at the assizes.

The whole essential body of the witchcraft doctrine occurs, in a highly condensed form, in the examination of Alice Butler, of Hardness. This is in two parts, and may be quoted in full. The duplicate shows a number of variant readings, some of which I have inserted in brackets. I have modernized the spelling and regulated punctuation and capitals, and so elsewhere.

Devon Th' examination of Alice Butler of Hardness, in the County aforesaid, widow, taken before Sir Thomas Ridgway, Knight, the second of October, 1601.

1. This examine saith that she, sitting at a door or bench in man's examination, March 13, 1602) and § 33 (Galsworthie's examination, April 8, 1602). Another clerk wrote all the other examinations. All are dated October 2, 1601, except § 10 [*bis*] (Johan Davye, January 20, 1601 [*i. e.*, 1602]), and the two just noted (§§ 20, 33, Denman and Galsworthie). Johan Davy's duplicate (§ 45) is dated October 2, 1601, though the other copy (§ 10 [*bis*]) bears date January 20, 1601 [1602].

That several examinations are lost is shown by the torn leaf (6), on the lower half of which must have stood § 18 (missing in the numbering), and also by the fact that there are no §§ 21-32, 34-35, 40, 42-44. Some of these missing sections, however, undoubtedly contained duplicates.

⁶ *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster* (London, 1613).

Hardness aforesaid about Christide last was twelvemonth with one Michael Trevysard of Hardness aforesaid, used these words: "I would my child were able to run as well as any of these children that run here in the street!" Then said Trevysard, "It shall never run!" "No? That's hard!" says this examinee again. "No, it shall never run", answered Trevysard, "till thou hast another," repeating the same words a dozen several times at the least with great vehemency. Whereupon this examinee, being much troubled in mind, especially upon a fear conceived by her before through the general bad report that went of him, departed from him. And the very same week the same child sickened, and consumed away, being well one day and ill another, for the space of seventeen weeks or thereabout, and then died.

2. This examinee further saith, that Peter Trevysard, son of the said Michael Trevisard, came to this examinee's house to borrow a hatchet, which Alice Beere, servant to this examinee, denied, to whom the said Michael answered [*var.* and he answered], "Shall I not have it? I will do thee a good turn ere twelvemonth be at an end." And shortly the said Alice Beere sickened, continuing one day well and another day ill, for the space of eleven weeks, and then died. In which case both the husband of this examinee and a [*var.* another] child of theirs fell sick, and so continued seventeen or eighteen weeks, and then died.

TH: RIDGWAY.

The regular fashion of commenting on such utterances as these is to cry out against the malicious folly of the accuser and to lament the hard lot of the accused. May I be permitted, for once, to abandon custom, and to express my sympathy with poor Alice Butler, who had lost her husband and two of her children by some strange wasting sickness, for which she had no name, and who could only revert to the primeval tenets of savage man in her attempt to explain so dreadful a visitation? Few utterances in any records are more artlessly pathetic.

To the student of English witchcraft the document is very valuable on account of the purity and simplicity of type which it exemplifies. *Maleficium* is the gist of the whole matter, and the process described is perfectly accordant to rule. We have the *damnum minatum* and the *malum secutum*. That is all. There are no complications whatever. There is not a trace of those foreign and learned elements that are often thought to constitute the bulk of the English witchcraft doctrine after the Reformation. There is no Black Man, no book to sign, no compact with Satan. There are no infernal revels, no fiendish lovers. In short, there is nothing that is non-essential. Alice Butler's evidence is precisely the kind of testimony that might have been offered against a witch in any land and in any stage of civilization, from the Stone Age to day-before-yesterday. It would be quite pertinent at the trial of a

witch of Ashantee or Congo or the Australian bush. It exhibits the primitive and universal creed of the whole human race, preserved without the contamination of culture or education, and surviving every religious vicissitude, to the beginning of the seventeenth century, in one of the most enlightened countries in the world. Incidentally, it was quite enough to send Michael Trevisard to the scaffold if he came to trial and the jury believed Alice's story. Finally, nobody was to blame. The responsibility lay not upon the jurists or the theologians or the neighborhood: it was the burden of the human race as a whole.

An equally distressing case was that of Joan Baddaford. Alice Trevisard, it appears, had fallen out with John Baddaford, Joan's husband, and had "said unto him that he should go to Pursever Wood and gather up his wits". The precise meaning of this railing speech escapes me, but I fancy it was equivalent to calling John a scatter-brained fool. The phrase reminds one, though perhaps whimsically, of Pandar's contemptuous "Yea, hazelwood!" in Chaucer's *Troilus*.⁷ We may also adduce, tentatively, the common saying "Your wits are gone wool-gathering". It was manifestly possible, if the sequel should warrant, to interpret Alice's jeering words as a threat that John should lose his mind. The sequel did so warrant.

Within three weeks after [Joan alleged], the said John Baddaford made a voyage to Rochelle, in the *Hope* of Dittsham, and returned home again out of his wits, and so continued by the space of two years, tearing and renting his clothes, in such sort as four or five men were hardly able to bind him and keep him in order.

In like manner, as we learn from Potts's *Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, John Bulcock and his mother Joan were indicted, in 1612,

for that they feloniously had practiced, exercised, and used their divelish and wicked arts, called witchcraft, enchantments, charms, and sorceries, in and upon the body of Jennet Deane, so as the body of the said Jennet Deane, by force of the said witchcrafts, wasted and consumed, and after she, the said Jennet, became mad.

But we must return to the testimony of Joan Baddaford.

On the occasion of the same quarrel, Joan averred, Alice Trevisard had "further threatened this examinee that within seven years after she should not be worth a groat, nor have a house to dwell in, nor a coat to her back". And these threats came true, for "whereas she had at that time the fee simple of an house worth one hundreth pounds, now is she worth nothing".

⁷ V. 505; cf. III. 890; V. 1174.

Let us bear in mind that the things to which poor Joan Baddaford bore witness must have been facts. Her insane husband and her fallen fortunes were neither delusions nor superstitions. We cannot ridicule or denounce; we can only pity. If Joan was a bad logician—if she reasoned *post hoc ergo propter hoc*—so do we, every day of our lives. And as to threats, they are still admissible as evidence against an accused murderer.

The next section of Joan's examination may seem trivial, but it was significant of inveterate malice on the part of the alleged witch, and thus was clearly pertinent. Some three years before the date of this document, Joan had asked a penny of Alice Trevisard "for washing of clothes". Alice paid the debt, but added that the penny should do Joan "little good". Joan spent the coin for drink, "and when the drink came, she had no power to drink thereof, but the same night fell sick, and continued so by the space of seven weeks following". This is an excellent instance of primeval magic. It is notoriously dangerous to receive anything from a witch, whether by way of gift or of payment. Joan's inability to drink is a typical symptom. We meet with it again in the Lancashire trials of 1612, as reported by Thomas Potts. One Peter Chaddock, in testifying against Isabel Robey, deposed that at one time he

was very sore pained, and so thirsty withal, and hot within his body, that he would have given anything he had to have slaked his thirst, having drink enough in the house, and yet could not drink until the time that . . . James the Glover came to him; and this examine then said before the said Glover, "I would to God that I could drink!" whereupon the said Glover said to this examine, "Take that drink, and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, drink it,"—whereupon this examine then took the glass of drink, and did drink it all, and afterwards mended very well.

Joan Baddaford's experiences, or some of them, convinced her that Alice Trevisard was a witch. This, indeed, was the general opinion in those parts. At all events, Joan, with several of her neighbors, went to Sir Thomas Ridgeway's house at Tunstall to lay a complaint against her. On the way back, Alice met them. A dispute ensued, as was natural, and Alice said to Joan, "Thou or thine may be burned before long be!" The taunt, we may conjecture, was in answer to some such remark as that Alice deserved to be burnt for a witch. It is easy to imagine the scene. The sharp-tongued Alice, a common railer and brawler, baited by a group of villagers, all of whom believed that they had suffered at her hands, was determined to give as good as she got, regardless of the risk that anything she said might be used against her. The encounter

was on a Monday. From that day until the next Thursday Joan Baddaford made no fire in her house, whether from fear or from poverty we cannot tell. On Thursday, however, Joan began to build a fire. She laid a few coals in her chimney—brought from a neighbor's cottage, no doubt—and turned aside to break up some wood. Her child was sitting upon the hearth. Suddenly she heard the child scream, and saw that the band about his neck was burning. Looking into his neck, she found that the flesh was "burned to the bone". Yet the child had not fallen into the fire, but was "sitting on the hearth as before". Indeed, the fire was not kindled at all, but the coals lay there just as she had put them in. These facts Joan "presently shewed to divers of the chief of Dartmouth, and sought the best remedy she could, but found neither salve nor anything else that did it any good, but within three weeks after the child consumed and died". Here again is a grim fact—superstition or no superstition—the child perished miserably, and no one could understand his disease.

The examination of William Tompson, of Dartmouth, is uncommonly lively and picturesque. William was a sailor. Some six years before he and a comrade (one William Furseman, also of Dartmouth) had chanced to meet Alice Trevisard upon the Force in that town. It was about midnight. She was dressed in a "long grayish cape down to her foot", and wore a hood which covered almost all her face, "so that they took her for some Seminary priest". They asked her what she was doing in the street at that time of night. Probably the sailors were not quite sober. At any rate, they were uncivil, and if, as William alleged, they mistook Alice for a priest, we may be sure they were rough-handed. An altercation followed—but we will let Tompson tell his own story:

She fell out with them, and they were no sooner gone from her than this examinee fell, and was in great danger of breaking his neck. Whereat the said Alice laughing, this examinee said to her, "Dost thou laugh at a shrewd turn [*i. e.*, a bad accident]?" And then he struck her with a musket rod; whereupon she threatened this examinee, saying, "Thou shalt be better thou hadst never met with me!"

Vengeance was swift. Within three weeks after the *damnum minatum*, William Tompson went to sea. His ship caught fire—none knew how—and foundered. Out of twenty-five on board, only six were saved. As for William, he was picked up by a Portuguese vessel ("by a Portingalle") and carried to Spain, where he was imprisoned for a whole year. On his return Alice Trevisard said to Elizabeth Tompson, his wife, "Is he come home on life? He hath better luck than a good man! But it is no matter. He shall

be there again within this twelve months." And the prophecy was fulfilled. In less than half a year William was captured once more, this time by the Spaniards, and he was kept in confinement for twenty-five months. "Elizabeth Tompson", adds the record, "being examined upon these last speeches of her husband's oath, affirmeth them to be true."

William Tompson's sufferings inevitably bring us thoughts of a famous passage in *Macbeth*. The temptation to linger a moment over the comparison is not to be resisted. The witch in Shakspeare had been flouted by the wife of the master of the *Tiger*. The ship has reached Aleppo in safety.

But in a sieve I'll thither sail,
And, like a rat without a tail,
I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do!

The horrid vagueness of these menacing words has misled many. "She threatens", runs the usual note, "in the shape of a rat, to gnaw through the hull of the *Tiger* and make her spring a leak." So one might imagine, were it not that the Weird Sister proceeds to interpret her own oracle in the plainest terms.

I will drain him dry as hay!
Sleep shall neither night nor day
Hang upon his pent-house lid.
He shall live a man forbid.
Weary se'nights nine times nine
Shall he dwindle, peak, and pine.
Though his bark cannot be lost,
Yet it shall be tempest-tost!

Nothing can be clearer than the witch's intentions. Arrived at Aleppo, she will take the shape of a rat in order to slip on board the *Tiger* unnoticed. This, and not to use her teeth, is the object of the transformation. Then she will bewitch the craft and lay a spell upon the captain. There is no question of scuttling the ship. The witch, as she tells us herself, controls the winds. She will make them contrary, so that the *Tiger*, though destined to reach port at last, shall be tossed about in storm and distress for nine times nine weeks, until the water is all gone and the provisions are exhausted. The master shall pine away with hunger and thirst and lack of sleep, until the full measure of vengeance is exacted. Then, and not till then, shall he come home to the fat ronyon, his wife, who denied the hag a chestnut and bade her begone for a foul witch. Alice Trevisard's revenge was equally swift and terrible—a fire at sea, an open boat, and a Spanish prison. Our document is of 1601.

and *Macbeth* was written not far from 1605. The one falls just before the accession of James I., the other shortly after his accession. Surely, in view of such stories as William Tompson's, we should hesitate to affirm that the interest in witchcraft which manifested itself in England soon after James ascended the throne was due to the king's influence. Let us rather infer that his accession found the agitation already under way and of long standing. Such an inference, by the way, is amply supported by the records of the time. But let us return to the sea.

A tale of all but incomparable wildness concerning a bewitched ship is reported by one Captain Silas Taylor, writing from Harwich, in England, to Joseph Williamson, keeper of state papers. The letter is dated November 2, 1667.

They tell a strange story at Ipswich [says the captain] of one of their ships that was lost in the late storms; that another of the same town passing by them, and being well acquainted, they sent their remembrances to friends; the master, Jonathan Banticke, to his parents, one Hornegild, a passenger who had lost his ship at Scarborough Road, his love to his wife and children, and all the other seamen to their relations. When asked the reason, and whether their ship was leaky, or what they wanted, the first ship replied that they had long labored to free their maintop, where sat a couple of witches, but by all that they could do, could not remove nor get them down, and so they were lost people. The master named the two witches to the second ship's master and his company, insomuch that they are now in jail at Ipswich. The story is credibly reported by the second ship, and generally believed.⁸

Thomas Heywood repeats a story which he got from an old acquaintance ("a woman of good credit and reputation"). This lady, while at Amsterdam, awaiting passage for England, left an old woman some money, taking a brass kettle as security, "which she did, knowing it to be serviceable for her to keep a charcoal fire in at sea, to comfort her and her child". The debtor could not pay, and yet objected vigorously to having the kettle go out of the country. They parted on ill terms: "Carry it away if thou canst!" cried the hag defiantly. "Marry, and I will trie what I can doe!" replied the lady, with some spirit.

The Maister called aboard, the wind stood faire, the Sea was calme, and the weather pleasant: but they had not beene many houres at Sea, when there arose a suddene, sad, and terrible tempest, as if the winds and waters had beene at dissention, and the distempered ayre at warre with both. A mightie storme then arose, insomuch that the Maister protested, that in his life he had not sene the like, and, being in despaire of shipwracke, desired both Saylers and passengers to betake themselves to their prayers. This word came from them that laboured

⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1667-1668, p. 4.*

above the Hatches to those that were stowed under: their present feare made them truly apprehend the danger, and betake themselves to their devotions; when suddenly one casting up his eyes, espyed an old woman sitting on the top of the maine Mast: The Maister saw her, and all those that were above, being at the sight much amased. The rumor of this went downe, which the gentlewoman hearing (who was then sitting with her child in her Cabbin and warming it over a Charcoale fire made in the Kettle). "O God!" sayth she (remembring her former words) "then the old woman is come after me for her Kettle;" the Maister, apprehending the businesse, "Marrie and then let her have it!" saith he, and takes the Kettle, coales and all, and casts them overboord into the Sea. This was no sooner done, but the Witch dismounts her selfe from the Mast, goes aboard the Brasse Kettle, and in a moment sailes out of sight: the Ayre cleared, the Windes grew calme, the tempest ceased, and she had a faire and speedie passage into England.

This tough yarn Heywood certifies he had heard confirmed by other passengers on the same voyage.⁹

The next deposition in the manuscript is that of Christian Webbar. We will pass it over for a moment, to take up the examination of Christopher Honywell, since that, like William Tompson's, has to do with the sea. Christopher's deposition is unique. He was a lad of thirteen, and seems to have been playing about the harbor with another boy, Peter Trevisard, Michael and Alice's son, when the strange thing happened which tended to show that no member of the family was free from the taint of sorcery. The document is short and I shall append it entire. It would be quite charming in its naïve wonder if it were found in less sinister company.

Th' examination of Christopher Honywell aged thirteen years or thereabout, taken as aforesaid, the 2 of October, 1601.

This examine saith that about Whitsuntide last he was with Peter Trevisard, son of the said Michael Trevisard, at a place at Hardness where the fishermen use to hang their nets; where the said young Trevisard did put off his father's boat, saying, "Go thy ways to New Quay, and go between the two lighters, and I will meet thee there." And farther this examine saith that he ran with the young Trevisard to the New Quay presently after, and found the boat there between the two lighters, the said quay being distant near two flight-shoots from the place where the boat was so thrust off, as aforesaid, and not right against [*i. e.*, opposite] the same place, but on one side, the said two lighters also being so near together that there was but room enough for the boat to go in.

TH: RIDGWAY.

Enchanted boats that obey their master's will, or guide themselves without the helmsman's touch, are well known in the realm

⁹ Thomas Heywood, *Γυναικειον* or, *Nine Bookes of Various History concerning Women* (1624), pp. 414-415.

of faery. Here belong the *Argo* with its talking figure-head, and the ships of the Phaeacians, which knew men's minds and the way to every port; here, too, the self-moving ship in Marie's *Lai de Guigemar*. Frithiof had a ship which understood his words and obeyed them. Svend Ranild, in the Danish ballad, stood upon the shore in great need of his ship, which was anchored in the offing. He blew such a blast that his horn burst into three pieces: "'Come ye not in?' quoth Ranild."

That was Ranild's golden ship,
That heard the horn so good;
She broke asunder cables nine,
And came to where he stood.
"Be thou welcome", quoth Ranild.¹⁰

The bearing of young Christopher's testimony should not be misconceived. It was merely confirmatory of the general proposition that the Trevisards possessed uncanny powers. To insist on its frivolity and hold up our hands in horror at the criminal folly of our forefathers in sending men and women to the gallows on such grounds is *parum ad rem*. No witch was ever convicted on evidence like this, nor were such harmless feats of seamanship punishable at all under the law. There was plenty of serious evidence against the Trevisards, as we have seen. And with this caveat we may revert to the deposition of Christian Webbar, which is quite different from anything we have had before, and of very particular interest.

Christian was a widow in Hardness. She had let a tenement in the village to Michael Trevisard at a yearly rent of twenty-six shillings and eightpence. He had paid only six and eightpence, and Christian demanded the pound that was in arrears. "It shall be the worse for you!" was Alice Trevisard's response. Then followed a very curious piece of malignant sorcery. Alice cast water upon Christian's stairs. One Isabel Tozar saw it done, and warned Christian to

beware how she went up her stairs, which this examinee refrained accordingly for a space, in which mean space the said Alice Trevisard herself happened to pass through some part of the said stairs. And

¹⁰ Grundtvig, *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, vol. I., p. 374, no. 28. Since my version is a trifle free, I subjoin the original stanza (28):

Ded ware denn for-gyldene snecke,
der hand den liud feck:
hun seigled i sønder di acker-streng e nie,
och hun thill Ranell d geck.
Wer du well-kommen! sagde Ranild.

within one hour after, the said Alice, and this examinee also, fell grievously sick, and part of the hands, fingers, and toes of the said Alice rotted and consumed away, as yet appears by her.

The singularity of this piece of sorcery consists in the fact that the maleficent magic took effect on the witch herself when she heedlessly came under its influence. Alice fell into the pit which she had dug for another. Christian suffered too, on the principle of sympathy, but the virulence of the infection was felt chiefly by its contriver.

Joan Davye testified that her husband George had a quarrel with Michael Trevisard. Within a se'nnight thereafter Joan was sitting by the fire with a young child in her arms when the child leapt into the fire and was "very much scalded". When Trevisard heard of it, he said that he could help the child in twenty-four hours, if he wished, but that he would never do good to George Davye or any of his family. Davye seems to have been at sea at the time. At all events, the very week after, on "the same voyage" (so runs the testimony) "the said George Davye was hurt very grievously in shooting off a piece for pleasure". Joan also declared that one Henry Oldreeve had some differences with Trevisard, and that soon after Oldreeve lost twenty fat wethers in one week and "he himself languished and died".

William Cozen was another person who had fallen out with Trevisard. In this case the vengeance, though deferred, was none the less certain. Within a quarter of a year, William's daughter-in-law was sadly afflicted. Without a blow or any visible cause "her neck shrunk down between her two shoulders, and her chin touched her breast, and so remaineth still in a very strange manner". This accusation, like some others that we have already looked at, finds its parallel in the Lancashire case of 1612. Alison Device was the granddaughter of old Elizabeth Demdike, who had been a devotee of sorcery for fifty years and is described as "a general agent for the devil in those parts". Alison bore witness against both her mother and her grandmother; but she herself was implicated, confessed, and was hanged. Her offense was the laming of Abraham Law, a peddler. Abraham excited the compassion of the court by his miserable plight. Before his encounter with Alison Device, he

was a verie able sufficient stout man of Bodie, and a goodly man of Stature. But by this Devilish art of Witch-craft his head is drawne awrie, his Eyes and face deformed, his speech not well to bee understood; his Thighes and Legges starcke lame; his Armes lame especially

the left side, his handes lame and turned out of their course, his Bodie able to indure no travell: and thus remaineth at this present time.¹¹

Alison was asked if she could cure the poor creature, and, though repentant, insisted that this was beyond her power. As in the case of Christian Webbar's infected stairs, the spells acted dynamically, when once they were set in motion, and passed quite beyond the witch's control. "The gods themselves cannot recall their gifts."

William Cozen's deposition closes with a bit of graphic horror which defies commentary in its simple impressiveness: "Further this examine saith that Joan Cozen, wife of this examine, being in her deathbed, requested this examine that if Alice Trevisard, wife of the foresaid Michael Trevisard, did come to her grave, he should beat her away."

The evidence of Susan Tooker (or Turke) is very definite. It involves all three Trevisards, Michael and Alice and Peter their son. About four years ago, she declared, Alice Trevisard threatened her in plain terms: "I will not leave thee worth a gray groat!" Walter Tooker, Susan's husband, was just starting on a voyage. He lost both ship and goods, though the weather was fair. Further, it appears that young Peter Trevisard had been refused drink by Susan, whereupon he said "that it had been better to have delivered him drink". Next day Susan sickened, and she suffered for seven weeks. Finally, averred Susan, Mr. Martin, in the year of his mayoralty, set up a fold, or pound, at Hardness, to keep timber in. Michael Trevisard said: "Martin, hast thou made a fold? Wind and weather shall tear up all!" And so it happened, nor could Mr. Martin keep his fold in place. "Since that time it hath been set up in the millpool, where no stormy weather can annoy it. Yet sithence it hath been plucked up very strangely, for it riseth up altogether, being timber of an exceeding great weight and bigness."

The trivial nature of some of the charges brought against alleged witches and wizards often excites the contemptuous mirth of the modern. But there is no sense or reason in such an attitude of mind. The importance of a piece of evidence should not be measured by the actual importance of the occurrence testified to, but by its significance with regard to the point at issue, that is, with regard to the question whether the defendant was or was not a practiser of "arts inhibited and out of warrant". Nobody scoffs at a prosecuting attorney now-a-days for spending his energies over scraps of paper or thumb-prints or scratched hands when a murder trial is in progress. It is just as absurd to jeer at our ancestors for

¹¹ Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie of Witchcraft*, sig. S.

troubling themselves about exploding ale-barrels or butter that would not "come". The malice of a witch, according to the general hypothesis, may show itself in small things as well as in great. Jeering is poor business anywhere, but, if we must be contemptuous, let us concentrate our energies on the doctrine itself. No true philosopher will see anything ridiculous in the testimony of Joan Laishe, except the essential absurdity of the whole underlying thesis.

Joan, it seems, had once refused Alice Trevisard a halfpennyworth of ale, and Alice had retorted in the customary fashion. "That shall be a hard halfpennyworth!" and "I will not leave you worth a groat!" Two days after, one of Joan's ale-casks "on the sudden leapt up of itself", and fell on the ground. The cask burst, and all the ale was lost.

Among the secondary causes of witch prosecution, the "healer", or white witch, regularly plays a conspicuous rôle. When consulted in sickness, she is quick to ascribe the ailment to evil arts, and is often ready enough to name the culprit. There need be no malice in this rôle of the white witch. She is simply in the same primitive stage of medical science which ascribes every malady to the personal enmity of a sorcerer. As to designating the guilty party, that is of course requisite. We must know who our enemy is if we are to resist or forestall his assaults.

I have said that our Devon documents include all or most of the typical features of an English witchcraft case. Accordingly, the wise woman is not lacking. Her name was Blachford, Mother Blachford of Bridgetown. Alice Trevisard, it appears, called at John Denman's house in Kingswear, alleging that she had a letter for his wife. Mistress Denman was not at home. Alice showed a piece of paper to Denman's daughter, but the girl would not touch it, because she had heard that Alice was a witch. Soon after one of Denman's children fell sick. Mother Blachford, to whom he resorted for medicine, told him that Alice Trevisard had bewitched the child. "When you go home", said Mother Blachford, "you shall find that Alice was at your house this morning with what she said was a letter." Denman inquired accordingly, and learned what had happened in his absence. There is some vagueness at this point, which cross-questioning might have dissipated. It is obvious, however, that the paper was suspected to be a charm. At all events, Denman declared that he never heard of the letter again. What became of the child is not stated. Probably it recovered, in spite of Alice's spell and Mother Blachford's remedy.

Oddly enough, I find among my notes a fragment of New Eng-

land tradition attaching to a Massachusetts witch named Blatchford. I obtained it, about thirty years ago, from a lady of eighty-four, who had heard the story from "old Mr. David Loring's wife", the victim of the spell. It is a small matter, but has not only the coincidence of name to excuse one for telling it, but also a certain relation of locality. Barnstable, where the thing happened, is named after the Devonshire Barnstaple. It was settled in 1639, and the spelling with *b* instead of *p* was a common method of writing the name of the Devonian town in the seventeenth century and is still a common local pronunciation. Some of the pioneers of the Old Colony town were Devon men. The Indian trail from Barnstable Harbor straight across Cape Cod is now a public highway, known as Mary Dunn's Road, from an Indian woman who once lived in a hut near a pond which the trail passes. The pond, too, is called after Mary Dunn. It is a pretty little sheet of water, lying quite solitary in the midst of the woods. One day, as Mrs. Loring reported, she was returning on horseback to Barnstable from the village of Hyannis, at the southern end of the trail, and, when she was nearing the pond, one Lizzie Blatchford, a witch, who lived on the margin, bewitched her horse, so that he insisted on going round and round the pond for a long time. To all intents and purposes, as we see, old Mrs. Loring was "pixey-led", and we have in her little anecdote a good instance of the connection between the fairies and witchcraft. Her remedy, if she had only known it, was to turn her cloak inside out and so reverse the spell. Bishop Corbet, best known to literature as the author of *The Fairies' Farewell*, had a similar adventure not far from 1620, and has left us a humorous account of it in his *Iter Boreale*. Corbet, not yet a bishop, was lost with his companions in Charley Forest, on the way from Newark to Bosworth.

Whilst in this mill wee labour and turne round
 As in a conjurers circle, William found
 A menes for our deliverance: "Turne your cloakes",
 Quoth hee, "for Puck is busy in these oakes:
 If ever yee at Bosworth will be found,
 Then turne your cloakes, for this is Fayry-ground!"
 But, ere this witchcraft was perform'd, wee mett
 A very man, who had no cloven feete;
 Though William, still of little faith, doth doubt
 'Tis Robin, or some sprite that walkes about.
 "Strike him!" quoth hee, "and it will turne to ayre;
 Crosse your selves thrice and strike it!" "Strike that dare,"
 Thought I, "for sure this massy forrester
 In stroakes will prove the better conjurer."

There is one more deposition in our manuscript—that of John Galsworthie of Hardness. It affords no novelties, but may be given in full to complete the record.

The examination of John Galsworthie of Hardness in the County aforesaid, husbandman, taken before Sir Thomas Ridgway, Knight, the eighth of April, 1602.

This examine sayeth that about four years sithence, his wife demanded certain money of Alice Trevisard, the wife of Michael Trevisard of Hardness, which she owed her; whereunto the said Alice Trevisard answered, "I pray God that thou never prosper in body nor goods!" And never sithence did he, this examine, or his wife, prosper in body or goods; for in very short time after that the said Alice Trevisard had spoken those words, he was taken lame in all his body and went by two crutches twelvemonth after. And further this examine saith that his wife was never well in her body, sithence, but consumed away, and died at Christmas last past. And also this examine sayeth that he had a sow great with pigs, which pigs rotted in the sow's belly within six weeks after his wife had demanded the money of the foresaid Trevisard, as aforesaid.

TH: RIDGWAY.

These documents are interesting enough as pictures of life and manners. But, as already suggested, their chief claim to our notice rests upon their date and upon the pure and unmixed form in which they exhibit the essential element in all witchcraft. The latter point needs no emphasis. The outcry against Michael Trevisard and his family was raised by the people itself—by the unadulterated, unsophisticated "folk", instigated only by its own primeval philosophy of *maleficium*. There were no social or political or theological complications. We have simply an upheaval from below, from the abysmal pit of savagery out of which the human race has had to struggle up. And such uncontaminated testimony, coming at this particular moment (in 1601 and 1602), is of very special consequence. If we are to comprehend the history of witchcraft in England, we must keep in mind, for this exact time, a clear idea of the intellectual condition of just that class to which Alice Butler and Joan Baddaford and William Tompson and all the other complainants belonged. Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, and King James's witchcraft act was passed in 1604. There is a more or less general impression that this act was momentous, and that the accession of James gave an extraordinary impulse to prosecution. If, as all will agree, our documents are typical of the state of popular feeling in 1601 and 1602, they offer an instant challenge to this idea. Anyhow they make short work of the notion that English witchcraft was a theological importation from the Continent.

G. L. KITTREDGE.

THE LORDS OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS, 1675-1696

MUCH has been done by writers and students to explain the long-neglected rôle of the old colonies in the unfolding of Britain's first empire; much remains to be done before Anglo-colonial relations are fully known and appreciated. The field itself is broad, the angle of vision is new, and the great mass of available material has not yet been made to shed its full light on the subject. The history of the central organs of imperial control, a subject of essential importance, has been presented in late years in studies of a scholarly and exhaustive nature, but they have left out of account, except in an incidental way, the history of the full score of years fixed by this paper.¹ To fill this gap, if only to make the account continuous, is a desideratum. There is, however, a more striking reason. The period itself is significant because of the marked trend toward administrative dominance in all that had to do with the advancement of the interests and ideals of the empire. This paper proposes to deal with the machinery of imperial control as evidenced in organization, personnel, methods, and spirit.

When the home government first assumed the cares and functions of governing a wide empire there was no thought of separating matters chiefly external in character from those wholly or mainly domestic. Traditionally the outlying portions of the realm, "the Scotch borders, the Welsh marches, the Channel Islands, and Ireland were in a special sense" the care of the Privy Council. By custom, therefore, colonies across the sea became subject to its particular direction.² The council was a body of the personal and responsible advisers of the king, embracing the chief ministers of state, officials of the royal household, a few bishops, and some not otherwise holding office. In Tudor days, when the council was small in size and its area of competence did not include the sweep

¹ Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations* (Johns Hopkins Studies, XXVI.), for the period prior to 1675. Andrews, *Guide to Materials for American History in the Public Record Office*, I, 82-100; Dickerson, *American Colonial Government*; Clarke, "Board of Trade at Work", *American Historical Review*, XVII, 17 (1911); Root, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*, ch. II., for the period 1696-1783. Osgood, *The American Colonies*, III, 147-154, 280-282; Beer, *Old Colonial System*, pt. I., vol. I., ch. IV., for incidental and collateral treatment of the subject for 1660-1689.

² Cheney, *History of England*, 1588-1603, I, 69-70.

of empire, it worked as a unit with a good measure of efficiency and responsibility.³ In Stuart days the increased membership, averaging thirty-five under the earlier and forty-five under the later kings, made the council an unwieldy body at a time when it was subjected to the pressure of an expanding business. To meet this situation, to insure care and despatch in the transaction of affairs, the committee system was adopted. A division of labor was even more necessary in the Restoration era to enable the council to keep pace and cope with the manifold problems and interests brought into play by the rapid and striking expansion of empire.⁴ In May, 1660, within two months after his return from exile, Charles II. appointed a "Committee for Foreign Plantations" to deal with exigent colonial questions, and such a committee continued to be one of the important standing divisions of the council.⁵ Also from time to time temporary committees were named to handle oversea problems of special note and difficulty.⁶ These committees were charged with the duties of originating, hearing, planning, deciding, and reporting to the king and council for final action.⁷

This arrangement involved the grave danger that the council's circle of interests, filled with the numerous and undifferentiated concerns of domestic, foreign, and imperial issues, would prove altogether too vast and complex to permit a full and intelligent conduct of all. The danger was rooted in the very nature of the pre-Restoration period, when the conflict of rival groups distracted the state and left the ruling authorities little time available for imperial guidance. During the confusion of the Puritan experiments in government the administration of colonies and commerce was conducted in a cumbersome, indifferent, and amateur manner.⁸

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 65-80.

⁴ Carlyle, "Committees of Council under the Earlier Stuarts", *English Historical Review*, XXI. 673-675 (1906); Turner, "Committees of Council and the Cabinet, 1660-1688", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 772-776 (1914). For lists of the councillors consult *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial* (cited as *A. P. C., Col.*), V., addendum.

⁵ *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., §§ 484, 515, 572, 693, 717, 747; Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 61-63, 79-80, 87-91.

⁶ For the special committees on Jamaica, New England, Newfoundland, etc., see *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., §§ 491, 508, 513, 522, 529, 536, 539, 585, 625, 725, 735.

⁷ For example, the committee of 1660 was directed "to receive, heare, examine, and deliberate upon any Petitions, propositions, Memorialls, or other Addresses which shalbee presented or brought in by any person or persons concerning the Plantations . . . and from tyme to tyme make their Report to this Bord [king and council] of their proceedings". *Ibid.*, § 484.

⁸ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 25-48. In Cromwell's time the governor and council of Virginia were informed by London friends that "the more pressing Affairs heere, have hitherto hindred these our Endeavors" to secure a commission of government for the colony. Add. MSS. 11411, f. 19.

The result was that the colonies, strongly predisposed to self-direction, promptly seized the opportunity to take their own way without hindrance. But the English merchants, whose commercial interests were especially imperilled by the drift, were provoked to deplore the lack of political unity and strength in the empire. They felt, and justly so, that inexperience in the intricate problems of commerce and colonies and preoccupation with domestic politics and foreign affairs made it impossible for the Privy Council to be an alert, constant, and competent colonial department. They urged as a remedy the erection of a special board of skilled personnel, to sit continuously and aloof from politics, to advise the king and council on the affairs of trade and plantations.⁹

In 1660 the king gave heed to the desires of the merchants and for fifteen years a series of separate councils performed the greater share of the functions of examination and report. But their varying history fell far short of the hopes entertained for them. Indeed it was almost inevitable that the administration of empire should proceed with slow and halting steps in the first years of the Restoration. The greater and necessarily prior problems of founding an assured empire and of framing the essential principles upon which it was to be regulated engrossed the thought and force of expansionists and overshadowed administration. The planting of new and the conquest of foreign colonies, the incorporation of new and the strengthening of old trading companies, the passage of the acts of trade, and the attendant wars with the Dutch are the notable events which bear witness to the emergence of England as an imperial power. In addition imperial control was perplexed by the persistence of domestic political instability. The feverish but slow readjustments of internal balances, seriously shattered by the Puritan Revolt, bred political discord that weakened the force of the state.¹⁰ And further, the ruling class was without experience or precedent in dealing with the questions involved in the control of remote colonies. In view of the novelty of the problem it is small wonder that mistakes, experiment, and change entered into the creation of the machinery and practices of imperial control. And so it was that the select councils of trade and plantations worked

⁹ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 49-60.

¹⁰ Osgood, *Am. Cols.*, III, 192, for the influence of political change on Massachusetts affairs. In 1668 the governor of Jamaica complained that the laws sent home three years before for royal review "have been neglected to this day"; and in 1671 he declared that the report on the laws was not returned by reason of the fall of Clarendon. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1661-1668, §. 1702; 1669-1674, § 704, p. 302.

under the heavy handicaps of frequent change, domestic difficulties, and political caprice that broke the force and continuity of their labors.¹¹

On December 21, 1674, the king abolished the Council for Trade and Plantations, and on February 9, 1675, appointed a committee of the Privy Council to take up the threads of business "left loose and at large" for seven weeks.¹² Various reasons have been assigned for the change. The dismissal of Shaftesbury from power in the summer of 1673 may account for the fall of the board of which he was sponsor and leader. On account of the depletion of the royal exchequer Danby, the new lord treasurer, began a policy of retrenchment. It may be that the saving of £5400 by substituting unpaid privy councillors for a salaried board was attractive. These reasons are largely conjectural and, whatever their immediate force, they do not account in full for the abolition of a select board. By 1675 the disjointed nature of the imperial structure was realized and the conviction arose that successful management was more urgent than any further extension of the boundaries of empire. It was recognized that the essential defect was the absence of vigorous, responsible, and continuous central administration. The failure of select councils suggested as a remedy that the control of imperial relations should be given outright into the hands of a committee of the immediate royal councillors.¹³

Merchants who were interested in the empire might well have questioned whether a council committee would be sufficiently free and skilled to give to commerce and colonies that measure of attentive and intelligent treatment which their growing importance and complexity deserved. The change was experimental; results alone could determine whether it was a wise measure. In fact the council committee, known as the Lords of Trade and Plantations, assumed its duties in 1675 with a high sense of loyalty and a display of energy that ended a period of drift and opened a decade of unified and forceful conduct in imperial control. The conditions were favorable to imperial centralization. The dominance of Charles II. over the forces of opposition created a brief period of

¹¹ The history of these boards has been fully and ably discussed by Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 61-111.

¹² *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1021; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 1412; 1675-1676, §§ 460-464, 648, 649; *Lords of Trade Journals* (8 vols., transcribed from the originals in the London Public Record Office for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, cited as L. T. J.), I. 1-2, 8-9.

¹³ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 111-114; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 250-255.

internal stability, and the close of the Dutch wars in 1675 brought years of peace abroad. By these two causes the council was enabled, more freely than in the first years after the Restoration, to bend its energies toward the administrative aspects of empire. The royal order to sit once a week was not followed with regularity, yet the committee averaged fifty sessions a year for the first decade.¹⁴ The greatest attention to colonial and commercial questions was manifested in the years 1676 and 1677, when the number of sittings reached the high figures of eighty-nine and seventy-one respectively.¹⁵

The passions of politics were not without their distracting influence on the committee. During the mad times of the Popish Plot in 1678 the sessions for the year fell to the low figure of twenty-nine. The Lords of Trade frankly confessed that "the multiplicity of affairs in Parliament and the prosecution of the Plot" forced them for the moment to suspend action on pressing colonial matters.¹⁶ Colonial autonomy, imperilled by aggressive central control, now as before found temporary relief in the turn of English politics. Massachusetts, defiant in spirit and conduct, took full advantage of the situation to thwart the attacks on her precious charter.¹⁷ But if political mutations worked to the benefit of colonial self-direction, imperial control suffered thereby. Governors in the royal colonies of the West Indies, anxiously awaiting instructions, wrote home in complaint of the sacrifice of the urgent needs of remote provinces to domestic politics.¹⁸ And during the next six years, when the Test Act and the Exclusion Bill raised political and social issues that bred factious discontent, the sessions ranged from thirty-five to forty-five a year, marking a significant decline from the good record of the first few years.¹⁹ After all, in the first

¹⁴ March, 1675, the committee appointed for its "constant dayes of sitting Thursdays in the forenoone, and oftener as the occasion shall require". L. T. J., I. 8.

¹⁵ This record compares very favorably with that of the active Council of Plantations of 1670-1674. Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 101, 110.

¹⁶ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, §§ 912, 1014, 1028.

¹⁷ Massachusetts gave as one reason for not sending agents in response to the royal demand that "we understand His Majesty and Privy Council are taken up with matters of greater importance". *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, § 1388; 1681-1685, § 126.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, §§ 894, 974, 975.

¹⁹ In 1682 the lieutenant-governor of Virginia wrote home complaining that "Nothing has been concluded here for near two years, which one could think was time enough to give notice to this poor Colony"; and the governor of Jamaica in 1683 declared that he had sent home frequent reports but had received no reply. *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, §§ 550, 1065.

decade the committee met with a frequency and displayed an enthusiasm that apparently justified the wisdom of entrusting it with full supervision of colonial-commercial relations.

Measured by the tests of experience and interests, the Lords of Trade were qualified for their tasks. The plantation committee, whose origin has been stated above, had had an almost unbroken existence since 1660. Even in the days when limited by the activity of the select councils, it exercised a certain measure of direction, and it assumed complete charge during 1665-1670 when the special boards lived only in name.²⁰ Of greater significance is the striking continuity in the membership of the committee for twenty-five years. When the king in 1675 appointed a large committee of twenty-one "for Matters relating to Trade and his Forrain Plantations", he wisely preserved the line of competent personnel by designating an inner group of nine to "have the immediate Care and Intendency of those Affaires in regard they had been formerly conversant and acquainted therewith".²¹

The most attentive members of the committee during the first decade were those who had served an apprenticeship in the council committees and select boards of trade and plantations during 1660-1675. This small group of active, reliable, and trained councillors included Sir George Carteret, Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesey, John Robartes, earl of Radnor, William, earl of Craven, John Egerton, second earl of Bridgewater, and Prince Rupert.²² All attended the sessions of the Lords of Trade with commendable regularity.²³ Anglesey's knowledge of certain aspects of expansion was recognized by the committee and his influence was sought by certain colonial governors and proprietors.²⁴ Equally noteworthy was the

²⁰ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 61-63, 79-80.

²¹ L. T. J., I. 8-9; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1021.

²² *Dictionary of National Biography*, II. 1 (Annesley); IX. 208 (Carteret); XIII. 43 (Craven); XVII. 156 (Egerton); XLVIII. 339 (Robartes); XLIX. 405 (Rupert). Annesley, Carteret, and Robartes had been members of the council committees and select councils since 1660, and Craven and Bridgewater since 1668. *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., §§ 484, 491, 513, 522, 529, 536, 572, 576, 610, 693, 747.

²³ Craven attended seventy-five per cent. of the total sessions 1675-1685, Bridgewater forty per cent., Sir John Ernle, chancellor of the exchequer, and Thomas Belasyse, viscount Fauconberg, each about twenty-six per cent. Anglesey, lord privy seal, was present at sixty per cent. of the sessions 1675-1682, Carteret, vice chamberlain, thirty-nine per cent. 1675-1679, Radnor, lord president, sixty-four per cent. 1679-1684, Rupert thirty-five per cent. 1679-1682.

²⁴ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 662, 916, 1106; 1677-1680, § 91; 1681-1685, §§ 129, 180; L. T. J., I. 240-242. Radnor as a member of the old Providence Company linked the pre-revolutionary and Restoration periods of expansion. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans*, pp. 75-76.

intimate relationship of the statesmen and officials of the day in the various enterprises of empire building. Charles II., the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, of the royal family, were either shareholders or high in the councils of the East India, Hudson's Bay, Royal African, and Royal Fishery companies.²⁵ York and Rupert were prominent in the direction of the navy, a cardinal factor in the development of empire. Carteret, Craven, and Anglesey, with Shaftesbury, Arlington, and other statesmen of the day, were patentees of the various colonial and commercial ventures in the period.²⁶ It was a remarkable group of the chief personalities of the court and council, whose interest, experience, and length of service aided substantially in giving impulse to external growth as well as continuity and force to imperial control under Charles II.

Within this active circle, after 1679, are to be included the rising and capable young statesmen, Henry Hyde, earl of Clarendon, and Laurence, earl of Rochester, sons of the first Clarendon, himself a zealous expansionist, and George Savile, viscount Halifax, with previous experience in maritime affairs.²⁷ Sir Francis North, brother of Sir Dudley, the great merchant aristocrat, was very active in colonial control both as chief justice and as a lord of trade.²⁸ Henry Compton, translated to the see of London in 1675, exhibited as head of the diocese, whose colonial jurisdiction was recognized, and as a member of the plantation committee, an in-

²⁵ Hunter, *History of British India*, II. 182; Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, II. 17, 20, 148, 149; III. 535, 536; Willson, *The Great Company*, p. 50; Carr, *Select Charters of Trading Companies* (Selden Soc. Pubs., XXVIII.), pp. 173, 178, 182, 187, 197.

²⁶ Tedder, *Navy of the Restoration*. Anglesey, Arlington, Carteret, Craven, and Shaftesbury were patentees and stockholders of the Royal African Company, 1672; Arlington, Craven, and Carteret were patentees of the Royal Fishery Company, 1664; and Arlington, Craven, and Shaftesbury of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670. Arlington, Carteret, Craven, Shaftesbury, and the Duke of York were colonial proprietors and promoters. Ward, *Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle*, p. 285; Carr, *Select Charters*, pp. 173, 179, 182, 188; Willson, *The Great Company*, p. 50; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, pp. 121, 136, 139, 149; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. II., pp. 131, 181, 341.

²⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII. 389, 394; L. 356. Rochester, Clarendon, and Halifax each attended about forty-five per cent. of the sessions 1679-1685. For the previous experience of Halifax in trade affairs, see Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 93, 106.

²⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XLI. 155. North attended forty-seven per cent. of the sessions 1679-1684, but with special regularity 1683-1684 as lord keeper. For North's activity as a member of the committee see L. T. J., III. 217, 218, 219-221, 248, 249-250; IV. 93-94; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, §§ 1551, 1567, 1592; 1681-1685, §§ 8, 542, 560, 857, 859.

telligent and earnest care for the moral and spiritual welfare of the colonists.²⁹

The part played by the office of secretary of state in imperial control deserves brief treatment. It had not yet risen to the dignity of an independent department of state, but in an age when government was royal and personal, it was subject to the executive dominance of king and council. The two secretaries, nominally equal in position and sharing the duties of the office, were executive agents. The influence they exercised was a matter of personality and ability, resting on the initiative and force they exhibited as members of the committee which debated and planned foreign and colonial affairs and as officials in carrying out instructions and orders.³⁰ Sir Joseph Williamson, 1674-1679, and Sir Henry Coventry, 1672-1680, brought to the office rich experience and knowledge of imperial relations. Coventry no doubt acquired an interest in the colonial world as brother-in-law of Shaftesbury, the enthusiastic imperialist, and was well equipped to handle foreign intercourse by his services on important diplomatic missions abroad.³¹ Williamson's career in the central imperial service lasted through a score of years. He began as clerk to Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary 1660-1662, and was continued in the employ of Sir Henry Bennet, earl of Arlington, secretary 1662-1674. Arlington was deeply interested in expansion; he was a colonial proprietor and a patentee of several commercial companies, and as secretary made the advancement of commerce the key-note of his foreign policy. His superior influence drew most of the colonial and foreign business into his hands and so by long years of service Williamson came into constant and direct touch with oversea affairs. John Evelyn, a keen observer of official life from the inside, recorded that Arlington "loving his ease more than business . . . remitted all to his man Williamson". Arlington was probably more interested in the fixing of policy than the drudgery of routine. Be that as it may, Williamson followed his master as one of the principal secretaries well versed in colonial information and the technique of imperial control. His detailed notes on colonies, commerce, and fisheries, begun in the days of minor service and laboriously kept up as sec-

²⁹ Cross, *Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, ch. II.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XI, 443. For his activities in the colonial field see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, vols. for 1675-1696, index under Compton.

³⁰ Andrews, *Guide*, I, 18-22; Barbour, *Earl of Arlington*, pp. 57-59; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 230; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, pp. 121-131.

³¹ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XII, 357.

retary, attest to a full knowledge and a keen interest in these matters.³²

Colonial business passed through the hands of both secretaries. During their incumbency a well-defined division of the colonial territory grew up, placing the southern mainland and island colonies under Coventry and the northern area under Williamson.³³ It was an unequal division, for the southern colonies by reason of their greater economic value and weaker social structure received the major share of attention. The statement of the secretary to the plantation committee that Williamson "was not very attentive to the business of Plantations" may account for the heavier burden assumed by his colleague.³⁴ Williamson, however, carried on a frequent correspondence with colonial governors and others in letters of a mixed private and public nature, offering his patronage and soliciting information for official needs and the satisfaction of a personal curiosity about the colonies.³⁵ In fine, their prior experience, their close and continuous application to the administrative functions of the office, and the information they acquired gave the two secretaries a superior place on the plantation committee and conduced in no small degree to the cohesion and force of colonial control during their time. They attended the committee assiduously and in turn it occasionally suspended debates during the absence, or altered reports to suit the wishes, of one or the other.³⁶ Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary 1680-1684, also came to the office qualified by training in maritime and foreign affairs and showed himself to be an official of the same faithful type.³⁷

The method of working through a board of expert advisers was not discontinued. Indeed the increase of imperial business and the rise of new and complex situations in the control of trade and plantations made it very necessary that there should be some body to

³² *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, LXII. 2; Osgood, *Am. Cols.*, III. 146-147; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 9; Barbour, *Earl of Arlington*, pp. 58, 74; John Evelyn, *Diary*, July 22, 1674. For Williamson's notes see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1661-1668, §§ 623-625, 894, 1157, 1158, 1660, 1661; 1675-1676, §§ 405, 430, 449, 900, 1053, 1100, 1171; 1677-1680, §§ 192, 201.

³³ Williamson said that no Virginia affairs passed his office. *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, § 1082; 1677-1680, § 81.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, § 1266.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, §§ 420, 505, 575, 734, 846; 1677-1680, §§ 197, 456, 543.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1675-1676, §§ 445, 452, 701, 834, 924; 1677-1680, §§ 260, 425, 627, 917, 966, pp. 235-236; L. T. J., I. 4-5, 42, 83, 117; II. 45, 128-129, 224, 319, 326. Williamson attended seventy-five per cent. of the plantation committee meetings during his term of office after 1675, and Coventry fifty-six per cent.

³⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXIX. 302. Jenkins attended seventy-eight per cent. of the meetings 1680-1684.

lighten the labors of the busy Privy Council and to furnish it with authentic information. A special board for this purpose was done away with, but its place was filled in part in another way. The Board of Customs was created in 1671 as a treasury division to manage the customs revenues. Its functions were imperial in sweep, including the enforcement of the acts of trade and the collection of duties through its own agents at home and in America.³⁸ Its intimate and constant contact with colonies and commerce made it an especially well-informed body, which the Lords of Trade were prompt to utilize in an advisory way. In the years of its greater vigor before 1685 the committee summoned the members of the Customs Board into frequent conference, and repeatedly called upon it to submit itemized accounts of foreign and colonial trade and to report upon a wide variety of problems, such as commerce, coinage, customs service, emigration, fisheries, and finances.³⁹ The board prepared the trade instructions for the colonial governors,⁴⁰ and rendered valuable service in the review of colonial laws, going to much trouble in getting at the facts by consulting merchants, planters, colonial agents, and others.⁴¹ In all these matters the board's opinions were given high credit by the committee, which usually made them the basis of its final report to the king and council.

The Board of Customs embraced in its membership during the first quarter-century a noteworthy group of merchant princes, diplomats, economists, and expansionists of prestige. Indeed the close connection of the merchants with the statesmen and officials in the dual tasks of building and governing the empire is a striking factor in British expansion.⁴² The directors of the privileged trading companies were frequently consulted and their interests supported by the government. They were employed in the offices of

³⁸ Atton and Holland, *The King's Customs*, I. 103 ff; Andrews, *Guide*, II. 111-113; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 262-264, 276-288.

³⁹ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, vols. for 1675-1696, *passim*; L. T. J., I. 165-167; III. 37, 46, 210, 211, 302, 309, 337-338.

⁴⁰ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1685-1688, §§ 292, 312, 317, 573, 589, 917, 1015, 1124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, § 521; 1681-1685, §§ 318, 1336, 1602, 1626, 1874, 1875; 1685-1688, § 1337; 1689-1692, § 2124; 1693-1696, §§ 892, 1947, 2127.

⁴² For instance, of the eight persons common to the Royal African Company, Council of Trade, and Council of Plantations of 1660, two were of the royal circle, five were prominent London merchants, and one a colonial planter. Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 67-68. The history of the interlocking directorates in the companies of expansion and in the political control of empire may be traced in the careers of such great merchants as Thomas Povey, Martin Noell, Josiah Child, and Dudley North. *Ibid.*, ch. III.; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, X. 244 (Child); XLI. 152 (North); Fox Bourne, *English Merchants*, ch. XIII.

national administration, where they exerted a directive influence in imperial control, and they ruled the city and port of London to their own advantage.⁴³ On the Board of Customs were Sir Dudley North, Sir John Buckworth, Sir Patience Ward, and Sir Robert Clayton, great in the directorates of trading and merchant companies and in the municipality of London.⁴⁴ The board included also such able and active officials as Sir George Downing and Sir Richard Temple, members of former select boards of trade, Sir John Werden, for a long time agent for the Duke of York's colony on the Hudson, and Sir Robert Southwell, the first industrious secretary to the plantation committee.⁴⁵ Clayton was a factor in the colony of Bermuda.⁴⁶ Downing, Werden, and Southwell were experienced diplomats. Temple and North were the authors of notable economic tracts.⁴⁷ Above all rises the strong personality of Downing, abiding through nearly a quarter-century. Although educated at Harvard and a nephew of John Winthrop, the elder, he became a thorough imperialist. He was an active agent in the drafting and passage of the acts of trade; as a diplomat he was influential in shaping Anglo-Dutch relations in the interest of English merchants; and as a member of the Board of Customs and in frequent conference with the Lords of Trade he was a determining force in imperial administration.⁴⁸ In conclusion, its powers as an administrative body, its place as an advisory board, and the political and commercial weight of its important members, enabled the Board of

⁴³ L. T. J., I.-III., *passim*. Sir Edward Deering, subgovernor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Sir Dudley North, a director of the Royal African and Levant companies, were commissioners of the treasury; Sir John Houlblon (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVII. 417), master of the Grocers Company, first governor of the Bank of England, was a commissioner of the Admiralty, 1694-1699. For North's influence in colonial control, see Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 160.

⁴⁴ Buckworth was high in the councils of the Royal African and Levant companies; Clayton was a member of the Royal African and Drapers' companies, and a director of the Bank of England (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XI. 17); Ward was master of the Merchant Taylors Company of London (*ibid.*, LIX. 329).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, LVI. 37 (Temple); LIII. 299 (Southwell); LX. 295 (Werden). Downing, Buckworth, and Temple had served as members of former select councils of trade. Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 93, 97. For Werden's activities as agent for New York, see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, vols. for 1675-1685, index under his name.

⁴⁶ The governor of Bermuda declared that the colonists believed Clayton "orders and disposes of everything here, even to the putting in and turning out of Governors". *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689-1692, § 1843.

⁴⁷ North, *Discourses on Trade* (1691); Temple, *Essay on Taxes* (1693).

⁴⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XV. 401; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., pp. 9-11; Andrews, *Col. Self-Govt.*, pp. 14-17, 312; L. T. J., I. 84, 116, 249, 258-260, 277-278; III. 118, 119, 128-130, 149-150, 302, 317, 324-325.

Customs to mold and guide imperial relations in the interest of the mother-country and to the advantage of the privileged companies.

After all, the changes effected in imperial administration after 1675 lay rather in the infusion of a sharper tone and the perfecting of the functions of colonial control than in any radical alterations in the processes of doing things. The Lords of Trade took up their assigned tasks, not only qualified by apprenticeship and assisted by a competent board, but with many precedents to point the way. The select councils, even though they had been impotent in conduct, were not without a considerable value in fixing lines of practice and principles of colonial control that promised a better order and served as guides for the future.⁴⁹ The Lords of Trade simply took in hand the loosely co-ordinated policies initiated by the separate councils and carried them out more vigorously and more intelligently. In the matter of the systematic handling of business, previous efforts to create a bureau and methods had fallen short of good order because of the frequent changes through which the select councils had passed.⁵⁰ The Lords of Trade took prompt steps to secure an orderly procedure. The king detailed Sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the Privy Council and an official of good ability, to act as constant secretary to the committee.⁵¹ To his patient toil was due the initial organization of an office, a clerical staff, and routine methods. He labored hard. The preparation of business for the committee and waiting upon it, making detailed reports, abstracting long documents from the colonies, answering letters, bringing completeness into the keeping of records, and directing routine matters in general formed the burden of his work.⁵² He complained of the lack of assistance and his health broke under the strain. In March, 1676, his request for leave to resign as permanent secretary was granted, with merited praise for his "extraordinary paines and diligence".⁵³ The plantation bureau was then placed on a regular footing. The four clerks of the council were to serve as secretaries, each in turn for six months, and

⁴⁹ Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 108, 111.

⁵⁰ The records of the former special councils were found in a very scattered and disordered state. Andrews, *Guide*, I. 103; L. T. J., I. 9, 10, 35; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 464, 472; 1677-1680, §§ 768, 796, 801, 802.

⁵¹ L. T. J., I. 8-9; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1021.

⁵² For the detailed reports prepared by Southwell, *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 524, 594-596, 608, 615, 738; 1677-1680, *passim*; L. T. J., I. 19, 25, 28, 29-30, 31, 59, 61, 270-275; II. 137. For the order and completeness brought into the keeping of records, see Andrews, *Guide*, I. 104.

⁵³ L. T. J., I. 39, 112-113; II. 8-9; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1675-1676, §§ 681, 983; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1081.

to share £400 a year; William Blathwayt was continued "as a very fit person" to be assistant to the secretary at a yearly salary of £150; and three clerks were employed at £50 a year each. The committee sat in the Council Chamber, Whitehall, attended by the secretary, a messenger, and assistant at £50 a year, the two keepers of the chamber and the underkeeper of council records at two shillings a day each. A plantation office was opened in 1676 in two rooms leased in Scotland Yard at £30 a year, and in 1678 two more were added, doubling the rent, to meet the demands of a growing business. They were altered and equipped for office purposes at a cost of £170, and £20 a year was allowed for an office-keeper and charwoman.⁵⁴ By 1677 the salary list reached about £980 a year and the average annual outlay for salaries, rent, stationery, fuel, light, postage, and fees, as the items of usual expense, was about £1145.⁵⁵ The committee was quite conscious of the fact that trade and plantation affairs were now administered with better results at a lower cost than formerly, and this seemed to justify the abolition of special boards of paid experts.⁵⁶

It is obvious that semi-annual, and occasional quarterly, changes in the secretaryship were little likely to secure continuity and stability of practice. The Lords of Trade were well aware of this defect when Blathwayt was made assistant. Waiting until he had shown himself fitted for the place, the committee in 1677 expressed satisfaction with his "ability, diligence, and fidelity" and he received £100 a year additional salary as permanent assistant.⁵⁷ In a few years the clerks of the council enjoyed the fruits of the secretary's office as a sinecure and Blathwayt's abiding presence made him the chief man of all work. He was a young man of about twenty-six when he began, in the humble position of assistant, the career in the colonial service which, successfully weathering all political vicissitudes, lasted through a generation. He inherited a familiarity and interest in the colonial sphere as a nephew of Thomas Povey, the prominent London merchant, whose political and commercial connections at home and in the colonies were intimate and influential.⁵⁸ Southwell remained a force in the colonial

⁵⁴ L. T. J., I. 10, 162-163, 171, 177; II. 8-9, 11, 14; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1129.

⁵⁵ The itemized accounts for the whole period are found in British Museum, Add. MSS. 9767, 9768, and for the first years in L. T. J., I. 162-163, 224-225; II. 11-13, 84-85, 162-163, 192-194.

⁵⁶ *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. I., § 1175.

⁵⁷ L. T. J., II. 84-85, 148-149.

⁵⁸ *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, V. 206; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 11; Channing, *History of the United States*, II. 218; Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, pp. 51-

bureau until 1679, when he laid down his clerkship. Then Blathwayt began to be an important person in the colonial service. His official relations with the colonies were enlarged by long service as the first incumbent of the office of auditor-general of royal revenues in America, created in 1680.⁵⁹ But it was especially after 1685, when the secretaries of state no longer play an active part in colonial administration, that Blathwayt became a prominent figure. Williamson, Coventry, and Jenkins, of the industrious administrative type, were followed by Sunderland, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, whose attention to the colonies was overshadowed by the feverish politics peculiar to the decade after 1685. They came into office with less experience and they attended the plantation committee with much less regularity.⁶⁰ Colonial governors continued to recognize the authority of one or other of the principal secretaries,⁶¹ but a perfunctory and briefer correspondence marked the waning influence of the office. As one governor said, "I have written to the Lords of Trade and Mr. Blathwayt that I shall be brief."⁶² Blathwayt thus became, in fact if not in name, colonial under-secretary. He was endowed with an ability fitted to routine administration. John Evelyn described him as "very dexterous in business" and as one who had "raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances". William III., speaking from a close observation of him as secretary-at-war, said he was "dull, though hee had a good method".⁶³ Blathwayt applied himself with vigor and persistence to his duties as under-secretary and as auditor-general. He is to be counted in that group of minor officials whose length of service, knowledge, and strict attention to business brought consistency of practice and efficiency into a system which subjected the holders of high office to the distractions and changing fortunes of politics.

The belief was current in the colonies that ministers at home were either too busy with other matters to give heed to the urgent

53. In 1674 Blathwayt petitioned for the post of secretary of Jamaica, declaring himself qualified by his knowledge of the island. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1669-1674, § 1205.

59 Andrews, *Guide*, II. 142-147; Beer, *Old Col. System*, pt. I., vol. I., p. 220.

60 Sunderland, Shrewsbury, and Nottingham, as secretaries, each attended from forty-five to fifty per cent. of the sessions of the Lords of Trade.

61 *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, §§ 1443, 1466; 1681-1685, §§ 281, 1829, 1882; 1689-1692, § 1584.

62 *Ibid.*, 1681-1685, §§ 187, 669; 1685-1688, § 576; 1689-1692, § 2552; 1693-1696, §§ 499, 831.

63 Evelyn, *Diary*, June 18, 1687; Foxcroft, *Life and Letters of Halifax*, II. 81, 226. For Blathwayt's work as secretary-at-war, see Andrews, *Guide*, II. 270-271.

needs of distant communities or else were little disposed to be bothered with the tedious reports on colonial conditions.⁶⁴ Above all it was felt that their ignorance of the unrelated life of the colonies rendered them unfit to pass judgment on American affairs.⁶⁵ Indeed it was this situation that led the colonies to appoint their own agents, at first temporary and in time permanent, to act as vehicles of sound information and advice on matters involving the interests or the privileges of the particular colony.⁶⁶ Belief and action were justified. The members of the plantation committee, not only occupied with the many problems and aspects of colonies and commerce, but as privy councillors engrossed in immediate local and foreign issues, and as Englishmen largely ignorant of the genius of colonial existence, were perforce dependent upon the Board of Customs and Blathwayt as skilled, reliable, and informed servants. Blathwayt's influence at home and in the colonies was always an important factor. Colonies without London agents besought him to present their petitions to the king and occasionally employed and paid him to attend to special matters.⁶⁷ Colonial governors wrote to him in letters of a semi-public nature, seeking his advice in their perplexities, his favor to procure and hasten needed orders, or his support on behalf of their official conduct.⁶⁸

The nature of conciliar organization calls for a brief discussion, that the course of imperial control after 1685 may be understood. As noted above, the unwieldy size of the council and the pressure of added business destroyed its efficiency as a collective body and called the committee system into use. In practice, before 1675, responsibility was secured by creating committees of limited number and select personnel and by appointing the ablest and most dependable councillors to two or more divisions. The result was

⁶⁴ "I know ministers and statesmen so hate impertinence and tedious letters, that I durst not address this to our Lords or Mr. Secretary. You can best garble it and lay . . . the needful before them", so wrote Governor Lynch of Jamaica to Blathwayt in 1683. *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1681-1685, pp. 395-396.

⁶⁵ Lynch, and Vaughan his successor, declared to the home government that it was not qualified to pass proper judgment on the concerns of remote and strange provinces. *Ibid.*, 1669-1674, § 1130; 1675-1676, §§ 801, 802.

⁶⁶ Dongan, governor of New York, in 1688 wrote in complaint of the little attention paid to the defenseless state of the colony, saying, "it is the misfortune of this Government that it cannot keep a solicitor at Court like other Colonies". *Ibid.*, 1685-1688, § 1638, p. 499.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 1685-1688, § 369; 1689-1692, §§ 2199, 2200, 2202, 2204; 1693-1696, §§ 1833, 1863, 2091.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 1677-1680, §§ 565, 603; 1681-1685, § 1348; 1685-1688, §§ 315, 1340; 1693-1696, §§ 84, 500; Goodrick, *Edward Randolph* (Prince Soc. Pubs.), VI, 16, 146, 161, 162, *passim*. See Kimball, *Public Life of Joseph Dudley*, pp. 57-59.

to throw the labors of the council upon an active inner group.⁶⁹ But after 1675 the committee system was altered.⁷⁰ The naming of certain persons to the plantation committee did not at all signify a select and definite membership. The records plainly show that any member of the council was free to attend and take part and that there were very few of a numerous body who did not come to one session at least. This procedure became general and it meant that the whole council had become the one standing committee for all purposes.⁷¹ In 1688 James II. ordered the whole council to be a standing committee for plantations, and in 1694 William III. directed that "Upon summoning Committees all the Lords of the Councell are to have notice".⁷² Substitution of the cumbrous whole for its parts seemed to restore the council to its older position of dignity and to silence the repeated charge of government by a secret inner ring, but it detracted from the unity and accountability inherent in small select groups. The quorum of the committee, at first fixed at five, was soon reduced to three to expedite business, and for twenty years the average attendance per session was about six, occasionally running to ten, or even fifteen at one time.⁷³ There was not merely the danger of an erratic attendance and a fluctuating complexion of opinion from day to day, when everybody's business was likely to be nobody's,⁷⁴ but also the danger that, if there were but one committee of the whole council for all purposes, its time and thought would be absorbed by the most striking and exigent needs to the neglect of other matters. Although these imperfections existed, they worked no great injury to the force and leadership in imperial control prior

⁶⁹ The committee system has been carefully and ably explained by Turner, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 751 (1913); XIX. 27 (1913); XIX. 772 (1914); and Andrews, *ibid.*, XVI. 119-121 (1910). Also in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, by Carlyle, XXI. 673 (1906); Temperley, XXVII. 682 (1912); and Anson, XXIX. 56 (1914).

⁷⁰ In 1675 twenty-one were appointed a plantation committee and others were added from time to time. The usual size of committees was thus increased, but part of the older order was kept, as described above, by naming an inner group to have special charge by reason of their experience. In 1679 twenty-two were appointed with no reference to an inner circle. L. T. J., III. 1-2, 81, 122, 216; *A. P. C., Col.*, I. 620, 703, 819; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1677-1680, § 977.

⁷¹ Turner, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 758-762; Andrews, *ibid.*, XVI. 119-121.

⁷² L. T. J., VI. 1-3, 123-124; VII. 307; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. II., § 249; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1685-1688, § 1607.

⁷³ L. T. J., II. 5; *A. P. C., Col.*, I. 620. The attendance ranged from ten to fifteen inclusive at 92 sessions, six to nine at 420, and two to five at 338, of the total number of sittings 1675-1696.

⁷⁴ For instance, Sir John Ernle was the only person common to the successive sittings of July 9, 26, 1677; Craven the one common attendant at the successive meetings of August 9, 30, and again December 18, 20, 1677.

to 1685. This was due to a condition of domestic and foreign peace which permitted that small number deeply interested in the progress of imperial measures to act with the vigor and unity of an independent department.

The reversal of these conditioning factors in the decade after 1685 threw into bold relief the potential faults of conciliar organization and control. When James II. violated the deepest traditions and instincts of the people he involved the council in a storm of disorder that destroyed the progress toward imperial coherence. The average of fifty sessions a year for the plantation committee under Charles II. fell to the mean number of twenty under James, and in the shadows of impending revolt the committee almost ceased to gather.⁷⁵ The Revolution was imperial in sweep, overturning royal absolutism at home and inciting to successful revolt against narrow executive rule in New England, New York, and Maryland.⁷⁶ The committee of the whole council under William III. faced not only the immediate and delicate tasks of restoring injured political balances at home, but of preparing instruments of government for the many colonies as a result of the changes.⁷⁷ In addition and in the midst of temporary confusion, peace abroad was shattered by the impact of a wide conflict with France for supremacy in Europe and in the colonial world. The committee was burdened with the heavy cares of protecting a rich and varied commerce along many ocean highways and of numerous colonies stretching from Newfoundland to the Leeward Islands. The problems of imperial defense, of a breadth and import without precedent, were assumed under the heavy odds of a singular state of unpreparedness in the sinews of war, organization, and experience. The central administrative system was a cumbersome structure, the result of a multiple division of functions, fraught with overlapping authority and consequent friction, extremely unfitted to grapple with the realities of a world war.⁷⁸

In this situation the Lords of Trade were forced to act as a single, integrating, and energizing force. But the plantation committee met neither with a frequency nor a regularity sufficient to

⁷⁵ During the eleven months, March 1, 1688–February 1, 1689, ten sessions in all were held, and none during five months of the period.

⁷⁶ Osgood, *Am. Cols.*, III. 415–422, 444–463, 477–500.

⁷⁷ William III. appointed a plantation committee of twelve on February 16, 1689, adding others subsequently. L. T. J., VI. 195–196, 295; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. II., § 275; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689–1692, § 17.

⁷⁸ Andrews, *Guide*, II. 1–5, 136–142, 270–274; Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, I. 308–329, 381–393.

give an adequate protection to colonies and commerce. It averaged forty sessions a year during 1689-1696, a record below that of 1675-1685, yet the demands were far greater. The sittings ranged from twenty-six to fifty-five a year; they were held at the irregular intervals of from one to six a month, sometimes more and occasionally none. This was not altogether due to indifference; the committee of the whole council worked hard, but the scope of its undifferentiated business overtaxed its capacities. It has been said that William of Holland borrowed England on his way to Versailles. Be this as it may, the immediate necessity of restoring order at home and redressing the balance of power in Europe so occupied the committee that commerce and colonies inevitably suffered from inadequate attention.⁷⁹ What measure of defense they did receive was due in no small degree to the ceaseless activity of the merchants and colonial agents in pleading and urging their claims and dangers.⁸⁰

No less serious was the break in the line of competent personnel and the loss of cohesion in the plantation committee. There appeared around the plantation board after 1685 few of the older group that had been actively engaged in the work of expansion and had given momentum to imperial political centralization. Death had taken Anglesey, Bridgewater, Carteret, Downing, Francis North, Radnor, and Rupert. The attentive Craven ceased to come. But it was an unwise king who soon removed the active and skilled Clarendon, Compton, Halifax, and Rochester to make way for the crafty, time-serving Earl of Sunderland, the brutal Jeffreys, and others whose servility to an arbitrary domestic policy was of greater moment than the advancement of the best interests of the empire.⁸¹ As in the time of George III., so in that of James II., the advent of a ruler and personal advisers of narrow vision and small experience in the statesmanship of empire provoked relations which the colonies refused to endure. Again, it was natural for William III. to draw his ministers and officials from the supporters of the Revo-

⁷⁹ A memorialist declared that if the war so employed every agency of government that the concerns of trade were neglected, if the ministry "is taken up with higher Business", it became the wisdom of Parliament to make timely provision for the protection of commerce. Br. Mus., Harleian MSS. 1223, no. 9, ff. 184-188.

⁸⁰ For the activities of the colonial agents, see *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689-1692, 1693-1696, *passim*.

⁸¹ Evelyn, *Diary*, September 8, 1686; Burnet, *Hist. of his Own Time* (1857), pp. 419, 434, 436; Foxcroft, *Halifax*, I. 451 ff. The chief members of the plantation committee under James II. were Sunderland, Jeffreys, Middleton, Godolphin, Powis, Huntingdon.

lution and not from the adherents of the old order. With the exception of Halifax for a short period, the work fell upon new councillors who had little of that interest and training in matters imperial so distinctive of the advisers of Charles II. Division in the councils of the king was the outcome of William's first policy, like that of Washington a century later, of seeking support from all factions temporarily united by the Revolution. It was a policy destined to fail; once the crisis was passed, Whig and Tory, like Federalist and Republican, became too jealous to co-operate. Halifax, lord privy seal, and Carmarthen, lord president, were at odds, Shrewsbury and Nottingham, secretaries, tried to persuade the king to different courses, and Nottingham and Admiral Russell quarrelled over the direction of the fleet.⁸²

Unity was not attained until the king recognized the utility of party support, but in the meantime administration was crippled by faction and by frequent changes in personnel. The fluctuating membership in the council was reflected in the changing personnel of the plantation committee of the whole council. This fault of instability became a striking and serious condition after 1689, when defense loudly demanded cohesion and constancy of power. Some indication of the violent fluctuations in the plantation committee at this time may be gathered from the fact that fifty-nine different councillors attended its meetings at very irregular intervals and uncertain times. Those present at one sitting were likely to be absent or in the minority at the next. A small degree of continuity and balance was lent to the working of the committee during 1689-1696 by the fairly regular attendance of Carmarthen, Sir Henry Goodricke, lieutenant-general of ordnance, Hugh Boscawen, one of the admiralty board, and John Egerton, third earl of Bridgewater.⁸³ Incompetence, factionalism, and change worked their weakening effects throughout the executive government, from the council to the departments and offices of administration.

Colonial protection was poor enough, but commerce on the high seas suffered disastrously.⁸⁴ Large and constant were the

⁸² Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, pp. 550-551, 580, 585; Evelyn, *Diary*, January 3, February 4, November 12, 1693; Foxcroft, *Halifax*, vol. II., ch. XII.

⁸³ Under James II., out of thirty-four different councillors who attended the plantation committee, only three were present at more than fifty per cent. of the total number of meetings. Under William III., forty-nine attended with records varying from two to fifty sessions, six from fifty to ninety sessions; while Goodricke was present at seventy-two per cent. of the total sessions, Carmarthen sixty per cent., Bridgewater forty per cent., and Boscawen thirty-six.

⁸⁴ *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1689-1692, pp. xxvii-xxxvi; 1693-1696, pp. viii-xii, xxix-xliv, for a résumé of colonial protection.

losses of ships and cargoes by capture and destruction because of the inadequacy of the navy and the incompetency of administration.⁸⁵ Oversea trade fell off to the advantage of foreign merchants because of the want of convoy protection.⁸⁶ Merchants risked their vessels and goods without protection rather than to wait upon deficient and delayed convoys, only to increase the chances of capture.⁸⁷ The losses of 1695-1696 were especially severe and dissatisfaction reached a white heat.⁸⁸ The merchants, stung to anger by their own losses as well as by the injuries done to the vital interests of a mercantile nation, were convinced that these evils were the fruits of unskilled and defective administration.

Various remedies were proposed. One looked to strengthening the plantation committee, which directed the convoy service in conjunction with the admiralty and customs boards.⁸⁹ The Earl of Mulgrave in 1694 urged the king to revert to a "select number for all Committees, instead of all the Councell, as it now is; because everybody's business is nobody's, whereas the other way such will be charged with it who are capable of attending and understanding it". He proposed specifically a plantation committee of select and knowing personnel, in which regular attendance should be required and regular meetings should be held "two mornings in a week on fixed dayes, and not according to the leasure or humour of a President of the Councell".⁹⁰ Merited as were these criticisms and proposals, they did not conform to the wishes of the merchants. Now, as before under like conditions in the time of Cromwell, they expressed a brusque impatience with the lack of skill, efficiency, and despatch in the care of transmarine interests. They moved for a reversion to a special board of experts. The creation of a "Council of Trade" was "the Common Theam of Men of all Understandings, on which so much is said and writ", declared Sir Francis Brewster in 1695 in support of the idea. The Bristol merchants earnestly hoped that the "Places be not fill'd up with Courtiers, who know nothing of the Business". John Evelyn voiced the general desire that the proposed board be composed of "sober, industrious, dexterous men, and of consummate experience in *rebus agendis*".⁹¹

⁸⁵ Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, pp. 555, 570, 592-593, 599, 616-617.

⁸⁶ L. T. J., VI. 347; VII. 14, 118, 120-121.

⁸⁷ *House of Lords MSS.*, n. s. (1695-1697), II. viii.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II. vii-xii, 64-117.

⁸⁹ L. T. J., VI. 329-336, 340-350; VII., *passim*; *A. P. C., Col.*, vol. II., §§ 369, 379, 385, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Turner, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 759, note.

⁹¹ Brewster, *Essays on Trade* (London, 1695), pp. 37-40; Cary, *Essay on State of England in Relation to Trade* (Bristol, 1695), pp. 139-141; Evelyn,

The incapacities of imperial administration were keenly discussed within and without the doors of Parliament. There was hardly a session of the legislature in which the miscarriages of the navy and the losses of the merchants were not the subjects of loud complaint.⁹² The House of Commons, smarting under the severe injuries to the economic and maritime interests of the nation and incited to action by the influence of the merchants, closely examined into the whole matter, and, as Bishop Burnet records, "when all the errors, with relation to the protection of our trade, were set out and much aggravated, a motion was made to create by act of parliament, a council of trade".⁹³ On December 12, 1695, the very day on which this decision was reached, the king countered it by announcing his purpose to establish by royal authority a council composed of "some of the Greatest Quality, and others of Lesser Rank, and acquainted with trade".⁹⁴ Thus was the constitutional issue joined. The attempt of the Commons to erect a council, not only drawn from the legislature but clothed by it with powers of administration, raised the significant question, "how far the government should continue on its ancient bottom of monarchy, as to the executive part, or how far it should turn to a commonwealth".⁹⁵ Embraced in the movement were the efforts of the unprivileged merchants, persisting through many years, to break down the political and commercial dominance of the monopolistic London companies in favor of a more open trade and free ports. Bristol and the out-ports, unconcerned by what authority a council was established, royal or parliamentary, worked to secure one so modelled that it should be representative and non-partizan as well as expert.⁹⁶

Diary (ed. Bray), III, 355-356; Davenant, *Discourses on the Publick Revenues and on the Trade of England* (London, 1698), II, 126-135; "Memorials concerning a Council of Trade", Br. Mus., Harleian MSS. 1223, no. 9, ff. 184-188; Letters of the merchants of Bristol to the city's representatives in the Commons, Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 5540, ff. 83-96.

⁹² *House of Lords MSS.*, n. s. (1693-1695), I, i-xix.

⁹³ *House of Commons Journal*, XI, 359, 376, 398; *House of Lords Journal*, XV, 606, 608-609, 611-612; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, III, 560-561; Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, p. 621.

⁹⁴ "Heads of his Majesty's commission for a Council of Trade", 1696, Br. Mus., Add. MSS. 9764, f. 101; Fox Bourne, *Life of John Locke*, II, 348; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, III, 562; Bristol representatives to merchants, December 19, 1695, Add. MSS. 5540; *Cal. St. P., Col.*, 1693-1696, § 2207.

⁹⁵ Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.*, V, 977; *Commons Journ.*, XI, 423-424, 440, 454; Luttrell, *Brief Hist. Rel.*, III, 568; IV, 7, 19; Burnet, *Hist. Own Time*, p. 621.

⁹⁶ The Bristol merchants declared that if the proposed council of trade "be made up of Courtiers unexperienced in Trade, twill become only a matter of charge to the Nation; if of Londoners, They will endeavour to overrule things so as they shall best conduce to bringing all Trade to that great City, without

William III., jealous of the traditional prerogatives of the crown and anxious to thwart a step fraught with serious portent to their integrity, was driven to set up a Board of Trade and Plantations by commission of May 15, 1696. This step marks the close of the constant activities of the Lords of Trade as the directors of trade and plantation affairs and a return, in almost exact lines of organization, functions, and position, to the select council abolished in 1674. The Board of Trade lived through a varied experience of nearly ninety years.⁹⁷ It was not however till 1768 that American affairs were finally differentiated from foreign and domestic relations and entrusted to the care of a separate department of state. But the recognition of the peculiar importance and character of colonial interests came too late to be of any advantage.

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respect to other Ports"; it was urged that the body be composed of "Men well versed" in trade, chosen from "all the parts thereof, as well the countys, as some particular Trading Citys and ports". Add. MSS. 5540, December 16, 1695; Andrews, *Brit. Comm.*, p. 113.

⁹⁷ Dickerson, *Am. Colonial Govt.*, pp. 20-22.

THE MISSION AS A FRONTIER INSTITUTION IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN COLONIES

OF the missions in Spanish America, particularly those in California, much has been written. But most of what has been produced consists of chronicles of the deeds of the Fathers, polemic discussions by sectarian partizans, or sentimental effusions with literary, edifying, or financial intent. They deal with the heroic exploits of individuals, with mooted questions of belief and practice, or with the romance that hovers round the mission ruins. All this is very well, and not to be ridiculed, but it is none the less true that little has been said of these missions in their relation to the general Spanish colonial policy, of which they were an integral and a most important part. Father Engelhardt's learned books are a notable exception, but his view is confined closely to California, whereas the mission, in the Spanish colonies, was an almost universal establishment.

One of the marvels in the history of the modern world is the way in which that little Iberian nation, Spain, when most of her blood and treasure were absorbed in European wars, with a handful of men took possession of the Caribbean archipelago, and by rapid yet steady advance spread her culture, her religion, her law, and her language over more than half of the two American continents, where they still are dominant and still are secure—in South America, Central America, and a large fraction of North America, for fifty million people in America to-day are tinged with Spanish blood, still speak the Spanish language, still worship at the altar set up by the Catholic kings, still live under laws essentially Spanish, and still possess a culture largely inherited from Spain.

These results are an index of the vigor and the virility of Spain's frontier forces; they should give pause to those who glibly speak of Spain's failure as a colonizing nation; and they suggest the importance of a thoughtful study of Spain's frontier institutions and methods. Professor Turner has devoted his life to a study of the Anglo-American frontier, and rich has been his reward. Scarcely less conspicuous in the history of the Western world than the advance of the Anglo-American frontier has been the spread of Spanish culture, and for him who interprets, with Turner's insight, the methods

and the significance of the Spanish-American frontier, there awaits a recognition not less marked or less deserved.

Whoever essays this task, whoever undertakes to interpret the forces by which Spain extended her rule, her language, her law, and her traditions, over the frontiers of her vast American possessions, must give close attention to the missions, for in that work they constituted a primary agency. Each of the colonizing nations in America had its peculiar frontier institutions and classes. In the French colonies the pioneers of pioneers were the fur-trader and the missionary. Penetrating the innermost wilds of the continent, one in search of the beaver, the other in quest of souls to save, together they extended the French domains, and brought the savage tribes into friendly relations with the French government, and into profitable relations with the French outposts. In the English colonies the fur-trader blazed the way and opened new trails, but it was the backwoods settler who hewed down the forest, and step by step drove back the Indian with whom he did not readily mingle. In the Spanish colonies the men to whom fell the task of extending and holding the frontiers were the *conquistador*, the presidial soldier, and the missionary.

All of these agents were important; but in my study of frontier institutions in general, and in my endeavor in particular to understand the methods and forces by which Spain's frontiers were extended, held, and developed, I have been more and more impressed with the importance of the mission as a pioneering agency. Taking for granted for the moment its very obvious religious aspects, I shall here devote my attention more especially to the mission's political and social meaning. My point of view embraces all of New Spain—all of the Spanish colonies, indeed—but more particularly the northern provinces, from Sinaloa to Texas, from Florida to California. My conclusions are based on the study of documents, unprinted for the most part, which have been gathered mainly from the archives of Mexico and Spain.

The functions of the mission, from the political standpoint, will be better understood if it is considered in its historical relations. The central interest around which the mission was built was the Indian. In respect to the native, the Spanish sovereigns, from the outset, had three fundamental purposes. They desired to convert him, to civilize him, and to exploit him. To serve these three purposes, there was devised, out of the experience of the early conquerors, the *encomienda* system. It was soon found that if the savage were to be converted, or disciplined, or exploited, he must

be put under control. To provide such control, the land and the people were distributed among Spaniards, who held them in trust, or in *encomienda*. The trustee, or *encomendero*, as he was called, was strictly charged by the sovereign, as a condition of his grant, to provide for the protection, the conversion, and the civilization of the aborigines. In return he was empowered to exploit their labor, sharing the profits with the king. To provide the spiritual instruction and to conduct schools for the natives—for Indian schools were actually prescribed and maintained—the *encomenderos* were required to support the necessary friars, by whom the instruction was given. Thus great monasteries were established in the conquered districts.

But the native had his own notions, especially about being exploited, and he sometimes fled to the woods. It was soon discovered, therefore, that in order properly to convert, instruct, and exploit the Indian, he must be kept in a fixed place of residence. This need was early reported to the sovereigns by *encomenderos* and friars alike, and it soon became a law that Indians must be congregated in pueblos, and made to stay there, by force if necessary. The pueblos were modelled on the Spanish towns, and were designed not alone as a means of control, but as schools in self-control as well.

Thus, during the early years of the conquest, the natives were largely in the hands of the *encomenderos*, mainly secular landholders. The friars, and afterward the Jesuit priests, came in great numbers, to preach and teach, but they lacked the authority of later days. In 1574 there were in the conquered districts of Spanish America nearly nine thousand Indian towns, containing about one and a half million adult males, representing some five million people, subject to tribute. These nine thousand towns were *encomiendas* of the king and some four thousand *encomenderos*.

The *encomienda* system then, by intention, was benevolent. It was designed for the conversion and the civilization of the native, as well as for the exploitation of his labor. But the flesh is weak, and the system was abused. The obligations to protect, convert, and civilize were forgotten, and the right to exploit was perverted into license. Practical slavery soon resulted, and the *encomienda* system became the black spot in the Spanish-American code. Philanthropists, led by Las Casas, begged for reform; abuses were checked, and *encomiendas* were gradually, though slowly, abolished.

This improvement was made easier by the decreasing attractiveness of *encomiendas*, as the conquest proceeded to the outlying dis-

tribes. The semi-civilized Indians of central Mexico and Peru had been fairly docile, had had a steady food supply and fixed homes, were accustomed to labor, and were worth exploiting. The wilder tribes encountered later—the Chichimecos, as they were called—were hostile, had few crops, were unused to labor, had no fixed villages, would not stand still to be exploited, and were hardly worth the candle. Colonists were no longer so eager for *encomiendas*, and were willing to escape the obligation to protect and civilize the wild tribes, which were as uncomfortable burdens, sometimes, as cub-tigers in a sack. Moreover, the sovereigns, with increasing emphasis, forbade the old-time abuses of exploitation, but as strongly as before adhered to the ideal of conversion and civilization. Here, then, was a larger opening for the missionary, and to him was entrusted, or upon him was thrust, consciously or unconsciously, not only the old work of conversion, but a larger and larger element of responsibility and control. On the northern frontier, therefore, among the roving tribes, the place of the discredited *encomendero* was largely taken by the missionary, and that of the *encomienda* by the mission, the design being to check the evils of exploitation, and at the same time to realize the ideal of conversion, protection, and civilization.

These missionaries became a veritable corps of Indian agents, serving both Church and State. The double capacity in which they served was made easier and more natural by the close union between Church and State in Spanish America, where the king exercised the *real patronato*, and where the viceroys were sometimes archbishops as well.

Under these conditions, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the expanding frontiers of Spanish America, missions became well-nigh universal. In South America the outstanding examples were the Jesuit missions in Paraguay. Conspicuous in North America were the great Franciscan establishments in Alta California, the last of Spain's conquests. Not here alone, however, but everywhere on the northern frontier they played their part—in Sinaloa, Sonora, and Lower California; in Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Nuevo Santander; in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. If there were twenty-one missions in California, there were as many in Texas, more in Florida, and twice as many in New Mexico. At one time the California missions had over thirty thousand Indians under instruction; but a century and a half earlier the missions of Florida and New Mexico each had an equal number.

The missionary work on the northern frontier of New Spain was conducted chiefly by Franciscans, Jesuits, and Dominicans. The northeastern field fell chiefly to the Franciscans, who entered Coahuila, Nuevo León, Nuevo Santander, New Mexico, Texas, and Florida. To the Northwest came the Jesuits, who, after withdrawing from Florida, worked especially in Sinaloa, Sonora, Chihuahua, Lower California, and Arizona. In 1767 the Jesuits were expelled from all Spanish America, and their places taken by the other orders. To Lower California came the Dominicans, to Alta California the Franciscans of the College of San Fernando, in the City of Mexico.

The missions, then, like the presidios, or garrisons, were characteristically and designedly frontier institutions, and it is as pioneer agencies that they must be studied. This is true whether they be considered from the religious, the political, or the social standpoint. As religious institutions they were designed to introduce the Faith among the heathen. Having done this, their function was to cease. Being designed for the frontier, they were intended to be temporary. As soon as his work was finished on one frontier, the missionary was expected to move on to another. In the theory of the law, within ten years each mission must be turned over to the secular clergy, and the common mission lands distributed among the Indians. But this law had been based on experience with the more advanced tribes of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. On the northern frontier, among the barbarian tribes, a longer period of tutelage was always found necessary.

The result, almost without fail, was a struggle over secularization, such as occurred in California. So long as the Indians were under the missionaries, their lands were secure from the land-grabber. The land-grabber always, therefore, urged the fulfillment of the ten-year law, just as the "squatters", the "sooners", and the "boomers" have always urged the opening of our Indian reservations. But the missionaries always knew the danger, and they always resisted secularization until their work was finished. Sooner or later, however, with the disappearance of frontier conditions, the missionary was expected to move on. His religious task was beside the soldier, *entre infieles*, in the outposts of civilization.

But the missionaries were not alone religious agents. Designedly in part, and incidentally in part, they were political and civilizing agents of a very positive sort, and as such they constituted a vital feature of Spain's pioneering system. From the standpoint of the Church, and as viewed by themselves, their principal work

was to spread the Faith, first, last, and always. To doubt this is to confess complete and disqualifying ignorance of the great mass of existing missionary correspondence, printed and unprinted, so fraught with unmistakable proofs of the religious zeal and devotion of the vast majority of the missionaries. It is quite true, as Engelhardt says, that they "came not as scientists, as geographers, as school-masters, nor as philanthropists, eager to uplift the people in a worldly sense, to the exclusion or neglect of the religious duties pointed out by Christ". But it is equally true, and greatly to their credit, that, incidentally from their own standpoint and designedly from that of the government, they were all these and more, and that to all these and other services they frequently and justly made claim, when they asked for government aid.

The missions, then, were agencies of the State as well as of the Church. They served not alone to Christianize the frontier, but also to aid in extending, holding, and civilizing it. Since Christianity was the basic element of European civilization, and since it was the acknowledged duty of the State to extend the Faith, the first task of the missionary, from the standpoint of both State and Church, was to convert the heathen. But neither the State nor the Church—nor the missionary himself—in Spanish dominions, considered the work of the mission as ending here. If the Indian were to become either a worthy Christian or a desirable subject, he must be disciplined in the rudiments of civilized life. The task of giving the discipline was likewise turned over to the missionary. Hence, the missions were designed to be not only Christian seminaries, but in addition were outposts for the control and training schools for the civilizing of the frontier.

Since they served the State, the missions were supported by the State. It is a patent fact, and scarcely needs demonstrating, that they were maintained to a very considerable extent by the royal treasury. The Franciscan missions of New Spain in the eighteenth century had four principal means of support. The annual stipends of the missionaries (the *sinodos*) were usually paid by the government. These *sinodos* varied in amount according to the remoteness of the missions, and on the northernmost frontier were usually \$450 for each missionary. In 1758, for example, the treasury of New Spain was annually paying *sinodos* for twelve Querétaran friars in Coahuila and Texas, six Jaliscans in Coahuila, eleven Zacatecans in Texas, ten Fernandinos in the Sierra Gorda, six Jaliscans in Nayarit, twenty-two Zacatecans in Nuevo León and Nueva Vizcaya, seventeen Zacatecans in Nuevo Santander, five

San Diegans in Sierra Gorda, and thirty-four friars of the Provincia del Santo Evangelio in New Mexico, or, in all, 123 friars, at an average of about 350 *pesos* each. This report did not include the Provincia de Campeche or the Yslas de Barlovento, for which separate reports had been asked. Other appropriations were made for missionaries in the Marianas and the Philippine Islands, dependencies of New Spain.

Besides the *sínodos*, the government regularly furnished the missionaries with military protection, by detaching from the near-by presidios from two to half a dozen or more soldiers for each mission. In addition, the royal treasury usually made an initial grant (*ayuda de costa*) of \$1000 to each mission, to pay for bells, vestments, tools, and other expenses of the founding, and in cases of emergency it frequently made special grants for building or other purposes.

These government subsidies did not preclude private gifts, or alms, which were often sought and secured. In the founding of new missions the older establishments were expected to give aid, and if able they did respond in liberal measure. And then there were endowments. The classic examples of private endowments on the northern frontier were the gifts of Don Pedro de Terreros, later Conde de Regla, who offered \$150,000 to found Apache missions in Coahuila and Texas, and the Jesuit Fondo Piadoso, or Pious Fund, of California. This latter fund, begun in 1697, grew by a variety of gifts to such an amount that the missions of Lower California were largely supported by the increase alone. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 the fund was taken over by the government, and became the principal means of support of the new Franciscan missions of Alta California, besides being devoted in part to secular purposes. Even in Alta California, however, the royal treasury paid the wages (*sueldos*) of the mission guards, and gave other financial aid.

Finally, the Indians of the missions were expected soon to become self-supporting, and, indeed, in many cases they did acquire large wealth through stock-raising and agricultural pursuits. But not a penny of this belonged to the missionaries, and the annual *sínodos*, or salaries, continued to be paid from other sources, from the Pious Fund in California, and from the royal treasury generally elsewhere.

While it is thus true that the missions were supported to a very considerable degree by the royal treasury, it is just as plain that the amount of government aid, and the ease with which it was secured,

depended largely upon the extent to which political ends could be combined with religious purposes.

The importance of political necessity in loosening the royal purse-strings is seen at every turn in the history of Spanish North America. Knowing the strength of a political appeal, the friars always made use of it in their requests for permission and aid. While the monarchs ever used pious phrases, and praised the work of the padres—without hypocrisy no doubt—the royal pocket-book was not readily opened to found new missions unless there was an important political as well as a religious object to be gained.

Striking examples of this fact are found in the histories of Texas and California. The missionaries of the northern frontier had long had their eyes on the "Kingdom of the Texas" as a promising field of labor, and had even appealed to the government for aid in cultivating it. But in vain, till La Salle planted a French colony at Matagorda Bay. Then the royal treasury was opened, and funds were provided for missions in eastern Texas. The French danger passed for the moment, and the missions were withdrawn. Then for another decade Father Hidalgo appealed in vain for funds and permission to re-establish the missions. But when St. Denis, agent of the French governor of Louisiana, intruded himself into Coahuila, the Spanish government at once gave liberal support for the refounding of the missions, to aid in restraining the French.

The case was the same for California. Since the time of Vizcaino the missionaries had clamored for aid and for permission to found missions at San Diego and Monterey. In 1620 Father Ascension, who had been with Vizcaino eighteen years before, wrote, "I do not know what security His Majesty can have in his conscience for delaying so long to send ministers of the Gospel to this realm of California", and, during the next century and a half, a hundred others echoed this admonition. But all to no purpose till the Russian Bear began to amble or to threaten to amble down the Pacific Coast. Then money was forthcoming—partly from the confiscated Pious Fund, it is true—and then missionaries were sent to help hold the country for the crown. On this point Father Engelhardt correctly remarks:

The missionaries, who generally offered to undergo any hardships in order to convert the Indians, appear to have been enlisted merely for the purpose of securing the territory for the Spanish king . . . [and] the Spanish government would not have sent ships and troops to the north-west if the Russians had not crept down the Pacific coast. . . .

The men who presumed to guide the destinies of Spain then, and,

as a rule ever since, cared not for the success of Religion or the welfare of its ministers except in so far as both could be used to promote political schemes.

In this last, I think, Father Engelhardt is too hard on the Spanish monarchs. Their pious professions were not pure hypocrisy. They were truly desirous of spreading the Faith. But they were terribly "hard up", and they had little means to support religious projects unless they served both political and religious ends.

The value of the missionaries as frontier agents was thus clearly recognized, and their services were thus consciously utilized by the government. In the first place, they were often the most useful of explorers and diplomatic agents. The unattended missionary could sometimes go unmolested, and without arousing suspicion and hostility, into districts where the soldier was not welcome, while by their education and their trained habits of thought they were the class best fitted to record what they saw and to report what should be done. For this reason they were often sent alone to explore new frontiers, or as peace emissaries to hostile tribes, or as chroniclers of expeditions led by others. Hence it is that the best of the diaries of early exploration in the Southwest—and, indeed, in most of America—were written by the missionaries.

As illustrations of this kind of frontier service on the part of the missionaries we have but to recall the example of Friar Marcos, who was sent by Viceroy Mendoza to seek the rumored "Seven Cities" in New Mexico; the rediscovery of that province, under the viceroy's patronage, by the party led by Fray Agustín Rodríguez; the expeditions of Father Larios, unattended, into Coahuila; the forty or more journeys of Father Kino across the deserts of Sonora, and his demonstration that California was a peninsula, not an island, as most men had thought; the part played by Kino in pacifying the revolt of the Pimas in 1695, and in making the frontier safe for settlers; the diplomatic errands of Fathers Calahorra and Ramírez, sent by the governors of Texas to the hostile northern tribes; the lone travels of Father Garcés, of two thousand miles or more, over the untrod trails, in Arizona, California, and New Mexico, seeking a better route to California; and the expedition of Fathers Domínguez and Escalante, pathfinders for an equal distance in and about the Great Basin between the Rockies and the Sierras.

The missions served also as a means of defense to the king's dominions. This explains why the government was more willing to support missions when the frontier needed defending than at other

times, as in the cases, already cited, of Texas and California. It is significant, too, in this connection, that the Real Hacienda, or Royal Fisc, charged the expenses for presidios and missions both to the same account, the Ramo de Guerra, or "War Fund". In a report for New Spain made in 1758 a treasury official casually remarked,

Presidios are erected and missions founded in *tierra firme* whenever it is necessary to defend conquered districts from the hostilities and invasions of warlike, barbarian tribes, and to plant and extend our Holy Faith, for which purposes *juntas de guerra y hacienda* are held.

It is indeed true that appropriations for missions were usually made and that permission to found missions was usually given in councils of war and finance.

The missionaries counteracted foreign influence among their neophytes, deterred them from molesting the interior settlements, and secured their aid in holding back more distant tribes. Nearly every army that was led from San Antonio, Texas, in the eighteenth century, against the hostile Apaches and Comanches, contained a strong contingent of mission Indians, who fought side by side with the Spaniards. Father Kino was relied upon by the military leaders of Sonora to obtain the aid of the Pimas, his beloved neophytes, in defense of the Sonora settlements. When he was assigned to California, in company with Salvatierra, the authorities of Sonora protested, on the ground that, through his influence over the natives, he was a better means of protection to the province than a whole company of soldiers. When a Spanish expedition was organized to attack the Apaches, Kino was sent ahead to arouse and enlist the Pima allies. When the Pimas put the Apaches to flight, it was Kino to whom they sent the count of the enemy's dead, recorded by notches on a pole; on the same occasion it was Kino who received the thanks of citizens and officials of the province; and, when doubt was expressed as to what the Pimas had accomplished, it was Kino who rode a hundred miles or more to count the scalps of the vanquished foe, as evidence with which to vindicate his Pima friends.

The very mission plants were even built and often served as fortresses, not alone for padres and neophytes, but for near-by settlers, too. Every well-built mission was ranged round a great court or patio, protected on all sides by the buildings, whose walls were sometimes eight feet thick. In hostile countries these buildings were themselves enclosed within massive protecting walls. In 1740 President Santa Ana wrote that Mission Valero, at San Antonio, Texas, was better able to withstand a siege than any

of the three presidios of the province. This of course was only a relative excellence. Twenty-two years later the same mission was surrounded by a wall, and over the gate was a tower, equipped with muskets, ammunition, and three cannon. At the same time the mission of San José (Texas) was called "a castle" which more than once had been proof against the Apaches.

Not only were the missionaries consciously utilized as political agents to hold the frontier but they often served, on their own motion, or with the co-operation of the secular authority, as "promoters" of the unoccupied districts. They sent home reports of the outlying tribes, of the advantages of obtaining their friendship, of the danger of foreign incursions, of the wealth and attractions of the country, and of the opportunities to extend the king's dominion. Frequently, indeed, they were called to Mexico, or even to Spain, to sit in the royal councils, where their expert opinions often furnished the primary basis of a decision to occupy a new outpost. As examples of this, near at home, we have but to recall Escobar, Benavides, and Ayeta of New Mexico, Massanet, Hidalgo, and Santa Ana of Texas, Kino of Lower California, and Serra of Alta California. Thus consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, with or without secular initiative, the missionaries served as most active promoters, one might even call them "boosters", of the frontier.

But the missionaries helped not only to extend and hold and promote the frontier; more significantly still, they helped to civilize it. And this is the keynote of my theme. Spain possessed high ideals, but she had peculiar difficulties to contend with. She laid claim to the lion's share of the two Americas, but her population was small and little of it could be spared to people the New World. On the other hand, her colonial policy, equalled in humanitarian principles by that of no other country, perhaps, looked to the preservation of the natives, and to their elevation to at least a limited citizenship. Lacking Spaniards to colonize the frontier, she would colonize it with the aborigines. Such an ideal called not only for the subjugation and control of the natives, but for their civilization as well. To bring this end about the rulers of Spain again made use of the religious and humanitarian zeal of the missionaries, choosing them to be to the Indians not only preachers, but also teachers and disciplinarians. To the extent that this work succeeded it became possible to people the frontier with civilized natives, and thus to supply the lack of colonists. This desire was quite in harmony with the religious aims of the friars, who found temporal discipline indispensable to the best work of Christianization.

Hence it is that in the Spanish system—as distinguished from the French, for example—the essence of the mission was the *discipline*, religious, moral, social, and industrial, which it afforded. The very physical arrangement of the mission was determined with a view to discipline. The central feature of every successful mission was the Indian village, or pueblo. The settled tribes, such as the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, or the Pimas of Arizona, could be instructed in their native towns, but wandering and scattered tribes must be assembled and established in pueblos, and kept there, by force if necessary. The reason why the missions of eastern Texas failed was that the Indians refused to settle in pueblos, and without more soldiers than were available it was impossible to control them. It was on this question that Father Serra split with Governor Neve regarding the Santa Barbara Indians in California. To save expense for soldiers, Neve urged that the friars should minister to the Indians in their native rancherías. But the missionaries protested that by this arrangement the Indians could not be disciplined. The plan was given up therefore, and instead the Indians were congregated in great pueblos at San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara. Thus, the pueblo was essential to the mission, as it had been to the *encomienda*.

Discipline called for control, and this was placed largely in the hands of the missionaries. The rule was two friars for each mission, but in many instances there was only one. The need of more was often urged.

As a symbol of force, and to afford protection for missionaries and mission Indians, as well as to hold the frontier against savages and foreigners, presidios, or garrisons, were established near by. And thus, across the continent, from San Agustín to San Francisco, stretched a long and slender line of presidios—San Agustín, Apalache, Pensacola, Los Adaes, La Bahía, San Antonio, San Juan Bautista, Rio Grande, San Sabá, El Paso, Santa Fé, Janos, Fronteras, Terrenate, Tubac, Altár, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco—a line more than twice as long as the Rhine-Danube frontier held by the Romans, from whom Spain learned her lesson in frontier defense.

To assist the missionaries in their work of disciplining and instructing the neophytes, each mission was usually provided with two or more soldiers from the nearest presidio. To help in recovering runaways—for the Indians frequently did abscond—special detachments of soldiers were furnished. The impression is often given that the missionaries objected to the presence of soldiers at the mis-

sions, but as a rule the case was quite the contrary. What they did object to was unsuitable soldiers, and outside interference in the selection and control of the guard. It is true, indeed, that immoral or insubordinate soldiers were deemed a nuisance, and that since the presidials were largely half-breeds—mestizoes or mulattoes—and often jailbirds at that, this type was all too common. But in general military aid was demanded, and complaint of its inadequacy was constantly made. On this point the testimony of Fray Romualdo Cartagena, guardian of the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, is valid. In a report made in 1772, still in manuscript, he wrote,

What gives these missions their permanency is the aid which they receive from the Catholic arms. Without them pueblos are frequently abandoned, and ministers are murdered by the barbarians. It is seen every day that in missions where there are no soldiers there is no success, for the Indians, being children of fear, are more strongly appealed to by the glistening of the sword than by the voice of five missionaries. Soldiers are necessary to defend the Indians from the enemy, and to keep an eye on the mission Indians, now to encourage them, now to carry news to the nearest presidio in case of trouble. For the spiritual and temporal progress of the missions two soldiers are needed, for the Indians cannot be trusted, especially in new conversions.

This is the testimony of missionaries themselves. That protection was indeed necessary is shown by the martyrdom of missionaries on nearly every frontier—of Father Segura and his entire band of Jesuits in Virginia in 1570; of Father Saeta in Sonora; of Fathers Ganzábal, Silva, Terreros, and Santiesteban in Texas; of Fathers Carranco and Tamaral in Lower California; of Father Luis Jayme at San Diego (Alta California); of Father Garcés and his three companions at Yuma, on the Colorado; and of the twenty-one Franciscans in the single uprising in New Mexico in 1680. But these martyrdoms were only occasional, and the principal business of the soldiers was to assist the missionaries in disciplining and civilizing the savages.

As teachers, and as an example to new converts, it was the custom to place in each new mission three Indian families from the older missions. After a time the families might return to their homes. As Father Romualdo remarked: "It is all the better if these families be related to the new, for this insures the permanence of the latter in the missions, while if they do flee it is easier to recover them by means of their relatives than through strangers."

Notable among the Indians utilized as teachers and colonists in the northern missions were the Tlascaltecs, of Tlascala, the native city of Mexico made famous by Prescott. Having been subdued

by Cortés, the Tlascaltecs became the most trusted supporters of the Spaniards, as they had been the most obstinate foes of the "Triple Alliance", and, after playing an important part in the conquest of the Valley of Mexico, they became a regular factor in the extension of Spanish rule over the north country. Thus, when San Luis Potosí had been conquered, colonies of Tlascaltecs were set to teach the more barbarous natives of that district both loyalty to the Spaniards and the elements of civilization. In Saltillo a large colony of Tlascaltecs was established by Urdiñola at the end of the sixteenth century, and became the mother colony from which numerous offshoots were planted at the new missions and villages further north. At one time a hundred families of Tlascaltecs were ordered sent to Pensacola; in 1755, they figured in the plans for a missionary colony on the Trinity River, in Texas; two years later a little band of them were sent to the San Sabá mission in western Texas to assist in civilizing the Apaches; and twenty years afterward it was suggested that a settlement, with these people as a nucleus, be established far to the north, on the upper Red River, among the Wichita Indians of Texas and Oklahoma. To help in civilizing the mission Indians of Jalisco, Sinaloa, and Sonora, the Tarascans of Michoacán were utilized; further north, the Opatas, of southern Sonora, were sent into Arizona as teachers of the Pimas; to help in civilizing the Indians of California, Serra brought mission Indians from the Peninsula.

Discipline and the elements of European civilization were imparted at the missions through religious instruction, through industrial training, and, among more advanced natives, by means of rudimentary teaching in arts and letters.

Every mission was, in the first place, a Christian seminary, designed to give religious discipline. Religious instruction, of the elementary sort suited to the occasion, was imparted by a definite routine, based on long experience, and administered with much practical sense and regard for local conditions.

Aside from the fundamental cultural concepts involved in Christianity, this religious instruction in itself involved a most important means of assimilation. By the laws of the Indies the missionaries were enjoined to instruct the neophytes in their native tongues, and in the colleges and seminaries professorships were established to teach them. But it was found that, just as the natives lacked the concepts, the Indian languages lacked the terms in which properly to convey the meaning of the Christian doctrine. Moreover, on some frontiers there were so many dialects that it was impossible for the friars to learn them. This was pre-eminently true of the

lower Rio Grande region, where there were over two hundred dialects, more than twenty of which were quite distinct. On this point Father Ortiz wrote in 1745:

The ministers who have learned some language of the Indians of these missions assert that it is impossible to compose a catechism in their idiom, because of the lack of terms in which to explain matters of Faith, and the best informed interpreters say the same. There are as many languages as there are tribes, which in these missions aggregate more than two hundred. . . . Although they mingle and understand each other to some extent, there are twenty languages used commonly by the greater number of the tribes. And since they are new to us, and there are no schools in which to learn them, and since the Fathers are occupied with ministering to the spiritual and temporal needs of the Indians, and in recovering those who flee, the Fathers can hardly be held blameworthy for not learning the native languages.

For these reasons, on the northern frontier instruction was usually given in Spanish, through interpreters at first, and directly as soon as the Indians learned the language of the friars. In the case of children, who were the chief consideration, this was quickly done. And thus incidentally a long step toward assimilation was accomplished, for we all know the importance of language in the fusing of races and cultures. The firmness of the hold of the Spanish language upon any land touched by Spain, however lightly, has often been noted. It was partly, or even largely, due to this teaching of the native children at the missions.

The routine of religious discipline established by the Franciscans in the missions taken over from the Jesuits in Sonora, in 1767, was typical of all the Franciscan missions, and was not essentially different from that of the other orders. It was described by Father Reyes, later Bishop Reyes, as follows:

Every day at sunrise the bells call the Indians to Mass. An old Indian, commonly called *mador*, and two *fiscales*, go through the whole pueblo, requiring all children and unmarried persons to go to the church, to take part in the devotion and silence of the Mass. This over, they repeat in concert, in Spanish, with the minister, the prayers and the Creed. At sunset this exercise is repeated at the door of the church, and is concluded with saying the rosary and chanting the *salve* or the *alavado*. The *mador* and the *fiscales* are charged, on Sundays and feast days, to take care to require all men, women, and children to be present at Mass, with their poor clothes clean, and all washed and combed.

The very act of going to church, then, involved a lesson in the amenities of civilization. There was virtue then as now in putting on one's "Sunday clothes".

On these days [Father Reyes continues] Mass is chanted with harps, violins [all played by the natives], and a choir of from four to six [native] men and women. In Lent all have been required to go to Mass daily. . . .

On Palm Sunday, at the head missions (*cabeceras*), that feast is observed with an image and processions. After Easter, censuses are made to ascertain what ones have complied with the Church. In the first years it seemed impossible to us missionaries to vanquish the rudeness of the Indians, and the difficulties of making them confess, and of administering communion. But lately all the young men and some of the old have confessed. In the principal pueblos, where the missionaries reside, many attend the sacraments on feast days. On the Day of Santa María the rosary is sung through the pueblo. On other occasions they are permitted to have balls, diversions, and innocent games. But because they have attempted to prohibit superstitious balls and the scalp dance, the missionaries have encountered strong opposition from the [secular] superiors of the province, who desire to let the Indians continue these excesses.

They contributed, no doubt, to the war spirit, and thus to the defense of the province against the Apaches.

If the mission was a Christian seminary, it was scarcely less an industrial training school. Father Engelhardt writes:

It must be remembered that the friars came to California as messengers of Christ. They were not farmers, mechanics, or stock breeders. Those who, perhaps, had been engaged in such pursuits, had abandoned them for the higher occupation of the priest of God, and they had no desire to be further entangled in worldly business. In California, however [and he might have added, quite generally] the messengers of the Gospel had to introduce, teach, and supervise those very arts, trades, and occupations, before they could expect to make any headway with the truths of salvation. . . . As an absolutely necessary means to win the souls of the savages, these unworldly men accepted the disagreeable task of conducting huge farms, teaching and supervising various mechanical trades, having an eye on the livestock and herders, and making ends meet generally.

The civilizing function of the typical Spanish mission, where the missionaries had charge of the temporalities as well as of the spiritualities, was evident from the very nature of the mission plant. While the church was ever the centre of the establishment, and the particular object of the minister's pride and care, it was by no means the larger part. Each fully developed mission was a great industrial school, of which the largest, as in California, sometimes managed more than 2000 Indians. There were weaving rooms, blacksmith shop, tannery, wine-press, and warehouses; there were irrigating ditches, vegetable gardens, and grain fields; and on the ranges roamed thousands of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. Training in the care of fields and stock not only made the neophytes self-supporting, but afforded the discipline necessary for the rudiments of civilized life. The women were taught to cook, sew, spin, and weave; the men to fell the forest, build, run the forge, tan leather, make ditches, tend cattle, and shear sheep.

Even in New Mexico, where the missionaries were not in charge of the temporalities—that is, of the economic interests of the Indians—and where the Indians had a well-established native agriculture, the friars were charged with their instruction in the arts and crafts, as well as with their religious education. And when the custodian, Father Benavides—later Bishop of Goa—wrote in 1630, after three decades of effort by the friars in that province, he was able to report fourteen monasteries, serving fifty-odd pueblos, each with its school, where the Indians were all taught not only to sing, play musical instruments, read, and write, but, as Benavides puts it, “all the trades and polite deportment”, all imparted by “the great industry of the Religious who converted them”.

In controlling, supervising, and teaching the Indians, the friars were assisted by the soldier guards, who served as *mayor domos* of the fields, of the cattle and horse herds, of the sheep and goat ranches, and of the shops. In the older missions, even among the most backward tribes, it sometimes became possible to dispense with this service, as at San Antonio, Texas, where, it was reported in 1772, the Indians, once naked savages who lived on cactus apples and cotton-tail rabbits, had become so skilled and trustworthy that “without the aid of the Spaniards they harvest, from irrigated fields, maize, beans, and cotton in plenty, and Castilian corn for sugar. There are cattle, sheep, and goats in abundance”, all being the product of the care and labor of the natives.

The results of this industrial training at the missions were to be seen in the imposing structures that were built, the fertile farms that were tilled, and the great stock ranches that were tended, by erstwhile barbarians, civilized under the patient discipline of the missionaries, assisted by soldier guards and imported Indian teachers, not in our Southwest alone, but on nearly every frontier of Spanish America.

The missionaries transplanted to the frontiers and made known to the natives almost every conceivable domestic plant and animal of Europe. By requiring the Indians to work three days a week at community tasks, the Jesuits in Pimería Alta—to give a particular illustration—established at all the missions flourishing ranches of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats, and opened fields and gardens for the cultivation of a vast variety of food plants. Kino wrote in 1710 of the Jesuit missions of Sonora and Arizona,

There are already thrifty and abundant fields . . . of wheat, maize, frijoles, chickpeas, beans, lentils, bastard chickpeas (*garabanzas*), etc. There are orchards, and in them vineyards for wine for the Masses; and fields of sweet cane for syrup and panocha, and with the favor of Heaven, before long, for sugar. There are many Castilian fruit trees,

such as figs, quinces, oranges, pomegranates, peaches, apricots, pears, apples, mulberries, etc., and all sorts of garden stuff, such as cabbage, lettuce, onions, garlic, anise, pepper, mustard, mint, etc.

Other temporal means [he continues] are the plentiful ranches, which are already stocked with cattle, sheep, and goats, many droves of mares, horses, and pack animals, mules as well as horses, for transportation and commerce, and very fat sheep, producing much tallow, suet, and soap, which is already manufactured in abundance.

An illustration of some of the more moderate material results is to be had in the following description of the four Querétaran missions in Texas, based on an official report made in 1762.

Besides the church, each mission had its *convento*, or monastery, including cells for the friars, porter's lodge, refectory, kitchen, offices, workshops, and granary, usually all under a common roof and ranged round a *patio*. At San Antonio de Valero the *convento* was a two-story structure fifty *varas* square with two *patios* and with arched cloisters above and below. The others were similar.

An important part of each mission was the workshop, for here the neophytes not only helped to supply their economic needs, but got an important part of their training for civilized life. At each of these four missions the Indians manufactured *mantas*, *terlingas*, *sayales*, *rebozos*, *frezadas*, and other common fabrics of wool and cotton. At Mission San Antonio the workshop contained four looms, and two store-rooms with cotton, wool, cards, spindles, etc. At Concepción and San Francisco there were three looms each.

The neophytes of each mission lived in an Indian village, or pueblo, closely connected with the church and monastery. Of those of the four Querétaran missions we have the fullest description of the pueblo at Mission San Antonio de Valero. It consisted of seven rows of houses built of stone, with arched porticoes, doors, and windows. There was a plaza through which ran a water-ditch, grown with willows and fruit trees. Within the plaza was a curbed well, to supply water in case of a siege by the enemy. The pueblo was surrounded by a wall, and over the gate was a tower, with embrasures, and equipped with three cannon, firearms, and ammunition. The houses were furnished with high beds, chests, metates, pots, kettles, and other domestic utensils. The pueblo of San Antonio was typical of all.

Agricultural and stock-raising activities had increased since 1745. At the four Querétaran missions there were now grazing 4897 head of cattle, 12,000 sheep and goats, and about 1600 horses, and each mission had from thirty-seven to fifty yoke of working oxen. Of the four missions San Francisco raised the most stock, having 2262 head of cattle and 4000 sheep and goats. Each mission had its

ranch, some distance away, where the stock was kept, with one or more stone houses, occupied by the families of the overseers; the necessary corrals, farming implements, and carts; and tools for carpentry, masonry, and blacksmithing. Each mission had well-tilled fields, fenced in and watered by good irrigating ditches, with stone dams. In these fields maize, chile, beans, and cotton were raised in abundance, and in the *huertas* a large variety of garden truck.

This picture of the Texas missions is interesting, but in magnitude the establishments described are not to be compared with those in Paraguay or even in California, where, in 1834, on the eve of the destruction of the missions, 31,000 mission Indians at twenty-one missions herded 396,000 cattle, 62,000 horses, and 321,000 hogs, sheep, and goats, and harvested 123,000 bushels of grain, and where corresponding skill and industry were shown by the neophytes in orchard, garden, wine-press, loom, shop, and forge.

The laws of the Indies even prescribed and the missions provided a school for self-government, elementary and limited, it is true, but germane and potential nevertheless. This was effected by organizing the Indians of the missions into a pueblo, with civil and military officers, modelled upon the Spanish administration. When the mission was founded the secular head of the district—governor, captain, or alcalde—as representative of the king, formally organized the pueblo, appointed the native officers, and gave title to the four-league grant of land. In constituting the native government, wisdom dictated that use should be made of the existing Indian organization, natives of prestige being given the important offices. Thereafter the civil officers were chosen by a form of native election, under the supervision of the missionary, and approved by the secular head of the jurisdiction.

The civil officers were usually a governor, captain, alcaldes, and alguacil, who by law constituted a cabildo, or council. The military officers were a captain or a *teniente*, and subalterns, and were appointed by the secular head, or by a native captain-general subject to approval by the secular head. The military officers had their own insignia, and, to give them prestige, separate benches were placed in the churches for the governor, alcalde, and council. In Sonora there was a *topil*, whose duty was to care for the community houses—a sort of free hostelry, open to all travellers, which seems to have been of native rather than of Spanish origin. The Indians had their own jail, and inflicted minor punishments, prescribed by the minister. Indian overseers kept the laborers at their work and, indeed, much of the task of controlling the Indians was effected through Indian officers themselves. Of course it was the directing

force of the padres and the restraining force of the near-by presidio which furnished the ultimate pressure.

This pueblo government was established among the more advanced tribes everywhere, and it succeeded in varying degrees. It was often a cause for conflict of jurisdiction, and in California, where the natives were of the most barbarous, it was strongly opposed by the missionaries. It has been called a farce, but it certainly was not so intended. It was not self-government any more than is student government in a primary school. But it was a means of control, and was a step toward self-government. It is one of the things, moreover, which help to explain how two missionaries and three or four soldiers could make an orderly town out of two or three thousand savages recently assembled from divers and sometimes mutually hostile tribes. So deeply was it impressed upon the Indians of New Mexico that some of them yet maintain their Spanish pueblo organization, and by it still govern themselves, extra-legally. And, I am told, in some places even in California, the descendants of the mission Indians still keep up the pueblo organization as a sort of fraternity, or secret society.

In these ways, then, did the missions serve as frontier agencies of Spain. As their first and primary task, the missionaries spread the Faith. But in addition, designedly or incidentally, they explored the frontiers, promoted their occupation, defended them and the interior settlements, taught the Indians the Spanish language, and disciplined them in good manners, in the rudiments of European crafts, of agriculture, and even of self-government. Moreover, the missions were a force which made for the preservation of the Indians, as opposed to their destruction, so characteristic of the Anglo-American frontier. In the English colonies the only good Indians were dead Indians. In the Spanish colonies it was thought worth while to improve the natives for this life as well as for the next. Perhaps the missions did not, in every respect, represent a twentieth-century ideal. Sometimes, and to some degree, they failed, as has every human institution. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that of the millions of half-castes living south of us, the grandparents, in a large proportion of cases, at some generation removed, on one side or the other, were once mission Indians, and as such learned the elements of Spanish civilization. For these reasons, as well as for unfeigned religious motives, the missions received the royal support. They were a conspicuous feature of Spain's frontieriing genius.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

THE HISTORY OF GERMAN SOCIALISM RECONSIDERED

IN 1848 Marx and Engels published the Communist Manifesto, that "birth-cry of modern Socialism" which, by its strident appeals to the demons of Revolution and proletarian Internationalism, was well calculated to affright divine-right monarchs and to terrify all respectable well-to-do bourgeois. "You have nothing to lose but your chains", cried the prophets of the new and awful dispensation: "you have a world to win; workingmen of *all* countries, *unite!*" In 1914 the German disciples of the Communist gospel, more numerous by far than their comrades in any other country, stood staunchly loyal to Kaiser as well as to Fatherland, and voted taxes and gave their lives, seemingly in perfect concord with the titled nobility and the wealthy middle class, in order that victory in a huge world-war should be wrested by Germans from other nationalities, even from the workingmen of other nationalities; of internationalism, so emphasized in 1848, they now said little, and of revolution, revolt, or rebellion, they breathed not a word. Yet the attitude of the German Social Democrats in 1914, far from being determined on the spur of the moment by frenzy or absence of thought, was in fact conditioned quite rationally by certain developments in the evolution of German Socialism since 1848. It is the intent of this paper to reconsider the history of the German Social Democratic movement in a new light, in the light of the present world-conflagration, and to present certain facts which, although they have escaped popular attention, may afford an illuminating commentary on the gradual elimination of the tactics and policies that in an earlier day had made German Social Democracy feared and hated and thoroughly disreputable.¹

It is not without significance that organized Socialism in Germany is hardly older than the ministry of Bismarck. It stepped into the political arena at a time when violent revolutionary republicanism had been discredited and when the ablest and most forceful Prussian Junker was already in the saddle with his baggage of a more or less benevolent Hohenzollern paternalism. There was no

¹ Of the standard histories of the German Social Democracy, the best are Franz Mehring's *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (1897-1898, 2 vols.), and Edgar Milhaud's *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande* (1903).

tradition in Germany of successful revolution, such as had been firmly established in France by the events of 1789, 1830, and 1848. From its first formal appearance, German Socialism was less revolutionary than evolutionary.

At first glance the happenings of 1848 might seem to disprove this thesis. Was not the revolutionary movement of 1848 attended in Germany by a lively agitation among the working classes? Were not the *Bund der Gerechten* and the *Arbeiterverbrüderung* true precursors of Socialism? Upon closer scrutiny, however, the revolution of 1848 reveals itself as an essentially middle-class uprising, in which outbreaks of violence among the workingmen for the most part bore a closer resemblance to riots than to organized revolution. Germany in 1848, let it ever be remembered, was even more unripe for a Socialist revolution than for a democratic and national one. Industrial development, the spread of the factory system and the growth of cities—the very stuff from which Marxian socialism has always been fashioned—was much more backward in Germany than in England or in France; urban wage-earners were relatively few and impotent. What workers there were, moreover, were imbued with the petty bourgeois spirit and, worse still from the standpoint of revolution, to some extent actually with the spirit of the medieval guilds.

Only a comparatively small minority of the German workers had grasped the revolutionary mission of the working class. If they everywhere fought in the front rank of the advanced parties; if, wherever they could, they tried to urge on the middle-class democracy, they paid the cost of all this in their own person. The Communists of 1848 fell on the barricades, on the battle-field of Baden; they filled the prisons, or they were obliged, when the reaction triumphed all along the line, to go into exile, where a large number of them died in misery.²

Great economic prosperity in 1850 not only bolstered up the tottering thrones of central Europe but also snuffed out the last flickering flames of the workingmen's agitation of the period. The governments soon felt themselves strong enough to dissolve all revolutionary organizations, and, on the motion of Prussia and Austria, the Bundestag in 1854 decreed that all the federated states must suppress every workingmen's society or fraternity which pursued political, socialist, or communist ends. Not only did the revolutionary movement of 1848–1849 mean for German Socialists the loss of their leaders and the dissolution of their organizations, but it likewise left in their minds an ineradicable distrust of violence as a means of realizing their ends. Marx and Engels perceived

² Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer* (1893), pp. 4–5.

the signs of the new era and on the eve of their expulsion from Germany published a gloss on their gospel of 1848, a gloss to which their German disciples attached, as time went on, an ever greater reverence and authority.

In the universal prosperity of the present time [wrote Marx and Engels in 1850], when the productive forces of bourgeois society are developing as luxuriantly as is possible under bourgeois conditions, *there can be no question of an effective revolution*. Such a revolution is possible only in periods when the two factors of modern productive force and bourgeois productive methods are in conflict with each other.³

In the Karl Marx of 1850 is an almost pessimistic fatalism in sharp contrast to the romantic enthusiasm of a Ledru-Rollin, a Mazzini, or a Kossuth.

When, more than a decade later, almost synchronizing with the advent of Bismarck to power in Prussia, the workingmen's agitation was resumed, the chief legacy of reborn German Socialism from the days of 1848-1849 was a horror of violence. No more incitements to immediate revolution came from the people's apostles. The foremost leaders had, temporarily at least, turned from dangerous propaganda to scholarly exegesis. Marx published his *Critique of Political Economy* in 1859 and forthwith set to work on his masterpiece *Das Capital*; Lassalle's *System of Acquired Rights* appeared in 1861. In the meantime, the middle-class German liberals were rapidly substituting England for France as the model for their programme and their methods. The *Fortschrittspartei*, organized in June, 1861, soon comprised the bulk of Prussian liberals under the leadership of such men as Karl Twesten, Eduard Lasker, and Rudolf Virchow; and when, in the elections of November, 1861, the new party gained complete control of the House of Representatives, a most gracious springtime for the people seemed close at hand; as Bernstein has remarked, "it promised the rose without the thorns". Everything would now come off in the most approved parliamentary style. The party of progress would utilize the pending questions of military reform and the budget in order to compel the government both to accept the doctrine of ministerial responsibility and to respect the constitutional guarantees of personal liberties. Should the government oppose the lawfully-elected deputies, then the Progressive majority would hold up supplies until such time as the government would be disgraced and obliged to retire. But above all, no violence! Only a quiet, pacifistic, idyllic parliamentary pressure!

³ "Revue von Mai bis Oktober 1850", *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, V. and VI. 153 (1850). Quoted by Engels in his introduction to *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln* (1885), p. 15.

Besides, the Progressives in their sympathetic study of English institutions and precedents had hit upon a happily peaceful way of solving the social and economic problems of the day. If they could consecrate Prussia to "liberty"—liberty of trade, liberty of contract, liberty of association, liberty of education, liberty of self-help—they would wean the workingmen from socialistic Utopias and win them to a proper respect for law and order and individual rights, not the least of which was the right of private property. Like their English contemporaries, these Prussian liberals were not simon-pure democrats: as well-to-do middle-class people, they themselves were entrenched in the three-class electoral system of their country and could see no good reason for introducing a universal manhood suffrage which might imperil their majority in the House of Representatives and endanger glorious "liberty", especially since the workingmen, to enjoy the blessings of this liberty, had no need of the ballot. The workers had no need of direct parliamentary representation; the Progressives were their benevolent if self-constituted champions. When a group of workers humbly petitioned for full membership in the party, the magnanimous but hardly satisfactory reply was vouchsafed that "all workers might consider *honorary* membership as their birthright".

The magnanimity of the liberal leaders was not convincing to all the workers. There were some who suspected that "liberty" of the middle-class variety might not prove a panacea for long hours, small wages, and miserable factory and tenement conditions. It was before a group of these doubters and upon their invitation that Ferdinand Lassalle in 1862 delivered his lectures on the "Workers' Programme" (*Arbeiterprogramm*) and "What now?" (*Was nun?*). He confirmed their suspicions and strengthened their doubts. And thenceforth the issue was squarely joined between the middle-class Progressives and the Socialist followers of Lassalle.

Lassalle's following was never numerous. Although he was a brilliant speaker and writer, fired with the most ardent enthusiasm, tireless in travel and propaganda, and possessed in no small degree of organizing ability, he was unable to awaken the bulk of the German working class to any appreciation of the rôle which it might conceivably play in the national, political, and social life of Germany; and *Der Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein*, which Lassalle formed in 1863 and over which he exercised practically dictatorial powers, numbered at his death on August 31, 1864, fewer than five thousand adherents. Nevertheless, it is from this General Association of German Workingmen that the present-day German Social

Democracy is derived in unbroken apostolic succession, and, as I hope to show, the "deposit of faith and morals" delivered by the Master Lassalle during his brief ministry to a mere handful of rather ignorant and poverty-stricken German workers (many of them of Jewish extraction) has been preserved jealously and zealously—one might almost say superstitiously—for the guidance and inspiration of some four and a quarter million German voters (1912). The real beginning of German Social Democracy dates from Lassalle's "Open Reply Letter" (*Offenes Antwort-Schreiben*) of 1863 rather than from the "Communist Manifesto" launched by Marx and Engels in 1848.

What was the essence of the gospel according to Lassalle? In the first place, it dogmatized the popular conviction that force and violence could not materially further any radical cause. Lassalle despised the French Revolution of 1789 as a compromising bourgeois revolution. He thought the German failure of 1848 only natural. Under the spell of Fichte and Hegel, he held in common with Marx and Engels that historical evolution (*Entwicklung*) is gradual and is determined by changing economic conditions, but, truer to Hegel and Fichte than Marx and Engels had been, he extolled the State as an eternal, unchanging concept, an end in itself. In this sense he quoted a passage from an address of Boeckh's in which the celebrated antiquarian appealed from the "State-Concept of Liberalism", the passive-policeman idea, to the "antique civilization" (*Kultur*) which had become once and for all the inalienable foundation of the German mind and which had given birth to the notion that the concept of the State must be so far enlarged that "the State shall be the institution in which the whole virtue of mankind shall realize itself".⁴ "The immemorial vestal fire of all civilization, the State, I defend with you against those modern barbarians" (*i. e.*, the Progressives of Prussia), he exclaimed to the judges of the Berlin *Kammergericht* in his speech on "Indirect Taxation".⁵ So ideological did he make his concept of the State that he instilled into the workers a semi-mystical reverence for even the active-policeman Prussian State of his own day. In this respect a most literal Hegelian, he never uttered any of the ambiguities which characterized Marx and Engels. The one thing which he held in common with the Progressives was an abhorrence of violence.

⁴ The clearest statement of Lassalle's idea of the State and of his repugnance to violent revolution is to be found in the *Arbeiterprogramm* (ed. Bernstein), II. 9-50 (1893), although all his writings are impregnated with the same idea and the same repugnance.

⁵ *Die Indirekte Steuer* (ed. Bernstein), II. 388 (1893).

A second note of Lassalle's gospel was an unwavering belief in the inevitability and desirability of political democracy. Here he was one with the British Chartists. He wished redress of workingmen's grievances; he championed productive co-operative societies as the goal of social reform. But in his opinion co-operative societies and redress of grievances could come only by means of state aid and state action, and the assistance of the State would be forthcoming only when a class-conscious proletariat should become a political force, and the only way in which the proletarians could exert direct and commanding influence would be through universal manhood suffrage. To the very end Lassalle held fast to his conviction that the demands of the General Association of German Workingmen should be limited to this one point: "Universal suffrage in order to obtain state help for productive co-operative societies".⁶

When Lassalle preached his simple gospel, Prussia, it must be remembered, was in the throes of a desperate constitutional conflict. On one side was the Conservative government, headed since September, 1862, by Bismarck, backed by the Junkers and lauded by the Evangelical clergy, a government determined not only to effect thoroughgoing military reforms but also to safeguard the ideals of von Gerlach⁷ and the *Kreuz Zeitung*—the Christian State, divine-right monarchy, "historic rights", benevolent and bureaucratic paternalism, invocation of the God of Might. On the other side was the Progressive majority in the House of Representatives, whose ideal of monarchy was much nearer to the traditions of the British Hanoverians and of the French Orleanists than to those of the Prussian Hohenzollerns, and whose ideal of economic society approximated that of the Manchester school rather than that of Hegel or of Fichte; their immediate programme was, of course, to assure "liberty" to the individual and constitutional parliamentary government to Prussia. Had all the forces opposed to Bismarck and his Conservative régime been able to co-operate, the outcome of the struggle might have been quite different. But, as has often happened, divisions among its opponents and mutual recriminations between their camps proved a veritable godsend to the government. The Progressives distrusted if they did not despise the Socialist workingmen. Lassalle hit back manfully; he

⁶ Cf. the *Offenes Antwort-Schreiben* (ed. Bernstein), II. 409-445 (1893).

⁷ Ernst Ludwig v. Gerlach (1795-1877), the great intellectual proponent of German Conservatism. Cf. the *Aufzeichnungen aus seinem Leben und Wirken* (ed. Jakob v. Gerlach, 1903, 2 vols.).

taught his followers to hate the Progressives and to give free expression to their hatred.⁸

Enough has been said to make clear how fundamental and how natural were the divergences between Lassalle and the Progressives. Lassalle styled the Progressives a "clique" and inveighed against "a Louis-Philippe monarchy created by the bourgeoisie".⁹ To Karl Marx the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat was part of an elaborate epic economic *theory*; to Ferdinand Lassalle it was rather the precise, definite political *fact* of the fight between the Prussian Progressives and his own Workingmen's Association. Marx, in order to subdue the bourgeoisie, would have the proletariat make no terms whatsoever with the landed aristocracy and other supports of a conservative society which to him represented but an anachronistic survival of an older economic struggle. Lassalle, on the other hand, for reasons of practical politics in Germany, found himself gradually impelled into Conservative or quasi-Conservative lanes and by-ways. He could see good points in what the English have termed "Tory Socialism" more clearly than in middle-class liberalism; and many of his utterances must have been as pleasing to Bismarck as they were angering to the Progressives. He insisted that in the pending constitutional conflict the Prussian Conservative government could not and should not yield to "the clique", but he suggested that

it might well call the people upon the scene and trust to them. To do this, it need but call to mind the origin of the monarchy, for all monarchy has originally been monarchy of the people. . . . A Louis-Philippe monarchy certainly could not do this; but a monarchy that still stands as kneaded out of its original dough, leaning upon the hilt of the sword, might quite certainly do this if it determined to pursue truly great, national, and democratic aims.¹⁰

Though Eduard Bernstein, the foremost authority on matters Lassallean, has assailed the usually accepted idea of Lassalle's intense nationalism,¹¹ the fact remains, nevertheless, that Bismarck in the pursuit of his foreign policy would have found a more loyal equerry in the leader of the Association of German Workingmen than in any member of the parliamentary majority. Lassalle ardently desired the political unification of Germany and perceived

⁸ Lassalle set the pace in his vindictive *Herr Bastiat-Schulze von Delitzsch, der Oekonomische Julian, oder Kapital und Arbeit* (January, 1864).

⁹ *Der Hochverraths-Prozess wider Ferd. Lassalle vor dem Staatsgerichtshof zu Berlin am 12. März 1864* (ed. Bernstein), II, 743-830 (1893).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer*.

readily that real unity could be obtained only by the arms of Prussia and the exclusion of Austria. As early as 1859, in a brochure on the Italian War,¹² he unfolded the plan which Bismarck was to execute seven years later. Possibly at some future date unified Germany might be transformed peaceably into a national republican state, but in the meantime the domination of Prussia would be essential. This power, reactionary *par excellence*, was called to be the instrument for national union and for the emancipation of the working class, and that, through social royalty and state socialism.

Without attempting to give a comprehensive view of Lassalle's career,¹³ it has seemed worth while to dwell at some length upon certain features of his work which were destined for a long while to influence the German Social Democrats. Particularly, his policy of combating the liberal bourgeoisie and of coquetting with the court was maintained in full vigor by Jean Baptista von Schweitzer, the president of the party from 1864 to 1872 and editor of the *Sozialdemokrat*, the official organ of the movement. Schweitzer, like Lassalle, believed that if Bismarck could be prevailed upon to utilize the lower classes as a counterpoise to the obstreperous middle-class Progressives, the king out of the plenitude of his royal grace and benevolence might freely grant the fundamental demand of the General Association, *universal suffrage in order to obtain state help for productive co-operative societies*; and in this question of tactics Schweitzer went further than Lassalle in adopting a positively fawning attitude toward the Hohenzollern family and the aristocratic Prussian Minister-President. Early in January, 1865, a leading article in the *Sozialdemokrat* indicated that the best solution of the Schleswig-Holstein problem would be the unconditional annexation of the disputed provinces to Prussia; and in a series of articles on "The Bismarck Ministry", running from January 27 to March 1, Schweitzer declared that the only two forces capable of dealing successfully with the question of national unification were the proletariat and the Prussian army. He spoke of

¹² *Der Italienische Krieg und die Aufgabe Preussens: eine Stimme aus der Demokratie* (pub. anonymously, 1859).

¹³ The authoritative works on Lassalle's career are: Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalles* (1874); Brandes, *Ferdinand Lassalle: ein Literarisches Charakterbild* (1877, Eng. trans. 1911); Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (1888); Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer* (1893), and *Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung für die Arbeiter-Klasse* (1904); and Harms, *Ferdinand Lassalle und seine Bedeutung für die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (1909).

"the mighty genius" of Frederick the Great, "a man admirable in every respect", and of "the remarkable" and "the praiseworthy" policy of Bismarck.

It has long been customary for Socialist historians and apologists to denounce Schweitzer as "the paid agent of Bismarck" and as a renegade (and something of a renegade he was, after 1872) and to emphasize the differences between his corrupt movement on the one hand and the pure movement of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel on the other. A re-examination and reappraisal of the facts in the matter, however, while establishing neither proof nor disproof of Schweitzer's alleged acceptance of bribes from Bismarck, would seem to show that Liebknecht and Schweitzer were separated far less on the question of Socialist principles than on the question of political tactics. Liebknecht, it is true, during his thirteen years' exile in England lived much in the society of Marx and Engels and shared their radical views to a greater degree than Lassalle or Schweitzer. But Marx and Engels by this time were not preaching violence or rebellion; and that there was no incompatibility of major tactics between Lassalle and Liebknecht is evidenced by the fact that the latter was a great admirer of the standard-bearer of English Tory Socialism. Disraeli's *Sybil* was translated by Liebknecht's wife and given an honorable place in the German Socialist library. Liebknecht himself, like Marx and Engels, trusted the feudal aristocracy of Prussia less than that of England and disliked Lassalle's flirtations with Bismarck as well as the autocratic organization of the General Association of German Workingmen. But a difference of quite another sort better explains the bitterness with which Liebknecht and his disciple Bebel subsequently assailed Schweitzer and the General Association. Bebel was a Saxon and Liebknecht was a native of Hesse, and both men shared the South Germans' fear and hatred of Prussia. Liebknecht, an *enfant terrible* of 1848-1849, had come to decry the use of violence as a result of his stirring and disheartening experiences in those years, but he never lost faith in the ultimate triumph of the ideal of that revolutionary movement—a Greater Germany welded together under a republican form of government for the attainment of thoroughgoing social democracy. These principles might be the eventual goal of Lassalle and Schweitzer, but the means of reaching the goal were quite different. The latter, as we have seen, would solve the immediate problem of German unification precisely as Bismarck was preparing to solve it; Liebknecht and Bebel, on the other hand, would hark back to the days of the

Frankfort Assembly and would achieve national unification not under the aegis of Prussia, not with the aid of militarism, not at the expense of the exclusion of Austria. The result was that in February, 1865, while Schweitzer was penning his fulsome praises of Bismarck's Schleswig-Holstein policy, Liebknecht resigned his connection with the *Sozialdemokrat* and turned his attention to propaganda in Saxony, which then was a field ripening to the anti-Prussian harvester. To his own brand of Socialism Liebknecht speedily won August Bebel and a sufficient number of other Saxon workingmen to admit of the election of himself and Bebel as representatives of a *Sächsische Volkspartei* in the Reichstag of the North German Confederation.

In this Reichstag, newly created in 1867 as a result of the Seven Weeks' War, Liebknecht and Bebel found themselves beside Schweitzer, who had been elected by votes of the General Association of German Workingmen. Their differences about national policy were more patent than ever. Schweitzer insisted upon taking the credit for Bismarck's condescending acquiescence in the establishment of universal manhood suffrage in the North German Confederation; he considered the Confederation a *fait accompli* which should not be undone if it could, and which should be utilized to further social and economic reforms for the workingmen. Liebknecht and Bebel, on the other hand, maintained that universal suffrage for the Reichstag was delusive so long as it was hedged about by so many constitutional restrictions and rendered impotent by the retention of the three-class electoral system in all-powerful Prussia; they protested vehemently against the very existence of the North German Confederation as consecrating the policy of violence and of Prussian monarchical domination; they refused to make terms with a political order based on brute force, injustice, and autocracy.

In vain did Liebknecht endeavor to discredit Schweitzer with the majority of the General Association. Unable to force him out of its presidency, Liebknecht at length convened a minority congress at Eisenach in August, 1869, and there formed a rival organization—the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party (*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei*)—with a Marxian programme and a Marxian organization. The secessionists from the Lassallean association were promptly affiliated with the International which Karl Marx had launched at London in 1864, only a few weeks after the death of Lassalle. From 1869 to 1875 the two rival societies existed side by side and for some time Eisenachers and Lassalleans vied with

each other in the art of calling names: the Eisenachers accused the Lassalleans of accepting bribes from the Prussian government; the Lassalleans retaliated by styling the Eisenachers "traitors" and charging them with being the agents of the bourgeoisie.

Such was the situation when on July 19, 1870, the Reichstag of the North German Confederation was convened in extraordinary session to grant credits for the war which France had just proclaimed against Prussia. The Reichstag voted the credits unanimously except for the two votes of Bebel and Liebknecht. The latter merely withheld their votes: casting them in the negative might seem to countenance the criminal policy of Napoleon III.; casting them in the affirmative would certainly be construed as an endorsement of the inevitable outcome of the Bismarckian "crime of 1866". The deputies of the Lassallean faction and one Eisenacher, believing that Prussia had been outrageously attacked by the jealous and ambitious emperor of the French, voted the appropriations necessary for the conduct of the war.

After Sedan, all the German Socialists, both Eisenachers and Lassalleans, declared and voted against the continuation of a war which they considered no longer defensive. A "Manifesto to the German Workingmen", published by the party executive of the Eisenachers on September 5, 1870, stated that

it is a duty of the German people, and indeed it is in their own interests, to accord an honorable peace to the French Republic. . . . Above all it is the duty of the German workingmen, among whom the solidarity of interests between the German and French peoples has become a sacred conviction and who see in the French workingmen only brothers and comrades to whom they are united by a common lot and by common aspirations, to secure for the French Republic such a peace. . . . It is absolutely necessary that in all places the party, in accordance with our manifesto, shall organize popular demonstrations as imposing as possible against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and in favor of an honorable peace with the French Republic.¹⁴

The answer of Bismarck's government to this appeal was the imprisonment of its signatories by military order in the fortress of Boyen near the Russian frontier and the quick forcible breaking-up of every attempted demonstration inspired by it. On November 24, when the government opened the regular session of the Reichstag and demanded a new loan for the prosecution of the war, Liebknecht and Bebel were quite outspoken in urging the rejection of the loan and in begging the chancellor to terminate the war without any annexations. In December, the two annoying and

¹⁴ Carl Stegmann and C. Hugo, *Handbuch des Socialismus* (1897), art. "Eisenacher", p. 170.

talkative deputies were arrested, together with Hepner, the associate editor of the *Volkstaat*, the official organ of the Eisenachers, on the charge of "inciting to high treason". After three months and a half of close surveillance—the war by that time being practically concluded—the accused were given provisional liberty. Subsequently, in March, 1872, they were tried at Leipzig: Hepner was acquitted, but Liebknecht and Bebel were condemned to two years' confinement in a military fortress; and Bebel was released in 1874 only to be clapped into jail another nine months for *lèse-majesté*.¹⁵ Beside these leaders of the Eisenachers, four members of the Leipzig committee and numerous other members of the party had been accused of organizing protests against the later developments of the Franco-Prussian War and had been condemned to various terms of imprisonment.

Nor were the government's prosecutions directed solely against the Eisenachers. The Lassalleans themselves, who up to Sedan had been under Bismarck's spell and had been magnanimously tolerated by him, now broke with him and paid the penalty by losing his protection. While they acclaimed the overthrow of Napoleon III. and the establishment of the German Empire, they denounced the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine; and the failure of Schweitzer to secure re-election to the Reichstag in 1871 lost him both his popularity with his followers and his usefulness to Bismarck. Moreover, the Lassalleans all along had based their admiration for the chancellor upon his strenuous opposition to the hated bourgeoisie, but now in the early 'seventies Bismarck was apparently surrendering himself completely to the programme and the policies of the National Liberals and the Free Conservatives, those very elements of the national life which the Lassalleans most distrusted. To cap the climax, in June, 1874, the Imperial Prosecutor Tessen-
dorf obtained a court order for the provisional closing of the General Association of German Workingmen. Whereupon, Toelcke, one of the Lassallean chieftains, wrote to Liebknecht and to Geib, a member of the Eisenach executive, proposing a corporate union of the rival Socialist organizations. At Gotha, accordingly, a joint congress assembled in May, 1875, comprising seventy-three delegates representing 16,000 Lassalleans, and fifty-six delegates representing some 9000 Eisenachers. The outcome, as everyone knows, was the

¹⁵ Interesting side-lights on these events are supplied by *Der Hochverraths-Prozess wider Liebknecht, Bebel, Hepner, vor dem Schwurgericht zu Leipzig vom 11. bis 26. März 1872, mit einer Einleitung von W. Liebknecht* (1894), and by Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben* (3 vols., 1910-1914).

coalescence of the two groups into a well-knit "Socialist Workingmen's Party of Germany" (*Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands*). In general, the Lassalleans had their say in the programme of the new organization, much to the chagrin of Karl Marx in distant London, and the Eisenachers contented themselves with democratizing the form of party administration. The comparative ease with which agreement was reached is proof positive of the fact that the mere "moderation" of Lassalle's fundamental principles had never been the real reason for the revolt of Liebknecht and Bebel.

It may seem surprising that the German Socialists considerably increased their enrolled number and their electoral strength in the decade of the 'seventies, since their ineffective but fierce opposition to the Franco-Prussian War and to the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine and their loud but dangerous praise of the revolutionary Paris Commune might naturally be expected to alienate the multitude of patriotic and order-loving Germans. In explanation of this phenomenon, it is to be observed, first, that *in Germany* the Socialists precipitated no riots and submitted to persecution in a most dutiful manner; secondly, that the larger measure of freedom of speech, of the press, of meeting, and of association, which characterized the first years of the German Empire under the influence of the National Liberal régime, afforded a better opportunity than ever before for Socialist propaganda; and thirdly, that the immediate mushroom growth of German industry and trade, consequent upon the erection of the empire and the payment of the French war indemnity, and resulting in the "Panic of 1873", rapidly huddled lower-class Germans into towns and cities, only to reduce many of them to want and suffering, and thereby greatly increased the potential number of those who would turn to the economic doctrines of Socialism for deliverance from their miserable plight. Socialism, as Liebknecht said, "became the barometer which indicated the general discontent". Even before the unifying Gotha Congress, Socialism was growing in Germany. In 1871 the Socialists polled 124,700 votes in the empire and elected two candidates to the Reichstag; in 1874 they polled 352,000 votes and elected nine deputies. The Gotha Congress contributed further to the effective propaganda of the Socialists, with the result that at the elections of 1877 they secured 493,300 votes and twelve members of the Reichstag. In 1877-1878, the work of making Socialist converts was being forwarded by forty-four political newspapers, one illustrated journal, a monthly and a semi-monthly review, two comic papers, and fourteen trade-union publications, in addition to *Vorwärts*, the party's official organ.

But Bismarck, once the courteous and agreeable host of Lassalle, was now becoming the avowed enemy of the Social Democrats. Formerly perceiving in them a useful foil to the hated Progressives, he now recognized their growth as a grave menace to his newer national policies. On May 20, 1878, closely following an unsuccessful attempt of a madman to take the emperor's life, the chancellor, with the consent of the Bundesrat, introduced an anti-Socialist bill in the Reichstag. So serious were its proposed infringements of personal liberty, however, that it was promptly rejected by the decisive vote of 251 to 57. On June 2 another attempt was made to assassinate William I., and this time Bismarck did not try to win the existing Reichstag to his measure; taking advantage of the excitement throughout the country, he caused the Bundesrat to dissolve the inconvenient lower house and to order new elections. The ensuing campaign was waged on the single issue of the proposed coercion of the Socialists, and the government, in order to secure a popular verdict in its favor, spread broadcast throughout the empire the idea that the Socialists were enemies of Kaiser, country, morality, and the family, that they were inciting to murder, rapine, and most bloody revolution, that they were outlaws *de facto* and should be outlaws *de jure*. The bulk of the electorate responded to these charges by appropriate shiverings and tremblings and by choosing a compliant Reichstag, which on October 18 enacted the anti-Socialist bill by a vote of 221 to 149, the squeamish minority being composed chiefly of Centrists and Radicals.

It is not necessary to define again the general scope or the many details of this anti-Socialist law, which, through various re-enactments,¹⁶ remained in force until 1890, for these things are known to all students of German history. There are, however, certain aspects of the measure which have often been subordinated or quite neglected, but which, in view of their effects upon the German Social Democracy and likewise upon the empire as a whole, merit at least passing mention. In the first place, the tactics of Bismarck in securing the passage of the bill were largely responsible both for the popular fears of Socialism and for the resulting recoil from the Liberalism of the 'seventies to the Conservatism of the 'eighties. The electoral campaign of 1878 was the first occasion (though by no means the last) on which the government flaunted before the

¹⁶ The law as enacted in October, 1878, was to remain in force until March 31, 1881. It was re-enacted in May, 1880, to September 30, 1884; May, 1884, to September 30, 1886; April, 1886, to September 30, 1888; and February, 1888, to September 30, 1890.

eyes of patriotic, peace-loving, property-owning Germans the bogey of Socialism, the "red spectre" of mob violence, treason, and terrorism. So effective was this invocation of an imaginary demon, that Liberalism, if not Social Democracy, was immediately weakened,¹⁷ and Bismarck was thenceforth free to break his unnatural *liaison* with the Liberals and to return to his earlier Conservative love. The period from 1878 to 1890 was not only the period of the anti-Socialist law; it was also the period of Conservative rather than Liberal influence; its ideal was benevolent bureaucratic paternalism instead of individual liberty and national *laissez faire*; it was characterized by the establishment of tariff-protectionism, overseas imperialism, and Bismarckian State Socialism. So successful, indeed, was the electoral *coup* of 1878 that not only Bismarck himself but subsequent and less original chancellors found it expedient rather frequently to terrify the German people with the red rag of Socialism and thereby to elicit from them a verdict favorable to militarism, to tariff reform "upwards", to colonialism and *Welt-politik*, or to any other policy which an essentially unrepresentative government might at any time wish to foist upon the German nation.

In this way, the anti-Socialist law called an abrupt halt to the progress of liberty and democracy in the empire. In the late 'sixties and early 'seventies it had seemed as if united Germany was to play quite a different political rôle from historic Austria or Prussia. Universal equal suffrage had been introduced in the North German Confederation and extended to the empire. The North German Confederation had legalized coalitions and associations of artisans for trade purposes. The empire had adopted on May 7, 1874, a law on the freedom of the press, providing that neither the administration nor the courts could deprive any citizen of the right of carrying on any part of a publishing business and that the only limitations upon the exercise of this right should be such as would secure a fair amount of publicity and lessen national danger in time of war. A reaction against these liberal and democratic tendencies was foreshadowed by the anti-Catholic laws which attended the Kulturkampf. But the anti-Catholic laws were mainly *state* laws, while the anti-Socialist law was *federal*, and with the passage of the latter the reaction was in full swing. Associations, meetings, publications, and collections of money alike,

¹⁷ In the Reichstag, National Liberal deputies numbered 141 in 1877; 109 in 1878; 47 in 1881; and 42 in 1890. Progressive deputies numbered 39 in 1877; 29 in 1878; and 32 in 1887. The popular vote of the National Liberals, amounting in 1877 to 1,604,300, had decreased in 1878 to 1,486,800, and in 1890 to 1,177,800.

which "by means of Social Democratic, socialistic, or communistic designs, aim at the overthrow of the existing order of state or of society", were to be prohibited, and likewise such associations, meetings, publications, and collections of money in which these designs, though not the expressed object, appear "to endanger the public peace and in particular the harmony of the different classes of the population". The execution of the law was entrusted not to the regular courts but to the police authorities of the several states and, on appeal, to a special Imperial Commission composed of four members of the Bundesrat and five judges appointed by the emperor. A final section of the law contained the most reactionary provisions: whenever the "intrigues of the Socialists" promised "to endanger the public peace", the ministry of any state might, with the consent of the Bundesrat, arbitrarily suspend constitutional guarantees and decree a "lesser state of siege" (*i. e.*, police law).¹⁸

And the law was vigorously enforced! During the twelve years from 1878 to 1890, all public activities of the Social Democrats were stopped in Germany, except in the Reichstag and state legislatures; 352 associations were dissolved; 1299 publications were banned; the "lesser state of siege", proclaimed for periods at Berlin, Hamburg, Harburg, Leipzig, Frankfurt-am-Main, Hanau, Offenbach, Stettin, and Spremberg, led to the arbitrary expulsion of 893 persons, including 504 married men with 973 children dependent upon them; and imprisonments imposed by police authorities for violation of the measure aggregated 850 years, 5 months, and 19 days.¹⁹ But more grievous than the actual imprisonments and banishments under the anti-Socialist law was the fact that many of the people who in 1871 accounted themselves Liberal as well as National now gave support to arbitrary measures which certainly put Bismarck in a class with Metternich. The only difference between the assailants of popular liberties was that Metternich had no popular mandate for his acts while Bismarck commanded a majority of the deputies elected by universal direct suffrage throughout Germany. The German people of the new era must share with

¹⁸ An excellent analysis and criticism of the law is to be found in an article by Henry W. Farnam in the *Journal of the American Social Science Association*, XIII. 36-53 (1880). See also R. von Gneist, *Das Reichsgesetz gegen die Gemeingefährlichen Bestrebungen der Sozialdemokratie* (1878), and Bamberger, *Die Culturgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Socialistengesetzes* (second ed., 1879).

¹⁹ These statistics are cited in connection with the Socialists' observance of the 25th anniversary of the passage of the law. *Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Parteitag zu Bremen in Protokoll* (1904), pp. 13-14.

their unrepresentative government the responsibility for a most serious set-back to liberty.

One other aspect of the anti-Socialist law invites our attention, and this is its effect upon the Social Democrats themselves. From first to last they submitted to the outrageous measure. They preached no violence, no rebellion. Smitten on one cheek, they turned the other cheerfully and dutifully. They seemed to be possessed of a holy joy, of an ecstatic other-worldly vision, like unto that of the early Christian martyrs. To their own traditions—those of Lassalle in the constitutional crisis of 1863, and of Liebknecht and Bebel in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870—they were absolutely true. They would be vocal but not violent. While the bill against them was pending in the Reichstag, *Vorwärts* printed at the top of every number the exhortation: "Party Comrades! Do not let yourselves be provoked to violence! The authorities are only anxious to shoot you down! The reaction needs riots in order to win its game."²⁰ With *Vorwärts* suppressed and with the party organization reduced to catacomb-like secrecy, the Socialists kept their passive form to the end. At the party congress held at St. Gall in Switzerland in October, 1887, they unanimously declared that

violence is as much a means of reaction as of revolution and in the past has been more often so used; the use of violence by individuals is not the sort of tactics which will lead to our goal, and, in so far as it wounds the sentiment of right among the masses, is positively to be condemned and accordingly rejected.²¹

It may well be that this persistently passive attitude of the Social Democrats in the face of their persecution was not unconnected with the growing devotion of their leaders during the period to Marxian, as opposed to Lassallean, principles, that is, to the fatalistic notion that the hardships and oppressions of capitalistic society simply cannot be prevented from accumulating and multiplying up to the day of the millennial cataclysm when the faithful will automatically be delivered from bondage and will enter into the Promised Land. Not from Bismarck or any other governmental potentate could salvation come, but only from the slow, painful, inevitable evolution of capitalism. At any rate, after 1880, Marxian tenets sank deeply into the German Socialist consciousness. The appearance of Friedrich Engels's *Herrn Eugen Dührings Umwäl-*

²⁰ Stegmann and Hugo, *Handbuch des Socialismus* (1897), art. "Socialistische Arbeiterpartei", p. 761.

²¹ *Verhandlungen des Parteitages der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie in St. Gallen abgehalten 2. bis 6. Oktober 1887.*

zung der Wissenschaft contributed to this end; and *Die Neue Zeit*, founded by Karl Kautsky in 1883, was conducted from the outset in a rigidly Marxian sense. The Gotha programme of 1875, as we have seen, was more Lassallean than Marxian, but in 1890, at the congress of Halle, the first held on German soil after the lapse of the anti-Socialist law, it was unanimously resolved that

Whereas the Gotha programme, however excellent it has proven itself in the struggles of the last fifteen years, is no longer abreast of the times in every respect, the party executive is hereby authorized and directed to propose a revised programme for consideration at the next congress.

The resulting Erfurt programme in its theoretical part not only disposed of Lassallean catchwords—the “iron law of wages” and the demand for co-operative productive associations—but, what was still more characteristic, it substituted for the universal and ethical features of Lassalle’s doctrine the historico-economic definition of Socialism which Marx had sketched in the Communist Manifesto and developed in *Das Capital*.²²

One might expect that as the German Social Democracy between 1875 and 1891 swung more and more from the teachings of Lassalle to those of Marx, the movement would take on an even more radical and “revolutionary” complexion. It is indeed true that while the German Socialists during the period of their persecution were holding their congresses outside of Germany they emphasized as never before or since the *international* character of their movement and the sacred solidarity of all the world’s workingmen. But, contrary to general expectations, several developments of the period tended to make the agitation in Germany even less radical and “revolutionary”.

In the first place, the forcible expulsion of the most radical leaders from Germany left the conduct of party affairs to the “moderates”, the particular friends of law and order. Many of the exiles never returned to Germany, and of those who did return a goodly number had acquired from an extended sojourn in England a real respect and admiration for the Fabian tactics of slow, quiet education.²³

Secondly, the Social Democratic leaders in Germany had discovered that the methods to be pursued in proselytizing from among the intelligent skilled workers in the trade-unions were less likely

²² Conrad Schmidt, “Condition of Social Democracy in Germany”, *Journal of Political Economy*, VI. 505 (1898).

²³ Eduard Bernstein is an excellent example of this type of Socialist exile from Germany. He resided in England from 1888 to 1902.

to bring them into conflict with the police and consequently to result in punishment under the anti-Socialist law than were the street-corner harangues addressed to the unskilled, unorganized, lowest-class workingmen. Numerical gains to the Socialist cause were far greater, during the period, from among trade-unionists—the “aristocracy of labor”—than from among the lowest orders of the laboring class. Trade-unionists turned naturally to Socialism as soon as the government impaired the right of association, but they were far less interested in the theoretical side of Socialism than in the practical. They were doubting Thomases about the paradise beyond the cataclysm and they were downright sceptical of what Georges Sorel has termed the “social myth” of the “general strike”; they were, however, intent upon exercising their political rights to the end that they might forthwith secure higher pay, shorter hours, and better working and living conditions. They rendered lip-service to the Marxian creed but at heart they were Lassalleans. They constituted a conservative bulwark to German Socialism.

Then, in the third place, it was during the period of the anti-Socialist law that the German Social Democracy began to draw to itself a number of *voters* far in excess of the number of its regularly enrolled *members*. In other words, it was during this time that many middle-class Germans, caring little or nothing about the purely economic dogmas or the ultimate goal of Socialism, began to cast votes for Social Democratic candidates for the Reichstag as the most obvious and direct rebuke to an illiberal and unrepresentative government, which was most seriously abridging the freedom of speech, of association, of meeting, and of the press. The contemporaneous decline of the National Liberal and Progressive parties was not due wholly to defections to conservatism; it illuminatingly paralleled the growth of the electoral strength of the Social Democrats. Thus, the popular vote for Socialist candidates, reduced to 312,000 in 1881, rose to 550,000 in 1884, to 763,100 in 1887, and to 1,427,300 in 1890; while the number of Socialist deputies in the Reichstag increased from nine in 1878 to thirty-five in 1890. The “extra members” of the German Social Democracy had no direct voice in the deliberations of the party congresses or in the decisions of the party executive, but as time went on there was a growing tendency on the part of congress and executive not to make decisions which would alienate votes and thereby lessen the influence which a steadily augmenting poll-strength might exert upon the reactionary government. The getting of votes was becom-

ing all-important; and indirectly middle-class liberals were pointing the Socialist party organization into the path of opportunism. And in seeming confirmation of the value of the peaceful tactics pursued by the party from 1878 to 1890 could be cited a sort of Socialist "prosperity" evidenced not only in an increase of votes but also in a remarkable increase of funds in the party treasury. At the Congress of Halle in 1890, August Bebel explained that the regular receipts had been 37,410 marks in 1880, 95,000 in 1883, 208,655 in 1887, and in the current year had risen to 324,322 marks, and that of the last amount over one-third had been saved; "the Socialist party", he added, in the midst of general hilarity, "become capitalistic, seeks good investments abroad for fear of confiscation at home".

Bebel should not have feared confiscation at home. Bismarck, it is true, still maintained that the only defect of the anti-Socialist law was its leniency, but neither the Reichstag nor William II. would hear of re-enacting it, to say nothing of making it more drastic, and this, despite the fact that the Social Democracy was a greater political force in 1890 than in 1878. So impressed was the young emperor with the importance of Socialism, that he sought to deal with it in a clement and kindly spirit.²⁴ His ousting of Bismarck in 1890 signified, so far as the Social Democrats were concerned, the passing of Diocletian and the coming of Constantine.

For the happy ending of their twelve years' bondage, the Social Democrats themselves ascribed the praise not to the favor of a clement prince but to their own energy and endeavors, and above all to the persistently peaceful tactics which they had employed. "No violence, no rebellion", was a slogan which in their opinion had amply justified itself in a most pragmatic test.

In 1890 the German Social Democracy came out of its catacombs, and at Halle inaugurated the series of great annual congresses which assembled regularly on German soil down to the Jena Congress of 1913. The public organization of the party, as we know it, with its five-member executive, its commission of control, its Reichstag group, its annual congress, its treasury, its affiliated trade-unions, its branches for women and for youths, and its official publications, was inaugurated at the Halle Congress of 1890 and perfected at the Mainz Congress of 1900. Its programme was revised and promulgated at the Erfurt Congress of 1891. The Ger-

²⁴ See on this point the *Memoirs* of Prince Hohenlohe and the *Reminiscences* of Prince Bismarck. It was in 1890 that William II. convened at Berlin the International Congress on Labor Legislation. Cf. *Europäischer Geschichtskalender* for 1890 and 1891.

man Social Democracy was prepared to resume the open propaganda which it had been obliged to abandon in 1878. But upon the purposes and methods of the propaganda after 1890, the persecutions of the preceding period, 1878-1890, left an indelible imprint.

Congress after congress repeated the formulas of Marxian Socialism—economic determinism, the class struggle, the inevitable social cataclysm of the future, demands for political democracy and for collective ownership and operation of all the economic means of production and distribution, unswerving opposition to the whole capitalistic system, particularly to indirect taxes, militarism, and imperialism. Nor was Marxian internationalism ever lost sight of. German Social Democrats were conspicuous in the councils of the Socialist International. The executive of the German party repeatedly voted appropriations and authorized the collection of special funds for the aid of comrades in other countries, in England, in Belgium, in Denmark, in Austria. The German party, while stigmatizing the Boer War as a barbarous and abominable war of conquest, combated manfully the growing Anglophobia in Germany. At the very time when the German "patriot" press was hypnotizing public opinion by the spectacle of British "atrocities" in South Africa, the Socialist press was exposing the atrocities of the allied troops in China, especially of the German contingent, in the bitingly sarcastic "Letters of the Huns".²⁵

To make of the Marxian formulas living realities, it would not suffice to resort to violence and revolution. That was the capital lesson of the Era of Persecution. As Liebknecht said at the Congress of Erfurt:

If we should now accord chief importance to physical force, we should place ourselves in the position of our enemies. Bismarck was the man of brute force, the man of iron and blood. No one has ever employed greater means of force or acted in manner more unscrupulous. And the result? What has become of him? He had at his disposal for more than a quarter of a century the police, the army, the money, the power of the State, in short all the means of physical force, while we could oppose him only with our good right, our good conviction, our naked breasts—and *we* have conquered. Our arms have been the better. In time brute force must yield to the moral factors, to the logic of events. Bismarck retired in disgrace—and the Social Democracy is the strongest party in Germany. Is not this a potent proof of the value of our present tactics? . . . The essence of revolution does not lie in the means but in the end. Violence for thousands of years has been a reactionary factor.²⁶

No one in the party [said Bebel eight years later at the Congress of

²⁵ Milhaud, *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande* (1903).

²⁶ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1891), pp. 205-206.

Hanover] can have any doubt of what we think of violent revolution. It is absurd to admit that there is in our party a single person who would feel disposed to precipitate a revolution if he thought that he could attain his goal much better, much more easily, and much more simply. It is not revolutionaries who precipitate revolutions, but in each and every instance it has been reactionaries. [*Lively applause.*] Even the great Goethe said to his Eckermann that when revolution occurs the fault is wholly the government's; and I could cite you a dozen passages from writers, even from old Mommsen, who as a good classicist states in his *Roman History* that when a government shows itself incapable of fulfilling its duties in the interest of the great majority of the citizens, then it is right to precipitate a revolution, then the fault is not on the side of those who have recourse to violence but is on the side of those who have driven them to it. And, comrades, with us in Germany the bourgeoisie at all times has acted on this principle.²⁷

Here again the theorists and leaders were applying their historical fatalism. *Fata viam invenient*. For the future, let princes and chancellors be good or bad, favorable or not, it would matter little. The best Caesars could not prevent the Roman Empire from going to dissolution and ruin.²⁸

To be sure, the German governments did not take at full face value the peaceful protestations of the Socialists; they continued after the lapse of the anti-Socialist law to fight the movement with every weapon at their disposal. The Prussian State Secretary for the Interior directed his under-officials in 1893 to "oppose the progress of the Social Democracy by every possible means"; and the Saxon Minister of the Interior issued a circular instructing the local authorities, "in order to conform to the intentions of the government, to interpret any law which they might invoke against the Social Democrats according to political considerations".²⁹ In 1895 Liebknecht was condemned to four months' imprisonment for lèse-majesté for having declared at the Congress of Breslau that "Under cover of the highest power in the State, injury is done the Social Democracy; under the cover of the highest power in the State, the gauntlet is thrown down to our party and we are provoked to mortal combat". But the Social Democrats had already derived too many advantages from their martyrdoms really to wish a complete cessation of persecution after 1890. With an almost Christian boastfulness and mirth did they dwell upon the thought of bolts and bars, and of the rich electoral harvest that was to be reaped from the wide advertisement of their sufferings. Lieb-

²⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1899), p. 121.

²⁸ Cf. Bourdeau, *Le Socialisme Allemand et le Nihilisme Russe* (second ed., 1894), p. 86.

²⁹ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1894), p. 28.

knecht gleefully paid the penalty for his crime of lèse-majesté during the winter of 1897-1898, and being released on March 18, the anniversary of the revolution of 1848, more gleefully still recounted his martyrdom to a monster mass-meeting held at Berlin in celebration of the event. "I can be content", he had already written, "with the Breslau trial. If Paris was worth a Mass, this trial was well worth four months in prison. The advantages which we derive from it have been a good bargain."³⁰ A conspicuous place in every annual report of the party executive, moreover, was reserved for an exhibit of the total terms of detention in workhouse and in prison, and of the total fines meted out to Socialist "martyrs". The exhibit was deemed an excellent bit of propaganda and at least until 1900 was quite imposing.³¹

Meanwhile, the German Social Democracy grew apace. Its popular vote increased to 1,786,700 in 1893, to 2,107,100 in 1898, and to 3,010,800 in 1903, while its deputies in the Reichstag numbered 44 in 1893, 56 in 1898, and 81 in 1903. As in the preceding period, a large part of its electoral increment came from "extra members"; but from regularly enrolled paying members the returns to the party treasury amounted in 1893 to 258,326 marks, in 1898 to 315,866, and in 1903 to 628,247.³² The causes of this noteworthy growth in votes and in financial resources are to be found in the marvellously rapid contemporaneous expansion of German trade and German industry, in the lapse of the anti-Socialist law, which

³⁰ *Der Prozess Liebknecht. Vorhandlung wegen Majestäts-Beleidigung vor dem Landgericht zu Breslau* (sixth ed., 1896), preface by Liebknecht, p. 5.

³¹ After 1900, the average fines remained about the same as before, but the terms of imprisonment tended to decrease in measure as the "loyalty" of the Socialists increased: 35 years in 1901; 68 years in 1906; 36 years in 1907, and in 1910; only 7 years and 8 months in 1912; and for the first six months of 1913, three years and three months! The statistics throughout are taken from the *Berichte des Parteivorstandes* to the several party congresses.

	Imprisonment					Fines
	87 years,	6 months,	28 days			18,262 marks
1891						
1892	117	"	0	"	26	"
1893	86	"	8	"	26	"
1894	58	"	8	"	6	"
1895	83	"	4	"	1	"
1896	84	"	8	"	8	"
1897	118	"	8	"	3	"
1898	54	"	7	"	10	"
1899	74	"	1	"	0	"
1900	71	"	3	"	23	"

³² The receipts of the party treasury further increased in 1908 to 852,976 marks and in 1913 to 1,469,718. The surplus of income over expenditure from 1891 to 1913 amounted to more than two million marks.

now rendered Socialist propaganda enormously easier and more effective, in the "martyr's pose" which the Social Democrats continued to assume and to utilize for arousing the sympathies of their liberally-minded fellow-citizens, in the perfecting of the organization of the allied "Red" trade-unions,³³ and, last but not least, in the changed circumstances of German foreign politics which now rendered it possible for the party for the first time in its history to make a "patriotic" appeal to the German people.

It must be remembered that the retirement of Bismarck in 1890 marked not only the end of exceptional legislation against the Social Democrats but also a momentous revolution in the empire's foreign policy. For more than a century Russia and Prussia had lived side by side in pretty amicable relations with each other, sometimes in formal alliance; and Socialists and Radicals alike had come to look upon a Russo-German *entente* as a mighty prop of "Tsarism" and "barbarism" and consequently as the gravest menace to political democracy and free institutions within the German Empire. Now, in 1890, William II., to Bismarck's chagrin but to the delight of Radicals and Socialists, broke with the Tsar and held out an affectionate hand to England. And then, in 1891, when open flirtation began between the Russian autocracy and the French Republic, the Social Democrats found themselves drawn willy-nilly into sympathy with, and even support of, the Triple Alliance. For example, Georg von Vollmar, the leading Bavarian Socialist, in two remarkable speeches at Munich in the summer of 1891, declared that, although the foreign policies of 1866 and 1870 were wrong, the party should not squander its force in incessant and fruitless discussions of the past; Germany was now quite pacific, and the Triple Alliance must be defended as the best guarantee of world peace. France alone, according to Vollmar, was too chauvinistic, and it was a disgusting spectacle "to see the French Republic coquetting with Russian Tsarism and barbarism"; the French Socialists who sincerely preached peace were certainly in a small minority and were absolutely unable to influence the chauvinistic majority of Frenchmen.

In any case [said Vollmar] we can render only service to all true friends of peace in France and elsewhere by giving them to understand

³³ A convenient summary of the relation of the "Red" trade-unions to the Social Democratic Party is given by Professor S. P. Orth in his *Socialism and Democracy in Europe* (1913), pp. 171-179, as well as statistics (p. 295) gathered from *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*. Cf. Schmoele, *Die Sozialdemokratischen Gewerkschaften in Deutschland seit dem Erlasse des Sozialistengesetzes* (1896 et seq.).

clearly and in a manner admitting of no doubt precisely what would be the attitude of the German Social Democracy in case of a declaration of war. If ever anywhere abroad it should be hoped that, in case of an attack directed against Germany, the aggressor could count on the German Social Democracy—in such hope one would be profoundly deceived. As soon as our country was attacked from without, there would be but a single party, and we Social Democrats would not be among the last to do our duty! And this duty we shall perform much more zealously if that enemy of all civilization—Russian barbarism—is involved.³⁴

In the discussion of these views of Vollmar, at the Erfurt Congress, Bebel, though dissenting from some of their implications, had this to say:

Concerning an offensive war against Germany and its consequences I have insisted that we, equally with the gentlemen of the government, are Germans. . . . The German soil, the German country belongs to us, the masses, as well as to them. If Russia, the citadel of cruelty and barbarism, the foe of all human civilization, should attack Germany in order to weaken and dismember her—and such a war could have no other aim—we should have as much or more at stake than those who are at the head of Germany, and we would resist the aggressor. I have also insisted that if we should thus fight side by side with those who to-day are our adversaries, we would do so not to save them and their political and social order, but to deliver Germany, that is, *ourselves* and *our* soil, from a barbarian who is the greatest enemy of our aspirations and whose victory would signify our defeat as Socialists.³⁵

The international events of 1890-1891 served likewise to silence Socialist protests against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Already at the International Congress at Paris in 1889 the Socialist delegates from those provinces had declared that their doctrines obliged them to repudiate the idea of a war of revenge; and now the whole German Social Democracy persuaded itself that the annexation, originally outrageous, was nevertheless a *fait accompli*, and that Socialistic internationalism, by gradually effacing all distinctions between Germans and Frenchmen, would be the surest and best solution of the problem.³⁶

Now that the German Social Democracy was moved to accept the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine as a *fait accompli* and to extol

³⁴ Georg von Vollmar, *Ueber die Nächsten Aufgaben der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie: zwei Reden gehalten am 1. Juni und 6. Juli 1891 in "Eldorado" zu München* (1891), pp. 9-10. Vollmar cited as confirmation of his position remarks of Liebknecht in the Reichstag on November 28, 1888, and on May 16, 1891, and in the Congress of Halle on October 15, 1890, of Bebel in the Reichstag on June 25, 1890, and of Auer in the Reichstag on December 3, 1890, and February 9, 1891.

³⁵ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1891), p. 285.

³⁶ Edgard Milhaud, *La Démocratie Socialiste Allemande* (1903), pp. 261-262.

the Triple Alliance as a bulwark of world peace, why should it not co-operate with other *national* German parties in voting military budgets which would guarantee the efficacy of the Triple Alliance and prevent any war of conquest on the part of Russia or of *revanche* on the part of France? Some German Social Democrats perceived the logic in such reasoning and advised action accordingly. At the Hamburg Congress of 1897, Max Schippel, the reporter of the Reichstag group, said:

We have not approved of the soldiers, but there they are. For our proposals in favor of a militia and the abolition of all standing armies, no majority is available at present or in the near future. This is a fact which is surely disagreeable to us but with which we must reckon. Because the bourgeois parties do not share our opinion in this matter, must we expose the German workingmen, as if for punishment, to the risk of having to pay with their blood for the lack of intelligence of our opponents? Such behavior would be idiotic and absolutely contrary to the interests of the working class.³⁷

Replying to critics, Schippel admitted that "the existing government thrives on war" but emphasized the ever-present possibility of war.

If one cannot prevent wars, nevertheless one cannot give our soldiers bad rifles, bad cannon. . . . If the militaristic system drives us to a war which we cannot prevent, if we suffer a defeat, and if the blood of our German proletariat doubly flows, I believe that we shall all be reproached by the government for not having taken the necessary precautions at the right moment.³⁸

Though the utterances of Schippel were not well received by the majority of the delegates to the congress, they evoked an eloquent defense from Ignatz Auer, the Bavarian Socialist, who dwelt upon the necessity of adequate military preparedness against Russian "barbarism". And when, in the ensuing electoral campaign, it was felt necessary to disprove accusations of anti-patriotism, several Social Democratic candidates intimated to their constituents a ready willingness to compromise on the old question of militarism and on the new question of navalism. Said Auer at Hanover on February 9, 1898:

We can approve nothing of the government so long as we are not recognized as a factor possessing equal rights in parliamentary and public life. But if the working class is recognized as possessing equal rights, then will the tasks of this class increase and likewise its responsibility; and it is indeed quite possible that from the day on which the workingman perceives himself a factor possessing equal rights we shall allow ourselves to speak on the naval question. Only for the present must we on principle refuse to vote "a single man, a single penny".

³⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitage* (1897), pp. 121-122.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

On the following day, Wolfgang Heine, candidate at Berlin, expressed his belief that for the present and the immediate future the attitude of the party would be the same as formerly, but he did not perceive in the refusal of military credits a question of principle and thought the time would come when the party might grant them in return for definite political concessions.

Do ut des. We give military credits to the Government; the Government thereupon grants us new liberties. . . . The "policy of compensations" has worked advantageously for the Catholic Centre, why not for the Social Democracy?³⁹

Was the German Social Democracy, in gaining two million voters, losing its own Marxian soul? A certain group of its adherents hoped so; to them a Lassallean opportunism appeared more substantially spiritual (if the expression may be used) than the dogmas of Marx. They would not repudiate the gospel according to Marx or deny their own Marxian profession of faith made at the Congress of Erfurt; they would simply "interpret" and "revise" the gospel; they would merely apply the principles of private judgment and modernistic reason to the proper understanding of the Erfurt symbol. This tendency, inchoate in the early 'nineties, reached fruition in the influential sect of "Revisionism" largely through the writings of Eduard Bernstein, especially his *Probleme des Sozialismus*, which appeared in serial form in *Die Neue Zeit* in 1896-1897,⁴⁰ and his *Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*, published in book form in 1899. Without pausing to indicate the manifold changes in tactics which Revisionism involved, it may be remarked that the essence of the new movement was the denial of the "catastrophic" doctrine of Marxism.

I confess freely [wrote Bernstein] that I have extremely little feeling for, or interest in, what is commonly spoken of as "the ultimate goal of Socialism". This goal, whatever it may be, is for me absolutely nothing; the movement itself is everything. And I mean by the movement as much the general movement of society, that is, social progress,

³⁹ These remarks of Heine and Auer (and much else that is interesting in this connection) were reported to the Hanover Congress. *Protokoll des Parteitages* (1899), p. 250.

⁴⁰ There were four of these articles, all in vol. XV., pt. I., of *Die Neue Zeit*: (1) "Allgemeines über Utopismus und Eklektizismus" (October 28, 1896), pp. 164-171; (2) "Eine Theorie der Gebiete und Grenzen des Kollektivismus" (November 4, 1896), pp. 204-213; (3) "Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Industriellen Entwicklung in Deutschland" (November 25, 1896), pp. 303-311; (4) "Die Neuere Entwicklung der Agrarverhältnisse in England" (March 10, 1897), pp. 772-783. Bernstein, it must be remembered, was at this time in England; he did not return to Germany until 1902.

as the political and economic agitation and organization for the purpose of realizing this progress. . . . In securing a good factory law, Socialism can accomplish more than in the public ownership of a whole group of factories.⁴¹

Bernstein's Revisionism was at once championed by some of the party's ablest publicists, such as Dr. Conrad Schmidt, Dr. Woltmann, and Dr. Eduard David, and by such an astute political leader as Vollmar; and it proved powerfully attractive to the allied trade-unions.⁴² Nevertheless it was denounced by Karl Kautsky,⁴³ the editor of *Die Neue Zeit* and premier theorist of the party, and also by Rosa Luxemburg,⁴⁴ the dominating personage in the women's Socialist movement; and, after acrid debates at the Hanover Congress of 1899 and at the Lübeck Congress of 1901, it was formally condemned at the latter congress as a "heresy". For a few years at the opening of the twentieth century it seemed as if the German Social Democracy was reacting strongly against Revisionism. It was the time when the party dallied with the idea of the "general strike" and contended vigorously against the imperialist policies of the government.

The main impetus to the dallying with "direct action" as opposed to orderly parliamentary agitation came from the putative success of the general strike in Russia which wrung from the Tsar the ambiguous constitution of October, 1905. Throughout western Europe there was a new impatience with parliamentary delays, and in Germany the impotence of the Social Democratic members of the Reichstag, in spite of the three million votes behind them, seemed intolerable. Why should not the German Socialists learn a lesson from their Russian comrades and seek to realize their political and economic aims, seek, moreover, to prevent international war, by utilizing the methods of revolutionary syndicalism? So queried Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht the Younger. It was the first serious attempt in thirty years to divert and subvert the Socialist movement by an anarchistic agitation from within.⁴⁵ And when rumor spread that the German government was concerting measures

⁴¹ "Der Kampf der Sozialdemokratie und die Revolution der Gesellschaft. II. Die Zusammenbruchs-Theorie und die Kolonialpolitik", in *Die Neue Zeit*, vol. XVI., pt. I., p. 556, January 19, 1898.

⁴² It is not without significance that Revisionism affected Socialist trade-unionism in Germany at about the same time as the British trade-unions were being drawn into a political alliance with Socialist groups to form the British "Labor Party", which put its emphasis upon practice rather than upon theory.

⁴³ *Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm* (1899).

⁴⁴ *Sozialreform oder Revolution?* (1899).

⁴⁵ Ensor, *Modern Socialism* (second ed., 1908), introd.

with the Tsar for the suppression of the Russian revolution, the apostles of revolutionary syndicalism temporarily became very influential. The Jena Congress of 1905 endorsed the principle of the general strike "in case of an attack upon universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage or upon the right of combination".⁴⁶ But the German trade-unionists in their congress at Cologne overwhelmingly rejected the principle: they were unwilling to sacrifice their accumulated funds and endanger their own livelihood by bearing the brunt of a struggle which, whatever good it might do the Russian democracy, was not likely to be of considerable immediate service to themselves individually. Under pressure from the trade-unionists, the Socialist Congress at Mannheim in 1906 reopened the question and in the protracted, bitter debate which ensued, August Bebel threw all his prestige and oratorical gifts into the scale on the side of the trade-unionists and other advocates of "moderation" and "parliamentary action".

Very few of you, comrades [said Bebel on that occasion], have experienced a great war. You have no notion of the situation on the outbreak of war in 1870. Of course we have grown much stronger since then, but the forces at the disposal of the anti-Socialists have grown too. [*"Quite right!"*] Above all, the nature of military armament has completely changed. Who believes that at a moment when a violent shock, a fever, is moving the masses to their very depths, when the danger of a gigantic war with its appalling misery confronts us—who believes that at such a moment it is possible to institute a general strike? [*"Quite right!"*] The idea is childish. From the first day of such a war there march under arms in Germany five million men including many hundreds of thousands of our party comrades. The entire nation is in arms. Frightful want, universal unemployment, starvation, stoppage of factories, fall of paper securities—is it credible that at such a moment when each is thinking only of himself, one could institute a general strike? [*"Very good!"*] If any leaders of the party were so senseless as to institute a general strike on such a day, martial law would at once be extended, along with the mobilization, over the whole of Germany, and decisions would then pass from the civil courts to the courts martial. I have often heard it said—and I think it probable because in governmental circles it is supposed that the Social Democrats could be crazy enough to take such a course—I have often heard it said that exalted persons have long nursed the idea of preparing the same fate for all the leaders of the Social Democracy as was meted out in 1870 to the members of our party executive. If you think that in such a case our adversaries will exercise any clemency, you are mistaken; I think it inconceivable that in any such case any should be expected. Things are different with us from things in other countries. Germany is a kind of state like unto no other. That may

⁴⁶ *Handbuch der Sozialdemokratischen Parteitage von 1863-1909* (ed. Wilhelm Schröder, 1910), p. 306.

be taken as a compliment, but it is the truth; and this truth we must keep in sight, and direct our affairs accordingly. [*"Quite right!"*]⁴⁷

Bebel and the trade-unionists carried the day at Mannheim;⁴⁸ and at the international congresses of 1907, 1910, and 1912, the majority of the German delegates renewed their opposition to the general strike.⁴⁹

Parallel with the debates in the Socialist congresses on the practicability of the general strike, went debates in the Reichstag and in the press on the changed tendencies of German foreign policy: the new imperialism and "world power", and the rapid increase of military and naval armaments. Into these debates the Social Democrats entered with enthusiasm and unanimity, denouncing the Chinese expedition of 1900, the Bagdad railway concessions, the spectacular entry of the Kaiser into the Moroccan imbroglio in 1905, the outrages committed by German soldiers in suppressing the Southwest African revolt in 1905-1906, and the constant threats of armed force with which the emperor and Chancellor von Bülow sought to widen the sphere of Germany's participation in world politics and in economic exploitation.⁵⁰ It was because the Socialist group in the Reichstag made common cause with the Centrists in 1906 in refusing appropriations deemed necessary for the suppression of the African revolt, that the government dissolved the lower house and decreed the fateful elections of January, 1907. The decisive nature of the impending elections was clearly stated in the electoral address of the Social Democrats:

You have now to choose new deputies at the polls, in accordance with your opinions, not merely upon the position in Southwest Africa, but upon our entire policy at home and abroad. The situation is serious, very serious. After a thirty-five years' existence the German Empire finds itself in almost complete isolation. For the last fifteen years there has been no lack of speeches and trips made in many potentates' countries, no lack of presents made to the most diverse nations. But the result of all these unsought assurances of love and affection is that to-day German policy is regarded with distrust by almost every foreigner, and Germany instead of friends has scarcely any but covert or overt enemies. Consequently, the world-situation is such that despite all the peace-loving assurances which ruling sovereigns give on occasion after occasion, armaments by land and sea are

⁴⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitages* (1906), pp. 240-241; cf. Ensor, *Modern Socialism* (second ed., 1908), p. 195.

⁴⁸ The Mannheim Resolution was worded as a compromise; in effect it was a defeat for Rosa Luxemburg and her party. Cf. Wilhelm Schröder, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁴⁹ Walling, *The Socialists and the War* (1915), pp. 30-49.

⁵⁰ See Parvus, *Die Kolonialpolitik und der Zusammenbruch* (1907), and Gustav Noske, *Kolonialpolitik und Sozialdemokratie* (1914).

continually reinforced, the debts of nations and their loads of taxes are continually mounting up, and a feeling of anxiety, as at the advent of an immense catastrophe, continually strengthens its hold on the civilized peoples and forbids them peacefully enjoying the fruits of their labor. . . . [Instead of arbitration and disarmament] we see the ruling classes and their solution, "If you want peace, you must be armed for war", with which they carry on their policy of embittering nations in order to maintain their own class-rule in domestic affairs. The military and naval armaments serve to enrich them. Besides, they cherish the thought on the sly that nations kept in constant anxiety about a grasping and warlike neighbor do not apply themselves to improve their social conditions as they otherwise could and would. This policy of international ruin, in which Germany to-day sets the pace, we have hitherto most decidedly opposed, and we shall continue to oppose it.⁵¹

Again the government invoked the red demon of revolutionary and traitorous Socialism; again Conservatives and National Liberals, "patriots" of every stamp, rallied in defense of family, morality, country, Kaiser, and God, and incidentally of a very vigorous foreign and world policy; and again when the votes were counted it was discovered that the Social Democrats had suffered a signal defeat. True, the Social Democrats had gained 248,200 popular votes over their number in the general election of 1903, but their representation in the Reichstag, thanks to the adroitness of Bülow⁵² and the co-operation of the various bourgeois parties, had been cut from eighty-one to forty-three.⁵³

The national verdict of 1907 had a most sobering and moderating effect upon the German Social Democracy. The party, which for all practical purposes had repudiated the general strike, now found the realization of its one remaining hope—majority control of the Reichstag—further off than at any time since 1890. This sad discovery dampened the ardor of extreme Marxists and galvanized the Revisionists into greater activity. Without moving for the withdrawal of the ban promulgated against them at Lübeck in 1901, the Revisionists now slowly but surely communicated much of their "heresy" to the entire party. A much larger delegation in the Reichstag must be obtained. For this purpose a phenomenal increase in the succeeding popular elections must be secured. To this end the party must not alienate well-organized trade-unionists

⁵¹ Signed by seventy-eight Social Democratic deputies in the Reichstag and published in *Vorwärts*, December 16, 1906. Translation in Ensor, *Modern Socialism*, pp. 370-371.

⁵² Prince von Bülow in his *Imperial Germany* gives a naïvely candid account of his remarkable activities and manoeuvres in the epochal elections of 1907.

⁵³ For an admirable explanation of the elections from the standpoint of the leading Revisionist, see Bernstein, "The German Elections and the Social Democrats", in the *Contemporary Review*, XCI. 479-492 (April, 1907).

or enlightened middle-class sympathizers. Accordingly, cataclysms and other disquieting bits of the Marxian system must be pushed into the background; a too unpatriotic attitude eschewed; and the party, in pursuit of all-important votes, must hold to practical exigencies—educational reform, extension of the right of association, direct and progressive taxation, universal direct suffrage extended to Prussia as it already existed for the empire, reduction of the hours of labor, increase of wages, protection against oppressive factory regulations. Though the Social Democrats both in the Reichstag and in their congresses continued to support arbitration and disarmament and to criticize the government for what they called its dangerous foreign policies,⁵⁴ nevertheless there could be little doubt that from 1907 to 1914 the tide was running ever stronger toward moderation and compromise.

In the matter of imperialism—so significant in the elections of 1907—there was noticeable shifting. The historic attitude of the Marxian Socialists had been expressed at the International Congress of London in 1896 in a resolution declaring that "Whatever may be the pretext of colonial politics, whether it be religion, or the advancement of civilization, it is in reality nothing but the extension of the field of capitalistic exploitation in the exclusive interest of the capitalist class". Now, at the International Congress of Stuttgart in 1907, most of the Socialists of nations possessing colonies voted to modify the policy; and of the Germans, Karl Kautsky and Georg Ledebour wished to reaffirm the London Resolution, but Eduard Bernstein and Eduard David, supported by the trade-union leaders, were anxious to discard it.

The increasing toleration of imperialism was after all but a natural corollary to earlier Revisionist influence upon the question of "protectionism *versus* free trade". At the German Congress of Stuttgart in 1898, Kautsky had insisted that free trade is a Socialist "principle", but Max Schippel, ably seconded by Vollmar and Wolfgang Heine, had held it to be a mere matter of "tactics"; the resolution adopted at that time was Kautsky's with an important qualifying amendment introduced by Bebel in order to conciliate the Revisionists: free trade was indeed a "principle", but "eventualities might arise in which it would be legitimate to accord some

⁵⁴ There is an illuminating résumé of these endeavors of the Social Democrats in the *Bericht der Reichstagsfraktion* in the *Protokoll des Parteitages* (1911), pp. 129-133, and in the *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, XII. Legislaturperiode, II. Session, Band 266, *Stenographische Berichte*, 159. Sitzung am 30. März 1911, especially the speeches by Scheidemann, Frank (Mannheim), and David.

measure of protection". Ambiguities were deemed preferable to party splits. Even "principles" must not be exalted above the requirements of vote-getting.

So chastening was the effect of the elections of 1907 upon the German Social Democracy that Bebel himself became something of a champion of the government in spite of its high-handed methods of combating his party. On the very morrow of the elections Bebel declared at the International Congress of Stuttgart that

affairs are no longer in such shape that the threads of a war catastrophe are hidden to educated and observing students of politics. Closet diplomacy has ceased to be. . . . The war party, to be sure, is small with us Germans and has no adherents in governmental circles. . . . In the ruling classes of Germany nobody wants war, partly out of regard for the existence of the Socialist movement. Prince Bülow himself conceded to me that the authorities know what great dangers for government and society lie in a European war, and therefore would avoid it if possible.⁵⁵

Another effect of the elections of 1907 upon the German Social Democracy was to settle beyond doubt the much-mooted question of co-operation with bourgeois parties in electoral campaigns. Bernstein had advocated such a policy as early as 1893,⁵⁶ but it had been condemned by the Cologne Congress in that year. It had been debated, with special reference to the curious three-class electoral system in Prussia, at the Hamburg Congress of 1897 and at the Stuttgart Congress of 1898, but without decisive results. At the Hanover Congress of 1899, largely under Revisionist influence, the following resolution was adopted:

In order to reach its goal, the party utilizes every means which, in harmony with its fundamental principles, promises it success. Without entertaining any illusions concerning the character and methods of bourgeois parties, representatives and defenders of the existing political and social order, it does not refuse in a given instance to co-operate with certain of them whenever it is a question of strengthening the party at elections, of extending the political rights and liberties of the people, of ameliorating in a serious way the social condition of the working class, of favoring the accomplishment of the duties of civilization, or of combating projects hostile to the working class and the people. But the party guards above all, in its activity, its complete autonomy and independence and considers each success which it achieves only as a step which brings it nearer its ultimate goal.⁵⁷

Next year the Mainz Congress applied this general principle specifically to the impending Prussian elections:

⁵⁵ Walling, *The Socialists and the War*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁶ *Die Neue Zeit*, vol. XI., pt. II., pp. 772-778 (1892-1893).

⁵⁷ *Protokoll des Parteitages* (1899), p. 67.

In all the German states in which exists the three-class electoral system, the members of the party are bound at the next elections to take part in the campaign with their secondary electors. For the elections to the Prussian Landtag the party executive forms the central electoral committee, and without its approval the members of the party in the several electoral districts must make no coalitions with bourgeois parties.⁵⁸

Relatively slight use was made of these formal authorizations while the Marxists seemingly had the upper hand, from 1901 to 1907, but the great success of the coalitions effected by other parties against the Social Democrats in 1907 was a lesson to be taken to heart by the defeated party.

Under these circumstances came the general elections of 1912. This time the Social Democrats were quite restrained in denunciation of imperialism, militarism, and foreign policies; they confined their efforts to attacks upon the unpopular Finance Act of 1909; and, in order to break the "Blue-Black Block", their party executive made arrangements to co-operate on the second balloting with the *Fortschrittliche Volkspartei*. The latter promised to support the former in thirty-one constituencies, and the former were to reciprocate in sixteen constituencies. By this means, the party executive estimated that it gained at least sixteen deputies more than it otherwise would have had.⁵⁹ The total gains of the German Social Democracy in 1912 went far to remove the stigma of the 1907 defeat and to justify the "moderate" tactics which of late the party had been following, for its popular vote increased from 3,259,000 to 4,250,300, and its representation in the Reichstag from 43 to 110.⁶⁰

Only a few facts and impressions concerning the German Social Democracy after 1912 need now detain us. The "victory" of 1912 was a victory less of Marxian doctrines throughout Germany than of Revisionist, opportunist tactics within the Social Democratic party. The number of Socialist votes polled in the empire was indeed four and a quarter millions; yet the number of regularly enrolled members of the party—presumably the *bona fide* proletarians—was but 970,112, and of this number over 130,000 were women⁶¹ and perhaps as many more were males under the voting age of 25. And of the enrolled members, a majority were trade-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (1900), p. 241.

⁵⁹ *Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Parteitag zu Chemnitz 1912 in Protokoll*, pp. 29-31.

⁶⁰ For electoral statistics, 1871-1912, see Cl. v. Stumpf-Brentano, *Ravensteins Reichstags-Wahlkarte des Deutschen Reichs* (1912).

⁶¹ *Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Parteitag zu Chemnitz 1912*. At the Jena Congress of 1913, the number of members was reported as 982,850, including 141,115 women.

unionists, far more Lassallean than Marxist in general outlook, while their Reichstag representatives, frantically endeavoring to bridge the wide gulf between the voting-strength and the membership-strength of the party, were ever veering toward opportunist tactics.

At the very first session of the newly-elected Reichstag, the Marxist wing fell back almost pathetically but quite naturally upon fatalism and abhorrence of violence. As Ledebour expressed it:

All Social Democrats know that Socialism must come as a result of historical necessity, as an inevitable result of economic development. . . . But I warn you, do not have recourse to force! You would thereby but invoke a terrible penalty for yourselves and the whole capitalistic society.⁶²

And Hugo Haase, on whom the mantle of Bebel was about to fall, quoted Lassalle's dicta against violent revolutions, and endorsed Kautsky's statements:

If I speak of war as a means of revolution, that does not say that I desire war. Its horrors are so terrible that to-day it is only military fanatics whose ghastly courage could lead them to demand a war in cold blood. But even when revolution is not a means to an end, but an end in itself, which even at the most bloody price could not be too dearly purchased, still one cannot desire war as a means of unshackling revolution.⁶³

To the rising anti-Russian feeling which was now gradually overspreading all Germany, the Social Democrats, in consonance with their traditions and principles, could contribute, and in its popularity they could share. In 1912 they talked much about the need of a *rapprochement* between Germany on the one side and France and Great Britain on the other in order to curb the ambitions of "Tsarism and Russian barbarism". For example, Eduard David, speaking in the Reichstag on foreign policy, after qualifying his praise of the Triple Alliance by the statement that "if perchance Austria should attack Serbia and Russia should hasten to Serbia's assistance, we should not be bound by the engagements of the Alliance to take up arms", went on to say that "the division of the Western European powers had led to the situation where Russia could reach out unhindered in all directions for new masses of land and likewise could assume a most threatening attitude in the Balkan question".⁶⁴

⁶² *Verhandlungen des Reichstags*, XIII. Legislaturperiode, I. Session, Band 286, *Stenographische Berichte*, 75. Sitzung am 2. Dezember 1912, p. 2483.

⁶³ Quoted from Kautsky's *Die Soziale Revolution*, p. 58, in *Stenographische Berichte*, Band 286, p. 2534.

⁶⁴ *Bericht der Reichstagsfraktion an den Parteitag zu Jena 1913.*

It was out of the Balkan conflicts of 1912-1913 and the resulting upset of the balance of power as between Russia and Austria-Hungary, it must be remembered, that the gigantic "preparedness" movement of 1913, common to all Europe, proceeded. Against the German Army Bill of 1913, providing for an increase of 19,000 officers and 117,000 men in the peace establishment, the Social Democrats in the Reichstag voted *en bloc*; but when it came to the question of furnishing funds to render the Army Bill operative, the same Social Democrats discovered "principles" whereby they were enabled for the first time in their history to vote in favor of increased taxes for military purposes.⁶⁵ The "principles" were discoverable in the fact that the government proposed to raise the required funds mainly by direct progressive taxation of the rich.⁶⁶ In effect, the party was inverting the old maxim and proclaiming that "the means justify the end".

The "tactics" of the Reichstag group were exposed to the Jena Congress of 1913:

The existing situation in the Reichstag forced us to vote in favor of these laws. Even if by chance the special levy should be passed without our votes, it would hardly be so with the property-tax law. In fact it is highly probable that the Conservatives, the Poles, and a part of the Centrists would vote against the property tax, which would mean its defeat. Then there would be two possibilities: either the dissolution of the Reichstag, or the postponement of the question of taxation until autumn. To be sure, every one of us would gladly [!] go to the country for election to a new Reichstag. But we should enter the campaign under very unfavorable conditions. We should be rightly accused of having defeated national direct taxes although we had always demanded them. It is likely that the group would suffer a noteworthy shrinkage, —an eventuality which could not be risked in view of the approaching revision of the tariff.⁶⁷

The caucus of the Reichstag group had adopted this view by a vote of 52 to 37, with seven abstentions; and at the congress it was endorsed by a vote of 336 to 140, the majority including Bernstein,

⁶⁵ The question of voting any budget proposed by a non-Socialist government had long been a mooted one with the German Social Democrats. Acceptance of such budgets had been advocated particularly by Vollmar and Anton Fendrich ("Zur Frage der Budgetbewilligung" in *Socialistische Monatshefte*, vol. V., pt. II., pp. 649-661, September, 1901), and opposed by Bebel and Rosa Luxemburg ("Die Badische Budgetabstimmung" in *Die Neue Zeit*, vol. XIX., pt. II., pp. 14-20, April 6, 1901), and debated in the congresses of 1894 and 1901. At Lübeck in 1901 it was resolved to vote against budgets in order to express "lack of confidence", but to admit of occasional exceptions.

⁶⁶ See the apology of Hermann Wendel, a Socialist deputy for Saxony in the Reichstag, in the *New Review*, I. 765-771 (1913).

⁶⁷ *Bericht der Reichstagsfraktion an den Parteitag zu Jena 1913 in Protokoll*, pp. 169-170.

David, Frank, Göhre, Liebknecht, Scheidemann, Südekum, Weill, and Wendel, and the minority counting Geyer, Ledebour, Rosa Luxemburg, Stadthagen, and Klara Zetkin.⁶⁸

The German Social Democrats, especially the radical minority, did their best to convince their foreign comrades that the action of the Jena Congress in approving the stand of the Reichstag group on the question of the military budget could not be construed as an endorsement of militarism. Karl Liebknecht's celebrated Krupp "revelations" of 1913 were continued and enlarged in May, 1914. The "Zabern affair" was repeatedly exploited in the Reichstag,⁶⁹ Wendel going so far in May, 1914, as to conclude a speech with the words, *Vive la France*. Similarly exploited was the prosecution of Rosa Luxemburg on the charge of libelling the army.⁷⁰ And when the Great War actually threatened, *Vorwärts* fairly fulminated against the impending disaster. In an extra edition published on July 25, 1914, a proclamation of the party executive in bold black-faced type denounced "Austrian imperialism bringing death and destruction to all Europe". "However much we condemn the deeds of the Pan-Serb nationalists", it went on to say,

the frivolous war-provocation of the Austro-Hungarian government demands at any rate our sharpest protest. . . . No drop of blood of a single German soldier may be sacrificed to the ambition of an Austrian potentate in the interest of imperialistic gains. . . . The governing classes who in peace gag, despise, and exploit you, will use you as cannon-fodder. Everywhere must sound in the ears of the potentates: We wish no war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of the peoples!

In the din of the clash of arms, the voice of protest, of "international brotherhood", was swiftly silenced. Indeed the party executive hardly awaited the outbreak of war to sound a different note in another proclamation in *Vorwärts*.⁷¹

The frightful self-slaughter of the European nations is the cruellest confirmation of what we have long but vainly declared. . . . Yet not with fatalistic indifference shall we live through the coming events. We shall remain true to our cause, we shall hold firmly together, inspired by the greatness of our cultural mission. . . . The strenuous prohibitions of martial law affect with fearful force the workingmen's movement. Indiscretions, needless and foolish sacrifices, may disgrace at this moment not only the individual but likewise our cause.

⁶⁸ *Protokoll* (1913), pp. 171, 515-516.

⁶⁹ See the *Stenographische Berichte* of the sittings of November 28 and December 3-4, 1913, January 23-24, and May 14-15, 1914.

⁷⁰ This was just on the eve of the outbreak of the war. She was finally found guilty and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, beginning in March, 1915. See Walling, *The Socialists and the War* (1915).

⁷¹ *Vorwärts*, August 1, 1914.

Then came, on August fourth, the voting of the first war loan by the Reichstag. From what has already been indicated of the Socialist movement in Germany, no surprise should be evoked by the fact that the Social Democratic group voted "aye", nor by the statement which Chairman Haase read to the Reichstag in justification of the patriotism of his party:

Now we are only too surely confronted by the fact that war is upon us and that we are menaced by the terror of foreign invasion. The problem before us now is not the relative advisability of war or peace, but a consideration of just what steps must be taken for the protection of our country. . . . As far as our people and their independence are concerned, much, if not everything, would be endangered by a triumph of autocratic Russia, already weltering in the blood of her own noblest sons. It devolves upon us, therefore, to avert this danger, to defend the civilization and independence of our native land. Therefore we must to-day justify what we have always said. In its hour of danger Germany may ever rely upon us.⁷²

Into the subsequent developments of German Social Democracy it is impossible to go with any degree of assurance. It seemed by 1917 as if the party was hopelessly split. One little group, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, had maintained continuous and consistent opposition to the war, but Liebknecht in voting "no" on the second war loan (December 2, 1914) had committed a breach of party discipline and had accordingly been reprimanded by a vote of sixty-five to twenty-six; and this "willful" group had been pretty effectually silenced by the thickness of prison walls. A larger group—the so-called "Minority Socialists"—supported the government so long as the war was obviously defensive against Russia, but as soon as it appeared to them to be waged primarily against England and France, and for conquest, they refused further credits in the Reichstag and became apostles of peace in the country: this group, though it included some of the most eminent Socialists in Germany, such as the great theorist Kautsky, the Revisionist leader Bernstein,⁷³ Haase, the successor of Bebel, Franz Mehring, the historian of the party, and Ledebour, was unable to control more than a fifth of the Socialist members of the Reichstag; claiming to be the true custodians of the gospel according to Marx and of the epistles of Lassalle, its members at length in 1916 broke with the Social Democratic Party and formed

⁷² Walling, *The Socialists and the War*, pp. 143-144; cf. La Chesnais, *Le Groupe Socialiste du Reichstag et la Déclaration de Guerre* (1915).

⁷³ Bernstein was the only Revisionist of note who joined the "Minority Socialists". His attitude was no doubt determined in large part by his great admiration for England.

a rival organization. The secession of the "Minority Socialists" left the Opportunists and Revisionists in complete control of the party, which was now "pro-war" and undoubtedly "patriotic".

As early as August 21, 1914, Philipp Scheidemann expressed the view which was to dominate the Majority Socialists, of whom he was to become the leader.

When France, republican France, [he wrote] has allied herself with Russian autocracy for the purpose of murder and destruction, it is difficult to conceive that England, parliamentary England, democratic England, is fighting side by side with them for "liberty and civilization". That is truly a gigantic, shameless piece of hypocrisy. . . . The motive of England is envy of our economic development. . . . Russia, France, Belgium, England, Serbia, Montenegro, and Japan in the struggle for liberty and civilization against Germanism, which has given to the world Goethe, Kant, and Karl Marx! This would be a joke if the situation were not so desperately serious.⁷⁴

It is truly illuminating to turn over the pages of the *Socialistische Monatshefte* and to behold article after article of the most patriotic import from the pens of Max Schippel,⁷⁵ Eduard David, Wolfgang Heine,⁷⁶ Edmund Fischer, Paul Hirsch, and Ludwig Quessel:⁷⁷ England is damned, and the Socialists who die on the battle-field are raised to the altars.

On the probable domestic policies of the re-baptized Social Democratic Party, some light is perhaps shed by a remarkable speech delivered by Wolfgang Heine at Stuttgart on February 22, 1915. After arguing against peace and in support of the government not only in the prosecution of the war but also in the securing of "permanent territorial guarantees", the deputy extolled imperialism as an essential part of normal national development and indicated that the workingman's chief aim of the future must be to strive by means of a simple labor party gradually to realize political and social reforms.⁷⁸

In bringing to a close this review of developments in German Social Democracy between 1848 and 1915, I am oppressed by the

⁷⁴ Letter written August 21, 1914, and published in the New York *Volkszeitung*, September 10, 1914.

⁷⁵ See particularly his *Englands Wirtschaftliche Kriegführung*, November 11, 1914, pp. 1170-1176.

⁷⁶ See particularly his *Deutsche Sozialdemokratie im Deutschen Volk*, July 8, 1915, pp. 628-636.

⁷⁷ See particularly his *Britische Annexionspläne*, September 9, 1915, pp. 867-872.

⁷⁸ The speech of Heine is to be found in great part in *Vorwärts*, February 25, 1915. It is synchronized with the conclusion of the nine-day battle of the Mazurian lakes.

feeling that I have not done justice to the movement. Too much has been said about its international policies and its merely tactical manoeuvres in German politics, and too little about its greatest and best contributions to the Germany of the present and of the future. Quite aside from its failures to establish a Marxian society and order in the Fatherland and to usher in a universal brotherhood of the world's workingmen, it has done more than any other single factor—more, it may be said without exaggeration, than all other factors put together—to preserve to twentieth-century Germany the heritage of the days of 1848, a passionate longing for political democracy, for individual liberties, for social equality. To this, its four-and-a-quarter million electoral followers are an eloquent testimony. To-day political Germany as a whole is a thinly disguised military despotism, and the Reichstag, the popular assembly, is not much more efficacious than any respectable debating society. But outside the *form* of German political life are two million workingmen, including three-fourths of the trade-unionists of the country, who have had an excellent training, through their local organization, their annual congresses, and their press, in the methods and procedure, in the problems and responsibilities, of democratic self-government; and for this training they—and the friends of democracy throughout the world—have the German Social Democracy to thank.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE TRADES OF ANTIQUITY AS A FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

THE study of the industrial organization of ancient times will always be baffling and difficult, because the existing remains of the output of the industries are scattered about in many museums and are practically inaccessible at a distance from the great museum centres. Moreover, as compared with modern times, the amount of available information is small and statistical comparisons quite out of the question. Nevertheless, the field is an attractive one which still offers opportunity for a number of useful studies. These must be made with great care. Most particularly, great restraint is required in the necessary attempt to fill in by legitimate conjecture the blank spaces, both temporal and territorial, in which material is entirely lacking or else vague and insufficient. The best results will be obtained, I think, by highly specialized studies of single trades, carried where possible through the entire period of antiquity. As a model of what may be accomplished by an enthusiastic student of one particular craft and its products, Kisa's *Das Glas im Altertume* may be cited.¹

An opportunity to do a similar piece of work, equally interesting and of greater importance, perhaps, in the history of industrial development, is offered in the weaving trade. From Egypt we have great quantities of ancient fabrics, chiefly of coarse weaves. We have, especially from Egypt, a fairly large amount of information, both pictorial and documentary, upon the technique of the weaving industry. The basis for this phase of the work has already been laid in Blümner's *Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*.² Other more special studies have also been made upon the ancient textile industries and the related dyeing industry. But there is no study of large scope which gives us a perspective of the advance in technical skill or the bearing of the Chinese silk trade upon the development of textile manufactures in the Mediterranean world. There is no satisfactory study of the changing social status of the weavers themselves throughout antiquity. In the period covered

¹ Dr. Anton Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume* (Leipzig, 1908, 3 vols.).

² Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (Leipzig, 1875-1887, 4 vols.).

by the papyri, inscriptions, and the codes of the Roman and Byzantine empires, roughly speaking from 300 B. C. to 900 A. D., information upon this subject is fairly abundant and easily accessible.

The comprehensive study of the weaving trade suggested above can only be undertaken by a scholar who is able to meet three requirements. He must have, or acquire, a knowledge of the technique of textile manufacturing. He must have time. He must have money available for travel and study in the great museums. The scholar best adapted for this service is, perhaps, to be found in a man of thorough classical training—the ancient languages are an absolute essential—connected with one of our best-equipped museums, in Boston, New York, or Chicago.

In the same way the lead industry of antiquity would also repay an intensive and comprehensive treatment, though not to the same degree as the weaving trade. Here, too, special studies are already available, but only as a working basis.³ As in the study of textile manufactures, the archaeological evidence would form the foundation of the work.

In the ancient iron industry more work has been done. The monumental work of Ludwig Beck upon the history of iron⁴ does not, however, make use of the epigraphical and papyrological evidence. Despite Waltzing's exhaustive volumes upon the industrial corporations among the Romans⁵ and other more recent studies on the Greek and Byzantine guilds, a separate study of the iron workers throughout antiquity would amply repay the time spent upon it as a dissertation. Here the ends to be sought are two: first, to determine the social classification of the laborers in the industry;⁶ second, to determine the amount of interest and control of the governments over ore production and manufacture in the iron industry.

For the ancient building trades, the archaeologists have already done a great deal in the study of the technique. But little attention has been given to their economic and social aspects; on this side

³ See the article *plumbum* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*. All the material available in the Greek papyri from Egypt has been gathered, for all the industries, by Th. Reil in his doctoral dissertation, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Gewerbes im Hellenistischen Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1913).

⁴ Dr. Ludwig Beck, *Die Geschichte des Eisens* (second ed., vol. I., Braunschweig, 1890-1891).

⁵ P. Waltzing, *Les Corporations Professionnelles chez les Romains* (Louvain, 1895-1900, 4 vols.).

⁶ A model for this type of study may be found in the article by H. Gummerus in *Klio*, XIV. 2, "Die Römische Industrie: das Goldschmied- und Juweliergewerbe".

of the building trades lies an untouched field. These subjects are suggested as types of investigation now greatly needed in the field of ancient history. It is only through such studies, and others like them, that we can attain a real knowledge of ancient industrial life.

W. L. WESTERMANN.

AMERICAN OPINION ON THE IMPERIAL REVIEW OF PROVINCIAL
LEGISLATION, 1776-1787

THERE has recently been published in the Columbia University *Studies* a monograph by Dr. E. B. Russell on *The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council*. In the closing chapter of his monograph, Dr. Russell lays some stress on the influence of this veto power as contributing "largely to the final breach between the colonies and the mother country". This view seems on the whole justified by the prominence given to the subject in the Declaration of Independence, where the enumeration of grievances against the British crown begins with the familiar indictment, "He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good", a charge which is followed up by a number of specifications in the succeeding paragraphs. It should be remembered, however, that in the earlier controversies, as well as in those of the Revolutionary era, the issue was not always clearly defined as between the imperial government on the one side and the whole body of colonists on the other. Sometimes, as for instance in the case of currency and "bank" legislation, a conservative minority in America was disposed to seek imperial protection against a radical majority. In other cases the royal veto was invoked to protect a colony against injurious legislation by one of its neighbors.

Generally speaking, the colonists did not question the legality of this prerogative and even so radical a person as Jefferson recognized its place in the constitution of the empire. His position was clearly set forth in 1774 in his "Summary View of the Rights of British America", where he describes the British Empire as a quasi-federal or personal union, having no authorized central legislature, in which the king was "as yet the only mediatory power between the several states".¹ An important part of this "mediatory power" was the royal veto. The actual exercise of that power the king had "for several ages past" "modestly declined" to continue "in that part of his Empire called Great Britain". The two houses of

¹ *Writings* (Ford ed.), I. 427 ff.; cf. Pownall, *Administration of the British Empire* (ed. 1777), I. 72 ff.

Parliament had not made a just use of their unfettered legislative authority and the addition of new states to the British Empire "had produced an addition of new, and sometimes opposite interests". "It is now, therefore", he continued, "the great office of his majesty to resume exercise of his negative power, and to prevent the passage of laws by any one legislature of the empire, which might bear injuriously on the rights and interests of another". In short, Jefferson, while condemning the "wanton exercise" of this prerogative, regarded it as a potentially useful part of the imperial, or federal, system.

In the enthusiasm of 1776, Americans were naturally not inclined to emphasize the advantages of the royal veto; but in the conservative reaction which followed the war, the problem of an effective control upon provincial radicalism or particularism was seen in a new light. In the Federal Convention of 1787, the members were fairly well agreed as to the desirability of some check on state laws; but there was sharp difference of opinion whether this check should be political in character as in the form of a congressional veto, or whether the principle of judicial review should be adopted. Though the debate on this issue is familiar to students of the convention, its significance for the interpretation of colonial institutions has hardly been appreciated.

Madison was, of course, one of the most persistent advocates of the congressional veto and in his discussion of the subject he referred several times to the imperial prerogative of disallowing provincial statutes. He was at work on the problem some time before the convention met. In March, 1787, he wrote to Jefferson, then in Paris, urging the necessity of a federal negative upon state laws "in all cases whatsoever", not merely in order to "guard the national rights", but also to prevent the states from oppressing "the minority within themselves by paper money and other unrighteous measures which favor the interest of the majority". There is a definite reference to colonial experience in the suggestion that there should be "some emanation" of the federal prerogative "within the several states, so far as to enable them to give a temporary sanction to laws of immediate necessity".² This was of course provided for in the imperial system through the action of the royal governor in giving immediate effect to statutes, which nevertheless remained subject to royal disallowance. In a letter to Randolph a few weeks later, Madison referred more explicitly to the British practice, urging that the national government be given

² *Writings* (Hunt ed.), II. 326, 327.

"a negative, in all cases whatsoever, on the Legislative acts of the States, as the King of Great Britain heretofore had".³ Jefferson did not agree with Madison; on practical grounds rather than as a matter of principle, he expressed his preference for some form of judicial control.⁴ Madison held, however, to his own opinion and found a considerable support in the convention.

On June 8, while the convention was sitting in committee of the whole, Charles Pinckney made a motion to give the national legislature a negative on all state laws "which to them shall appear improper". He argued in support of this motion, that "under the British Govt. the negative of the Crown had been found beneficial, and the *States* are more one nation now, than the *Colonies* were then". Madison was apparently more cautious in his approval of the imperial precedent. He renewed the suggestion made in his letter to Randolph of "some emanation of the power from the Natl. Govt. into each State so far as to give a temporary assent at least". "This", he said, "was the practice in Royal Colonies before the Revolution and would not have been inconvenient, if the supreme power of negating had been faithful to the American interest and had possessed the necessary information".⁵ When the discussion was resumed on July 17, Madison came forward with another speech in support of the congressional veto, again supporting his contention by reference to the royal disallowance of colonial laws:

Its utility is sufficiently displayed in the British System. Nothing could maintain the harmony and subordination of the various parts of the empire, but the prerogative by which the Crown stifles in the birth every Act of every part tending to discord or encroachment. It is true the prerogative is sometimes misapplied thro' ignorance or a partiality to one particular part of the empire; but we have not the same reason to fear such misapplications in our System.⁶

This is almost precisely Jefferson's theory of the legitimate function of an imperial veto.

How many of Madison's colleagues shared his comparatively favorable view of the royal veto it is impossible to say. Apparently only one of his opponents in the debate touched on this particular

³ *Writings*, II. 338, 339.

⁴ Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), IV. 390-391.

⁵ Journal, and Madison's Notes, June 8 (Farrand, *Records*, I.).

⁶ Madison's Notes, July 17 (Farrand, *Records*, II. 28). There are brief references to this aspect of the discussion in Curtis, *Constitutional History of the United States*, I. 345-347; Coxe, *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation*, ch. 34; Robinson, "Original and Derived Features of the Constitution", in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, I. 238; and Bigelow's essay in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VII., ch. VIII.

point. This was Lansing, who referred to it in a speech directed against the generally nationalistic features of the Virginia plan. It was intolerable, he said, that a gentleman from Georgia should assume to judge the expediency of a law which was to operate in New Hampshire. "Such a Negative would be more injurious than that of Great Britain heretofore was."⁷

Madison's final view of the matter is shown in the familiar memorandum on the "Origin of the Constitutional Convention", written shortly before his death, in which he refers to his early proposals, "suggested by the negative in the head of the British Empire, which prevented collisions between the parts and the whole, and between the parts themselves".

It was supposed [he adds] that the substitution, of an elective and responsible authority for an hereditary and irresponsible one, would avoid the appearance even of a departure from the principle of Republicanism. But altho' the subject was so viewed in the Convention, and the votes on it were more than once equally divided, it was finally and justly abandoned, as apart from other objections it was not practicable among so many states increasing in number and enacting each of them so many laws.⁸

Though federal control of state legislation was finally secured in another way, the whole debate shows how the sense of responsibility for general interests influenced American ways of thinking about imperial problems. Men like Samuel Adams, or Patrick Henry, clinging persistently to his "darling word requisitions",⁹ might continue to think in the terms of 1776, but the leaders who wrestled with confederation problems during and after the war understood, in some measure at least, the attitude of British administrators when confronted with the stubborn localism of a provincial assembly.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

MAXIMUM PRICES IN FRANCE IN 1793 AND 1794

THE measures adopted by the German imperial government for the control of food prices and the fair distribution of supplies, together with the recent legislation on the same subject in the United States, give a fresh interest to similar experiments in France, when that country was confronted by a world of enemies in 1793 and 1794. An adequate examination of certain aspects of the French experience with maximum prices has now been made pos-

⁷ Madison's Notes, June 20 (Farrand, *Records*, I. 337).

⁸ *Writings* (Hunt ed.), II. 409.

⁹ Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III. 471.

sible by the work of scholars under the direction of the Commission de Recherche et de Publication des Documents relatifs à la Vie Économique de la Révolution. So extensive is the documentary material on the subject in the local archives of France, communal as well as departmental, that the individual student, unaided by the results of such co-operative labors, could hardly hope to obtain a comprehensive view of the problem. This is especially true of the American student, whose visits to French archives can only be occasional. The purpose of the present note is to call attention to some of the new material and to indicate a few of the interesting questions suggested by its study.

The volumes published by the Commission, so far as they are concerned with the question of food and other necessities of life, contain more material upon the supply of wheat and its distribution than upon what was called the *Maximum général*, established by the law of September 29, 1793, and modified by subsequent legislation. This is in consequence of the wise policy of the Commission in organizing carefully the study of one field before undertaking work upon another. In order that the researches of the collaborating scholars may be most successful, and their publications edited on a plan reasonably uniform, the Commission usually issues a pamphlet of instructions or a manual containing the important laws, regulations, and administrative circulars bearing on the subject. Such was M. Pierre Caron's *Le Commerce des Céréales*, published in 1907, which was the introduction to the series on *Les Subsistances*.¹ In 1913 M. Caron was authorized to prepare a similar volume on the *Maximum général*, but its publication has apparently been delayed by the war. As a consequence the series which it was intended to introduce is also delayed.

This does not mean that no documents for the study of price-making in general have been made available by the work of the Commission. The volumes on the grain supply incidentally contain much on the broader subject. For example, the records of the Committee of Subsistence of Toulouse show that while it was mainly busied with questions of wheat and bread it was anxious also to secure supplies of meat, oil, soap, and candles. The volumes

¹ The most important volumes of this series are *Les Procès-Verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention* (ed. F. Gerbaux and Ch. Schmidt, 4 vols.); Ch. Lorain, *Les Subsistances en Céréales dans le District de Chaumont* (Haute-Marne), 2 vols.; J. Adler, *Le Comité des Subsistances de Toulouse*; G. Lefebvre, *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire des Subsistances dans le District de Bergues* (Nord), vol. I. Of the last work a second volume is to appear, unless its completion has been prevented by the devastation of that part of France.

of M. Mourlot, embodying documents from the records of the municipalities of the district of Alençon, deal with all economic problems, including the general maximum.² The characteristic difficulties in the enforcement of the maximum laws in Paris and in its neighborhood are made vividly apparent in the reports of the "Observers" Grivel and Siret, which M. Caron has printed at length in the Commission's *Bulletin* of 1907.³

The most satisfactory studies of price-making in France deal with local situations: for example, that of M. Babeau, in his history of Troyes during the Revolution. The Commission's *Bulletin* of 1907 contains an enlightening account by M. Lefebvre of the way the maximum worked in the district of Bergues. The same writer has also described the experience of a particular commune of that district.⁴ The more comprehensive accounts are open to the charge of fragmentariness or prejudice. Even that of M. Levasseur, in the revised edition of his *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières en France*, is meagre and not free from confusion. He makes no clear statement of the modifications introduced by the law of the 11th Brumaire, nor does he give an adequate notion of the enormous difficulties which the government had to overcome before it issued its schedules of prices. The principal weakness in his treatment, however, is its failure to consider the influence of a war which arrayed against France nearly every European power. He apparently regarded the argument for complete economic freedom as unaffected by such a circumstance. Taine's long chapter on the subject equally disregards this fact. His main interest appears to have been to illustrate Jacobin violence and administrative incapacity. The most instructive of the older treatments is in Biollay's *Les Prix en 1790*, although his description of the price legislation of 1793 is only incidental.

The French experiment with maximum prices was confessedly a failure; at least such was the declared opinion of the Convention in December, 1794, when the maximum laws were repealed. The question is, Was the failure real?—and, if so, What was the reason? A recent writer on the food dictatorship in Germany alleges the greed of the farmer as the cause of the supposed failure

² *Recueil des Documents d'Ordre Économique contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon* (Orne), 3 vols.

³ Other collections, like that of M. Aulard for the Committee of Public Safety, contain many documents bearing on the subject. An original copy of the *Tableau du Maximum Général*, in two volumes, issued by the Commission des Subsistances et Approvisionnements in 1794, is to be found in the Ford Collection of the New York Public Library.

⁴ "La Société Populaire de Bourbourg", in *Revue du Nord*, IV. 273-323.

of the grain maximum in Revolutionary France. This statement simply re-echoes the invectives hurled at the farmer from 1792 on by those members of the Convention or of town councils who represented the point of view of the urban proletariat, and who could not or would not understand the position of the farmer. Mobs of townsmen had ruined the grain-trade and had created an artificial famine even before the general war broke out in February, 1793. Tormented by fear of scarcity, the townsmen not only prevented grain from being sent out of their own communities to other markets, but also stopped wagons which were passing by, and either pillaged the loads or compelled the grain to be sold, often below cost. They looked upon the grain-merchants as in a conspiracy to corner the market or to export grain, and they began to regard the farmer as a conspirator too, and to abuse him when he appeared in the local market. Their anger was aroused if he refused to take the rapidly depreciating paper for his grain. As the assignats had lost nearly half their face-value by the summer of 1792, it is not surprising that the farmer preferred coin, and, if he could not get this, demanded a higher price. The first maximum law, adopted May 4, 1793, provided that in each department the price should be the average of the local market prices from January to May. The farmer could not now make a distinction between payment in assignats and payment in coin, for that had just been made a penal offense. In consequence he was inclined to keep his grain, waiting for the Convention to repeal the maximum law, or for a turn in the political wheel of fortune which should bring coin again into circulation. The evidence of the documents is that wherever the law was enforced the markets were deserted, if they had not been deserted before. Several departments, fearing the consequences to themselves of the law, did not enforce it at all or fixed the price later than their neighbors, in the hope of attracting grain to their own markets. By the close of August it was recognized that this first experiment was a failure, and on September 11 the plan was tried of fixing a uniform price for the whole country and making an allowance for the costs of transportation. This law offered still less inducement to the farmer, for in those departments where grain was scarce he was to receive a price much lower even than the January price. If he took his grain to market, he commonly found no merchants to buy it, the allowance for carriage being below the rates charged by carters and boatmen. Moreover, why should a merchant buy at the maximum in one place and transport it to another when he was obliged to sell at the same price? The reason for the

partial failure of the grain maximum is to be found elsewhere than in the greed of the farmers. Many members of the Convention rightly believed that all such efforts were doomed to failure unless the inflation of paper money was stopped.

It is by no means clear that the grain maximum was a complete failure, except from the point of view of the orthodox economy. France was in a condition for which the Convention was not wholly responsible. The distrust which each department, often each district or town, felt toward its neighbors when the question of food was raised, had brought about an economic federalism far more dangerous than the mild schemes of decentralization entertained by the Girondins. The Constituent Assembly had embarked on the disastrous policy of relying on paper money rather than upon taxes to pay the expenses of the Revolution. By the spring and summer of 1793 the ills bred by these two diseases had become inveterate. They were aggravated by defeats on the frontier, by rumors of treason, and by the fact of civil war. Grain must be obtained for the armies and for the civil population as well. It was folly to expect the farmer to save the situation, voluntarily, at his own cost, for until the general maximum was introduced in the fall he had to pay high prices for everything he bought and high wages to his employees. But both the law of May and the law of September did contain a provision which could be utilized to keep the country from starvation. This was the right of the authorities to compel farmers to bring grain to market, where, of course, it could be purchased at the maximum price. Whether the proceeding was just is not now under discussion. The local records show that commandeering, or the requisition, as it was then called, was the method by which France was fed, so far as grain was concerned, in the last half of 1793 and during the year 1794. At best the system of force could be only temporary. Not even Terror could in the long run keep the farmers at work. But by the time it was necessary to abandon the plan of a maximum the country had been saved both from its foreign foes and from the factions which were still more dangerous. There is some truth in the remark made in his memoirs by another Levasseur, deputy from the Sarthe, that "our critics must prove that the maximum has not lessened the wretchedness of the masses, and so stimulated their enthusiasm, before blaming us for establishing it."

Perhaps the same might be said for the general maximum, and doubtless Levasseur's remark was meant to include this, but the case would be difficult to make out. In the first place the law had

been in existence only a month when the basis of prices was fundamentally changed. The principle of the law of September 29 was that prices should be the local prices of 1790 with one-third added. The Convention soon discovered that neither wholesaler nor retailer could continue business under this system. The wholesaler was apparently better off than the retailer, because he could charge the maximum to the retailer, who then could make no profit at all. But the wholesaler was hit almost equally hard, if he tried to restock, because the producer charged the maximum and the law made no allowance for the great increase in transportation charges. On the 11th Brumaire (November 1), accordingly, the Convention decided that prices should be based upon those of 1790 at the place of production, with the addition of a third, plus a rate per league for carriage, and five per cent. for the wholesaler, and ten per cent. for the retailer. A few days before a new Commission of Supplies (*Subsistances et Approvisionnements*) had been created, and to this was assigned the task of preparing the schedules of prices at the place of production in 1790. The schedules were to be printed and sent to the district authorities, whose duty it was to add the allowances for transportation and for profits. The Commission seems to have labored with the greatest diligence, but its task was not completed until late in February. After the Convention had approved the work the printing of the schedules began. As there were twenty, amounting in all to 1278 printed pages, weeks were required. They had to be printed again in the districts, with the legal allowances added, in order that citizens as well as merchants might have copies. In not a few districts the local printers did not have type enough to push forward the work rapidly. The consequence was that the new rates were promulgated locally one after another all through the spring and summer. As all maximum laws were abrogated in December, the new price system had a short career. One question upon which available documents do not throw sufficient light is whether the law of the 11th Brumaire operated to nullify the law of September 29. M. Lefebvre finds that it did in the commune of Bourbourg, but he does not express so definite an opinion for the district of Bergues as a whole. The documents do offer an abundance of evidence to show that in many places the earlier maximum was disregarded for other reasons, if not because of the change in the scheme.

One of the most curious results of the maximum legislation was the growth of a contraband trade, which reached enormous proportions. This was especially true for butter, eggs, and meat, which

were peddled in small quantities by *revendeurs* or higglers. To control the prices charged by such persons, chiefly women, who made their way into alleys, to the doors of apartments, and to the service entrances of the rich, was practically impossible. The growth of this contraband trade contributed to the unpopularity of a law which was ruinous only to honest butchers and grocers.

In the study of the maximum legislation the close connection between the influence of the Paris radicals and the two laws of September 11 and of September 29 has not been sufficiently emphasized. When late in August it became clear that the first grain maximum was a failure, the tide of sentiment in the Convention seemed to be running against the policy of a maximum. Paris then intervened with demands and menaces. On September 4 the municipal council voted to proceed to the Convention in a body and demand the immediate creation of a "revolutionary army, which should march wherever necessary to thwart the manoeuvres of egoists and forestallers [*i. e.*, grain merchants and farmers], and bring them to justice". Chaumette, speaking for the commune the next day, urged that a guillotine accompany the army, in order that at a blow the lives of intriguers, as well as their plots, should be cut off. This, he said, would force "avarice and cupidity to disgorge the riches of the earth". The agitation to strengthen the food laws and to carry them out rigorously enabled Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois to force their way into the Committee of Public Safety. The existing members of the committee, if we may judge by the later speeches of Saint Just and Barère, took a critical attitude toward the maximum laws. In the spring of 1794 Barère, speaking in behalf of the committee for the adoption of the new schedules of prices, declared frankly that the original maximum laws were a feature of the "profound system of the counter-revolutionary cabinet of London and Paris". Not many days afterward the committee ordered the arrest of Chaumette, the spokesman of the Paris radicals in the food agitation of September.

These are only a few of the interesting problems the study of which is facilitated by the publications of the Commission. It is to be hoped that the burdens which the war has laid upon France will not fatally hamper the work undertaken by the Commission and its co-operating scholars.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

DOCUMENTS

1. *The New England Emigrant Aid Company and English Cotton Supply Associations: Letters of Frederick L. Olmsted, 1857*

THE following letters reveal an attempt made in 1857 by the New England Emigrant Aid Company to enlist the aid of English cotton manufacturers in colonizing free laborers upon new land in the southwest of the United States. The work of this society in assisting the establishment of free communities in Kansas is well known. In encouraging emigrants, furnishing them with advice and helping to defray their travelling expenses, and finally by supplying the new communities with the necessary outfit of capital in the form of sawmills, grist-mills, etc., the Emigrant Aid Company combated the further advance of slavery with an intelligent policy of practical opportunism. Its business-like methods and adherence to lawful means still stand out in marked contrast to the violent denunciations and revolutionary propaganda which characterized much of the anti-slavery movement.

To have enlisted the services of Frederick Law Olmsted is the best sort of proof that the leaders of the Emigrant Aid Company were really anxious to learn the truth about slavery, for by the publication of his *Journey in the Seaboard Slave States* in 1856 and the *Journey through Texas* in 1857 Mr. Olmsted had shown himself to be the best-informed and the most unprejudiced and thoughtful student of slave society in this country.

The plan which Mr. Olmsted submitted to the Cotton Supply Associations of Manchester and Liverpool was based upon two clear and important convictions: (1) that cotton could be successfully grown almost anywhere in the South by white labor, and (2) that free white labor could in the long run hold its ground against the slave-using planters in competition for the land.¹ The success of

¹ The first point was elaborated in Olmsted's *Journey in the Back Country*, pp. 337-355. The soundness of the contention has been amply demonstrated by the later history of Southern agriculture, especially in Texas.

On the second point there was ground for a difference of opinion. Would the new colonists be any more able to hold their land against the competition of the large planters using slave gangs than were the small farmers of the South Atlantic states who in earlier decades had been driven on to poorer soils and to the new Southwest? Much would undoubtedly have depended on the character

the colonization plan in not only checking the further advance, but in hastening the eventual disappearance of slavery would have depended upon another circumstance, also, which Mr. Olmsted does not seem to have recognized. Slavery depended for its profitability on a constantly available supply of new land. As soon as the rapidly decreasing supply of fresh lands suitable for cotton cultivation had been exhausted, the economic weakness of the slave system would have been sure to display itself and eventually its political support would have failed. Thus, in planning to seize this new land in advance by free-labor colonists, the Emigrant Aid Company were preparing, perhaps more scientifically than they themselves realized, to hasten the inevitable decay of the "peculiar institution" of the South.

Dr. Samuel Cabot, to whom this correspondence was addressed, was a physician of considerable reputation in Boston, one of the twenty original directors of the Emigrant Aid Company and an untiring worker in its service.

PERCY W. BIDWELL.

I.

NEW HAVEN, July 26th, 1857.
(Morris Cove)

DR. S. CABOT, JR.
(N. E. E. A. Soc'y)

Dear Sir

I extremely regret the circumstance which so long delayed my receipt of your letter of 16th July, to which I now reply.

Enclosed I send you a copy of the draft of a communication addressed by me on the 6th July, severally, to the Cotton Supply Associations of Manchester, and of Liverpool.² These papers were taken out and would be delivered in person to the Secretary's of the associations, by Mr. William Neill, one of our largest Cotton merchants, dealing with Manchester, and the editor of a weekly Cotton circular, much quoted by the English journals. Mr. Neill sail'd from New York on the 8th. You will perceive that my object has been thus far to secure a proper consideration of the subject, and that in these papers I have treated it simply in the Cotton Supply aspect. By the same mail however I addressed letters to individuals, with whom I have had a little correspondence previously, treating of the political and moral bearings of the project, stating the general principles on which I thought it would be best to proceed; fortifying my suggestions and statements with documents and in two instances—to Lord Goderiche M. P. from the West of the new settlers and upon the amount of aid and direction furnished by the Emigrant Aid Company. It must also be remembered that these colonists would have settled on the last frontier of the cotton area and consequently would have been more reluctant to sell out than the earlier competitors of the planters.

² These local associations or branches had been formed but a little time before this. The Cotton Supply Association of Great Britain held its first annual meeting in April, 1858.

Riding and C. Fowler Buxton M. P.³ who has much influence in Manchester, requesting that the proposal of my letters to the Cotton Associations meet with due consideration. I addressed a short note also, (continuing a conversation I had last autumn on the agricultural capabilities of the United States,) to the editor of the *Times*. Colonel Hamilton, who has the most encouraging view of the project, promised me to write to Lord Stanley⁴ and friends at Liverpool by the following steamer's mail.

I trust that what has been thus done (previous to my receiving any intimation that you had thought of soliciting money in England) will have prepared the ground favorably to Mr. Paddleford's arrival. It is a most fortunate circumstance that a competent person will be present to meet objections and take advantage of various circumstances in the discussion, if one should occur, in which facts, likely to be familiar to Mr. P., will tell happily.

With regard to the proposal to be made by Mr. Paddleford, if any, and the information most desirable to be furnished, he will of course be guided by circumstances, but unless met with much greater favor than I can anticipate, I may venture to say that I am confident in the judgment that it would not be best to urge much more at present than careful enquiry, in some such manner as I have done in my letters. We shall find, I apprehend, a strong influence against us in East India and other colonial interests, and also in a narrow patriotism. From Lord Goderich's letter to me, I am sure that the American political relations of the project should be kept out of sight as much as possible in England. The name of the N. E. E. Aid Society should not at present be mentioned, because the Society has a certain political notoriety and English gentlemen will generally feel it to be their duty, not to listen to a proposal which seems likely to connect their names with the internal political affairs of a foreign government. This is not only somewhat reasonable but with the class represented by the *Times*, it happens now to be a fashion. They may be drawn into it gradually, as they gain knowledge of the true character of the society, perhaps, but the dread of lending their aid even indirectly to what might turn out to be a merely political scheme (in the narrow sense), would be likely to prevent their giving the subject a fair hearing. Everybody knows who has had to do with Englishmen, that it is peculiarly true of them, that it is the first step which costs. The great point at first is to get them to listen. If they will go so far this autumn as to send out an agent to obtain information, I shall feel quite sure of our leading them from that to the most valuable co-operation. . . .⁵

³ George Frederick Robinson (1827-1909, at this time known by the courtesy title of Lord Goderich) was afterward Earl de Grey and Ripon and first Marquis of Ripon. On March 30, 1857, he had been elected to succeed Cobden as M. P. for the West Riding of Yorkshire. Charles Buxton (1823-1871), son of Sir Thomas *Fowell* Buxton, was returned to the House of Commons for Newport in 1857.

⁴ Lord Stanley (1826-1893), eldest son of the fourteenth Earl of Derby and afterward fifteenth earl and cabinet minister, was from 1848 to 1859 M. P. for King's Lynn.

⁵ Here follows a criticism of the work of an English traveller, Robert Russell (*North America, its Agriculture and Climate*, Edinburgh, 1857), which Olmsted feared might exert an unfavorable influence on the English attitude toward

I enclose papers put into my hands last night by Mr. Kapp⁶ which must be used with discretion. I promised to return them in course of the week. They contain offers to sell lands of the choicest unimproved character in the vicinity of the northernmost German settlements of Texas and precisely in the line we wish to occupy and evidently at unusually low prices. I think some encouragement should be offered to the owners, who are Scotchmen—the *merchants* mentioned in my book at N. Braunfels, who bought the free-labor cotton.⁷ I know that they have made their land investments with great care. I have another offer of choice, selected lands in the same region and to the northward of it, 20,000 acres at 90 cts an acre. Another of 2000 acres same district, selected lots at 50 cts. or one half in alternate lots, for nothing, on condition of occupation within three years: another of 2 leagues in the Brazos, Milan County (6000 acres) \$1.50 an acre, another on the Nueces 35 miles north of Corpus Christi, 20,000 acres, in one body, at \$1.00 an acre. Large tracts of cotton land can be best got, however, by dealing with the R. R. companies.

I am obliged to close suddenly and will probably write further by next mail

Yours Respectfully

FRED. LAW OLMSTED.

Copy.

II.

NEW YORK, July 6th, 1857.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
COTTON SUPPLY ASSOCIATION

Sir

My attention having been directed for some years past to the cotton producing regions of the *North American Continent*, I take leave to present certain views I have formed for the consideration of your association.

Under the stimulus of high prices, valuable contributions of cotton are obtained from various other parts of the world than the *United States*; measures may be taken by which this auxilliary supply will be much increased. After much research and several costly experiments however, it yet remains very questionable if any where else in the world, an equal value of cotton-wool can be obtained from a given expenditure of labor, as in that part of the *N. A. Continent* lying between the thirtieth and the thirty sixth parallels of latitude. No where else are the same meteorological conditions found which here prevail, nor is [it] to be expected that by any exercise of human ingenuity they will be obtained.

The amount of labor engaged in the production of cotton within the region thus favored does not exceed that of one strong man to a square mile. If one half the agricultural population of *Europe* was the colonization scheme. He also sketches his plans for a third volume of the series *Our Slave States*, which appeared in 1860 under the title, *A Journey in the Back Country*.

⁶ Friedrich Kapp (1824-1884), the well-known writer on slavery and on the German element in America. Olmsted's account of the history of New Braunfels, in his *Journey through Texas*, pp. 172-177, is based on a published lecture by his friend Kapp.

⁷ *A Journey through Texas* (New York, 1857), p. 146. On New Braunfels, see G. G. Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 44-54.

transferred to this region it would not be at all densely populated and the laborers would probably be better paid in producing cotton at $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, than they are at present. An adequate supply of labor only is needed to increase the supply of Cotton from *North America*, tenfold. It is for the interest of those whose capital is invested in Slaves that the impression should prevail that the cultivation of cotton is impracticable by means of any other than negro slave labor, a monopoly of supplying which in the *United States* they enjoy. After extended and exact inquiry, having spent a summer in the cotton districts for the purpose, I am certain that this is not the case. There are exceptional, malarious and pestilential regions but in the largest part of the present Cotton producing region of the *United States* the labor of men of the *English* or *Teutonic* races will produce more cotton, man for man, in a life time, than of those of the *African* race.

I would suggest to your association therefore, that inquiry be made with regard to the practicability of increasing the supply of cotton by inducing free laborers to engage in its cultivation in the *South Western* territories of the *United States*. There are here vast tracts of suitable soil, as yet unoccupied by planters, and in which the political and social circumstances that prevent the introduction of free laborers elsewhere, exist if at all, in a very limited degree.

Three years ago the *Governor* of the *State of Texas*⁸ told me that the cotton crop of the *United States* might be doubled on the land as yet unoccupied in that state alone. There are millions of acres of this land in the vicinity of which *Slavery* does not exist in a form to prevent their occupation by free labor. There is nothing in the laws, nor, under discreet direction, need there be anything in the prejudices of the people, to prevent free settlers occupying this land. Large tracts of it can be procured at from two to six shillings (sterling) an acre. If a large free emigration were directed to them they would rapidly increase in value several hundred per cent. This increase in value would prevent the subsequent immigration of *Slave-holders* upon them. In *Comal County* in *Texas* within the last ten years, three thousand Germans have settled.⁹ Since they have been well established as a community, no slave proprietor has settled among them and such as were previously settled in the vicinity have been induced to employ free-laborers in occupations for which they would otherwise have purchased more Slaves. The Germans were thus engaged in the cultivation of cotton, and in one year, they produced, without previous experience or the usual conveniences, 800 bales, which I was informed, by the Merchant who purchased it, was superior in quality to any slave grown cotton he had ever seen.

Some further information on this subject may be gathered from my narrative of a *Journey in Texas*, a copy of which I take leave to send you by my friend *Mr. William Neill* of the house of *Neill Brothers and Company*, Cotton Merchants, to whom I have also communicated more fully my views of the measures which might be taken to increase the supply of cotton from the *United States*.

If your association should be disposed to prosecute the enquiry I have suggested I would gladly give any assistance in my power—coming

⁸ Elisha M. Pease, governor from 1853 to 1857.

⁹ See *Journey through Texas*, p. 428, "in *Comal*, *Gillespie*, and *Medina* counties nearly all the inhabitants are Germans".

to England for the purpose, if it should be thought desirable. I have recently seen two of the largest *Cotton Spinners of America* and am able to give you assurance of an effective co-operation on their part with any judicious movement to direct free laborers to increase cotton production in *America*. If you should think it well to send an agent to examine the regions available for this purpose, as I would venture to earnestly recommend, it would give me pleasure to accompany him upon the journey, and to assist in obtaining all desirable information. It would be best to leave *New York* in *September*, and, as most of the country to be examined would have to be traversed on horseback, three months time should be allowed for the journey. The expenses of the tour need not exceed £200, and my personal services would be gratuitous to your association.

It is desirable that this subject should not at present be publicly discussed.

2. *Kearsarge and Alabama: French Official Report, 1864*

THE following papers, for which we are indebted to Mr. Waldo G. Leland, were found by him in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Manuscripts Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions, 9466, ff. 95-98). They are addressed to the *préfet maritime* of Cherbourg, Vice-Admiral Dupouy, by the captain of the *Couronne*, a French iron-clad then stationed there and present at the fight between the *Kearsarge* and the *Alabama* on June 19, 1864. The report has a value, as adding, to the original sources already known, Union, Confederate, and British, a professional account by an eyewitness who was an experienced naval officer of a neutral nation, and whose function it was to escort the *Alabama* outside the three-mile limit and in a sense to supervise the combat.

I. RÉCIT DU COMBAT ENTRE LE *Kersarge* ET L'*Alabama*.

Frégate Cuirassée *La Couronne*

CHERBOURG, le 19 juin, 1864.

Amiral,

Conformément à vos ordres j'ai allumé les feux en même temps que le bâtiment confédéré *Alabama*. À 7h. 50 nous avions de la pression. Le bâtiment fédéral *Kersarge* restait dans le N. E. à très grande distance. À 9h. 45 l'*Alabama* a appareillé et la *Couronne* filé son corps mort et l'a suivi à la distance prescrite. Dès que ce bâtiment a été en dehors des eaux territoriales je me suis dirigé immédiatement sur la rade et j'ai repris le mouillage que j'occupais avant mon départ.

Nous avons suivi de la mâture les mouvements des deux bâtiments qui se trouvaient très au large. On ne distinguait pas bien leurs mouvements, lorsque tout-à-coup on m'a prévu que l'on croyait avoir vu un des deux bâtiments couler bas; on distinguait sur les lieux du sinistre une très grande réunion de bâtiments et de bateaux du port. Je me suis empressé de vous transmettre cette information, mais à cause de la distance où se trouvaient les combattants et de l'état brumeux du temps

il était difficile de se rendre compte exact de l'état des choses. Le bâtiment à vapeur le *Var* se dirigeait du reste sur les lieux.

Je suis avec respect
Amiral
votre très obéissant serviteur
Le Cap'ne de V'eau Command't la *Couronne*

PENHOAT

P. S. Nous avons acquis la certitude que c'est l'*Alabama* qui a succombé dans cette lutte glorieuse.

II. MOUVEMENTS DE LA *Couronne* ET DES DEUX BÂTIMENTS AMÉRICAINS.

- 3h.30 Aperçu le *Kerseage* au N. E.
- 5.45 *Alabama* commence à virer.
- 6.10 *Alabama* allume les feux.
- 6.10 *Couronne* allume les feux.
- 6.55 *Couronne* communique avec *Alabama*.
- 7.25 *Kerseage* au N. E. courant à l'O.
- 7.50 *Alabama* a de la pression.
- 7.55 *Couronne* a de la pression.
- 8.00 *Kerseage* à l'E. N. E. bien loin.
- 8.30 *Couronne* prête à marcher.
- 9.30 *Alabama* vire à pic.
- 9.30 *Couronne* aux postes d'appareillage.
- 9.35 *Kerseage* à l'E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. E.
- 9.45 *Alabama* appareille.
- 9.50 *Kerseage* disparu.
- 9.54 *Alabama* passe devant la *Couronne*.
- 9.55 *Couronne* appareille.
- 10.00 *Alabama* double la pointe du Mensoir.¹
- 10.07 *Kerseage* au N. E.
- 10.10 *Alabama* quitte le pilote.
- 10.18 *Couronne* double le Mensoir.
- 10.20 *Kerseage* au N. 80° E.
- 10.22 *Couronne* gouverne à l'E. N. E.
- 10.23 *Alabama* au N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N.
- 10.30 *Kerseage* change de route (vient sur tribord).
- 10.50 *Couronne* vient sur babord, rentre.
- 10.50 *Kerseage* arbore sa demi-enseigne.
- 11.03 Commence le combat.
- 11.50 *Couronne* mouille.

Le bâtiment confédéré *Alabama*, commandé par le Cap. Semmes, mouilla sur la rade de Cherbourg le 11 juin 1864 venant du Cap de bonne espérance. Ce bâtiment avait déclaré 122 hommes d'équipage; on a su depuis qu'il avait à bord 22 officiers confédérés. L'*Alabama* était un joli bâtiment à hélice de 13 à 1400 tonneaux,² bien mâté d'un faible

¹ Apparently the western point of the great breakwater which protects the harbor of Cherbourg. There is a map of the scene of the engagement in the *Report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1864*, opposite page 631, and this is reproduced in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, III., opp. p. 81.

² 1040 tons. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (Albany, 1894), p. 797.

échantillon en bois, armé de 6 canons.³ Deux de ces canons étoient établis à pivot, le premier entre le mât de misaine et le grand mât étoit une pièce rayée de 9 pouces, portant un boulet creux cylindro-sphérique. Le second canon placé entre le grand mât et le mât d'artimon étoit une pièce à anse lisse⁴ du calibre de 48 à 50, boulet plein (pour les calibres il peut y avoir du doute, on s'en est rapporté aux assertions des officiers sans la contrôler par esprit de discrétion), les autres pièces étoient du 30, ayant l'apparence de nos obusiers de 30 de marine. Le Capitaine disoit que le cuivre de son bâtiment étoit en mauvais état: il avait reçu l'autorisation de compléter son charbon à Cherbourg [*word illegible*], et non de se réparer, car il n'est pas entré dans le port.⁵

Le *Kerseage*, commandé par le Capitaine Vinslow,⁶ a paru le 14 devant la Digue, venant de Douvres.⁷ Ce bâtiment a déclaré 140 hommes d'équipage.⁸ C'est un aviso à hélice de 14 à 1500,⁹ armé de 6 canons dont deux canons Dahlgreen de 11 pouces (27 cm.) du poids de 7700 Kilog. établis à pivot sur le pont, l'un entre le grand mât et le mât de misaine, l'autre entre le grand mât et le mât d'artimon. Ces deux canons lançoient des obus et des grappes composées de biscayens et de boulets de 4; il n'y avait pas à bord de boulet plein pour cette artillerie; les 4 autres canons étoient des pièces de 32 correspondant à notre 30, nos. 3 ou 4.

Le *Kerseage* est un bâtiment en bois, d'assez fort échantillon blindé sur le côté avec des bouts de chaîne de 36 à 40 mm. de fer de maillon, placées verticalement depuis le bastingage jusqu'à 1 mètre au-dessous de la flottaison, ces bouts de chaîne sont serrés l'un contre l'autre de telle sorte que la maille à plat engraine dans la maille en saillie. le tout est lié par des amarrages en filin. je ne connais pas le système qui rattache cette sorte de cote de maille au bâtiment (ce sont des crampons probablement). le tout est recouvert d'un léger soufflage en sapin.

Ce blindage est placé sur le côté du bâtiment de manière à couvrir sa machine.

Le *Kerseage* se présente devant la passe de l'Est sans entrer et vint demander l'autorisation de communiquer avec son consul, autorisation qui lui fut accordée après quelques difficultés sanitaires. Il s'établit en suite en croisière au large de la digue, en dehors des eaux territoriales avec une telle discrétion que la plupart du temps il étoit hors de vue.

On a dit que les deux capitaines s'étoient envoyé un cartel. le Capitaine Vinslow repousse cette assertion. il n'a envoyé aucun défi mais il avait reçu une lettre du Cap'n Semmes qui lui annonçait qu'il sortirait pour le combattre. le Cap'n Semmes avait annoncé sa résolution officiellement et prévenu qu'il sortirait le Dimanche 19 entre 9 heures et 10 heures du matin. les deux bâtiments avaient reçu dès leur

³ The armament of the *Alabama* consisted of one 110-pounder rifled pivot gun, one heavy eight-inch 68-pounder (9000 pounds), and six 32-pounders. *Official Records*, III. 59, 77, 81; Semmes, *Service Afloat* (1900), p. 753.

⁴ Smooth-bore.

⁵ See *Official Records*, III. 647, 652, 654, 658, 661, 663.

⁶ Captain John A. Winslow, U. S. N.

⁷ And Flushing.

⁸ Officers 19, crew 144. *Official Records*, III. 77.

⁹ 1030 tons. Besides the armament described below, there was a 28-pound rifle. *Official Records*, III. 59.

arrivée dans le port un extrait des instructions aux quelles les belligérents doivent se conformer pendant leur séjour sur les rades françaises.

Le Dimanche matin l'*Alabama* alluma les feux vers 6 heures et toute la population garnissait les quais, les môles, les tours, le Roule¹⁰ et la Digue pour voir le combat naval. il y avait affluence de Parisiens arrivés le matin par un train de plaisir.

L'*Alabama* appareille vers 9 h $\frac{1}{2}$ et lorsqu'il fut devant la *Couronne*, cette frégate laissa filer son corps-mort et le suivit à une distance suffisante pour ne pas gêner ses mouvements. elle avait ordre d'empêcher tout engagement dans les eaux territoriales et de revenir au mouillage dès qu'elle serait assurée que le combat serait livré en dehors des eaux françaises.

Au moment où les bâtiments doublaient le Mensoir de l'Est, le *Kerseage* reste dans l'E.N.E., le cap¹¹ au N. E. à 12 milles de distance. parvenu à la limite des eaux territoriales la *Couronne* signale sa position à la Digue, qui signale à la *Couronne* de reprendre son mouillage, ce qui fut exécuté sans délai. Il y avait au large nombre d'embarcations du port, trois yachts anglais dont un à vapeur. Le *Var* était sous pression prêt à porter secours au besoin.

Dès que l'*Alabama* se trouva libre de ses mouvements, il se dirigea sur le *Kerseage* qui continuait à faire route au N. E. Mais peu après, celui-ci changea de route et se dirigea sur l'*Alabama*. Les deux bâtiments couraient l'un et l'autre à toute vapeur et la distance qui les séparait se trouva bientôt réduite jusqu'à la portée du canon. Alors l'*Alabama* changea de route et sembla d'écrire un demi-tour sur babord pour présenter la hanche de tribord à son adversaire, puis il commença le feu avec sa pièce à pivot de l'arrière. Les bâtiments pouvaient se trouver à 8 ou 9 encâblures l'un de l'autre et à 9 ou 10 milles de terre. Le *Kerseage* ne répondit pas à ce premier et ne commença à tirer qu'après le 3ième coup.

Cette position oblique en retraite prise par l'*Alabama* était certainement la position la plus sûre pour un bâtiment de faible échantillon comme l'*Alabama*; il présentait à l'ennemi un but restreint, il couvrait autant que possible sa machine et croyant avoir la supériorité de marche, il était maître de la distance. il attaquait l'ennemi avec sa pièce la plus puissante, dans la partie non cuirassée; mais soit que le Cap'ne Semmes se soit laissé emporter par son ardeur, soit qu'il ignorât, comme on l'assure, que le *Kerseage* fût cuirassé,¹² il resta très peu de temps dans cette position et faisant un demi-tour sur tribord, il alla croiser son adversaire à contre bord en le canonnant vivement par son côté de tribord. A partir de ce moment les deux adversaires ont tourné l'un autour de l'autre, sur des cercles dont les rayons ont varié depuis 4 encâblures jusqu'à 2 et se canonnant à contre bord par le côté tribord. On a compté jusqu'à 7 tours. Mais à ce jeu le *Kerseage* qui était blindé

¹⁰ The Roule is a height behind the town (110 m.) with a wide view.

¹¹ Cap Lévi.

¹² Semmes, pp. 753-754, complains bitterly of this "unchivalrous" protection as unknown to him; his lieutenant Arthur Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama* (third ed., Boston, 1896), pp. 259, 261, 274, says that Semmes had full knowledge of the fact, having been informed of it by the port admiral (*préfet maritime*) himself; Barron's letter of June 27 shows that he, Semmes's immediate superior, was aware of the essential facts. *Official Records*, III. 649.

sur le côté avait tout l'avantage, il pouvait de plus tirer avec ses deux énormes canons. Atteint de trois coups sur le côté dont deux près de la flottaison, le blindage en chaîne arrêta les projectiles qui auraient désarmé la machine s'ils avaient pénétré dans le bâtiment. sans le blindage l'issue du combat aurait pu être différent. quoiqu'il en soit, l'*Alabama* reçut des obus qui ébranlèrent sa charpente au point qu'il ne tarda pas à faire de l'eau. un éclat d'obus ou un boulet atteignit probablement une chaudière, car on vit tout à coup un nuage de vapeur s'échapper de ses flancs. Quelques personnes ont assuré qu'il reçut derrière un obus qui en éclatant le désarma[ait] de son hélice et de son gouvernail. toujours est-il que la machine s'arrêta et que l'*Alabama* mit à la voile tachant de rallier la terre; mais à partir de ce moment il était à la discrétion de son adversaire qui en a bien profité, car un moment après l'*Alabama* se rendit et ne tarda pas à couler à pic en s'enfonçant par l'arrière.

Tout se qui surnageait a été sauvé par le Canot du Pilote Mauger, les embarcations du *Kerseage*, et le yacht à vapeur anglais¹³ qui sauva le Cap'n Semmes et les officiers et se dirigea vers les côtes d'Angleterre à la grande stupéfaction du Cap'n Vinslow. Relativement à ce de-nouement désastre[ux] la perte en hommes n'a pas été considérable. On compte 2 noyés, 6 tués et 16 à 17 tués [blessés].

Le *Kerseage* a reçu trois boulets sur le blindage dans le prolongement de la cheminée qui n'ont produit qu'un effet insignifiant. un boulet a traversé la cheminée, deux projectiles ont traversé au ras du pont. l'un en éclatant a blessé trois hommes. ce sont les seuls blessés qui ait eu le *Kerseage*. un obus s'est logé dans la tête de l'étambot où il est resté sans éclater. l'étambot porte dans cette partie des fentes longitudinales, mais le système est solide.

Les deux champions se sont bien battus, le confédéré avec fougue, le Yankee avec flegme. l'*Alabama* a beaucoup tiré. Le *Kerseage* a tiré 130 coups, dont 52 avec les Dahlgreen.¹⁴

Voici quelles sont les dimensions des canons du *Kerseage*:

Canons Dahlgreen.

		Mesures Anglaises.
Diamètre de l'anse	27c.94	11 inches.
Longueur totale	4.12 [m.]	13 ft. 6 inch.
Poids du boulet plein	86.97 [kilos.]	192 pounds English.
" de l'obus	62.96	139 " "
Poids du canon	7701.00	17000 " "
Charge pour obus	6.800	15 " "
" pour boulet	9.07	20 " "
Vitesse initiale (douteux)	4267.	

Il n'y avait pas à bord du *Kerseage* de boulet plein pour cette artillerie, mais on m'assure que depuis peu des expériences ont conduit à adopter le boulet plein pour cette pièce.

¹³ The *Deerhound*.

¹⁴ 173 and 55 respectively. *Official Records*, III. 64.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Spiritual Interpretation of History. By SHAILER MATHEWS, A.M., D.D., LL.D., Professor of Historical and Comparative Theology at the University of Chicago and Dean of the Divinity School. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1916. Pp. x, 227. \$1.50.)

THE volume contains six lectures—the William Belden Noble Lectures—given at Harvard University. Their general purpose is to show the necessity of taking account of other than merely economic and geographical forces in interpreting human history. The author is for the most part commendably modest in his claims and does not press his points unduly. He is quite willing to admit the large place that impersonal forces have had in human history, but he rightly insists upon the recognition of other and spiritual motives co-operating with them. He is also sound in declining to estimate the relative importance of social forces.

If there is any habit of thought more dangerous than that of antithetical exposition—for who of us really knows enough to set reality in contradictions?—it is that of constantly questioning whether this or that fact is the more important. To ask whether the individual or society is more important is like asking whether the oak or the acorn is primary. Historical situations must be viewed synthetically, not analytically.

The first two lectures on the Limits within which the Spiritual Interpretation is Possible, and on Spiritual Tendencies in History as a Whole, seem somewhat perfunctory. The third, fourth, and fifth, on the Substitution of Moral for Physical Control, the Growing Recognition of the Worth of the Individual, and the Transformation of Rights into Justice, are suggestive and informing. The contention that genuine progress has been made along these three lines is supported by abundant illustrations, wholesome practical lessons are drawn from them, and the reasons for encouragement are emphasized in good homiletic fashion. Unfortunately there is no serious grappling with the problems raised by the war. A book on the spiritual interpretation of history appearing at this time might be expected at least to face some of these problems and to recognize their difficulty for the would-be interpreter.

The final lecture on the Spiritual Opportunity in a Period of Reconstruction, though practically helpful, is less compelling than could be wished, and betrays the benumbing effect of trying to combine science and religion in one discussion. The theistic conclusion somewhat hesi-

tatingly drawn in it is all too meagrely supported, and, although to be looked for in a series of lectures like the present, seems an intrusion in the context where it is found. The author apparently feels this, for he hastens on at once to other and I was about to say less controversial matters, but the assumption that his interpretation of history is the interpretation of Jesus would probably be as widely controverted.

The following passage summarizes the positions of the book and reveals the author's attitude and point of view with admirable clearness.

To give justice rather than to insist upon rights, to rely upon inner rather than outward moral control, to have every element of life expressive of the same spirit of love that God himself exhibits, and to regard love as not a desire to gain popular approval or even to get friends, but as a sacrificial determination to do to others as one would like to have others do to oneself—all this can be found as truly in any catholic reading of the facts of human history as in the words of Jesus. As has been repeatedly said, social evolution, conditioned as it is by the impersonal and economic world, is yet superior to that world. It is a spiritual movement which, if it be prolonged, will bring the world under the sway of the ideals of Jesus himself.

An Introduction to the History of Science. By WALTER LIBBY, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of the History of Science in the Carnegie Institute of Technology. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. x, 288. \$1.50.)

THERE has been considerable agitation of late for instruction in the history of science in our colleges and technical schools. This volume is a practical step in that direction.

The author has written a little book on a big subject in excellent English. Professor Libby's statement (p. 134), "Dr. Hutton presented his Theory of the Earth in ninety-six pages of perfectly lucid English", might well be applied to his own book, if we change the number of pages to 288. The style is condensed, but a pleasure to read.

How to approach the subject, how to organize the material, and how to present it to the reader, are problems which many of the longer histories of science have failed to solve satisfactorily. Professor Libby adheres roughly to chronological order, but his chapter-headings are topical. He discusses science as a whole and in the broadest sense, and does not as a rule consider the individual sciences separately. On the other hand, certain leaders of scientific thought and accomplishment are singled out, and their lives, personalities, and genius are entertainingly set forth. Perhaps another would not have chosen for emphasis just the names that the author has selected. English-speaking scientists, for example, seem to receive rather more than their due ratio of attention. But the author makes it clear enough that "science is international", and tells its story in a broad, human, and tolerant manner. Its relations to other fields of man's life—education, war, religion, industry, travel, philosophy, art, ethics, and democracy—are well touched

upon, and the closing chapter deals chiefly with Matthew Arnold and Nietzsche.

The book is intended particularly for "youth of from seventeen to twenty-two years of age" and has "the mental capacity of a certain class of readers always in view". It surely will interest young people of that age, but it should also appeal to maturer readers. It contains many interesting facts that will be new to most persons, and also a number of passages that set one thinking. Many history teachers might broaden their view of the past by perusing this volume, and especially in courses in English history it should prove useful for collateral reading. In the main the author has avoided technical scientific terminology and blind allusions, but some passages assume an acquaintance with general history or with this or that particular natural science on the part of the reader.

A few specific criticisms should be made. The author follows the old and incorrect chronology for ancient Oriental history, dating Sargon of Akkad, for instance, over a thousand years too early, in 3800 B.C. As with other histories of science, the chapter on the Middle Ages is the weak point of the book. It is unfair to medieval anatomy to call Galen "the only experimental physiologist before the time of Harvey" (p. 38); unfair to the medieval popes and clergy to say that "the long and cruel war between science and Christian theology had begun" (p. 47); unfair to medieval artists and artisans to devote a chapter to Vitruvius and say never a word of Gothic architecture and the guilds of industrious and inventive freemen; unfair to medieval alchemists to affirm, "The writings that have been attributed to Geber show the advances that chemistry made through the experiments of the Arabs" (p. 51), since Berthelot has shown that these writings were really Latin works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and superior to Arabian alchemy in scientific character. Did Gerbert attend "Arab" (p. 53) or Christian schools in Spain? The statement that Roger Bacon "transmitted in a treatise that fell under the eye of Columbus the view of Aristotle in reference to the proximity of another continent on the other side of the Atlantic" (p. 54), is misleading in more than one respect. The treatise which Columbus read was by Pierre d'Ailly, and Aristotle said nothing about a new continent, but that the distance by sea west from Spain to India was short—one argument for this being, according to Bacon, that the elephants of India and northwestern Africa are so similar that those two lands must be close enough together to receive the influence of the same constellations.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

Cotton as a World Power: a Study in the Economic Interpretation of History. By JAMES A. B. SCHERER, Ph.D., LL.D., President of Throop College of Technology. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1917. Pp. 452. \$2.00.)

PRESIDENT SCHERER'S idea in writing his history of cotton is found in the title which he has given his book—*Cotton as a World Power*. He seems to believe that there is a peculiar and intimate relation existing between the uses of cotton and the progress of civilization and growth of international relations. Cotton is, he says, "the world's Golden Fleece; the nations are bound together in its globe-engirdling web; so that when a modern economist concerns himself with the interdependence of nations, he naturally looks to cotton for his most effective illustration".

Whether cotton among fibres possesses any peculiar significance in the world's history, or is entitled to any higher rank as a civilizing force than, say, wool or flax, is perhaps a debatable subject, but in view of the numerous histories of cotton culture and cotton manufacture which have been written, President Scherer's reasons for calling this field of investigation "an unworked quarry of wealth" are not apparent. Nor can it be said that he has discovered any new and paying veins of ore. In spite of his references to researches in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum, his book contains no material drawn from new or unusual sources. All the references are to secondary authorities and most of them are to those well known to historians. It cannot even be said that the point of view from which he has approached his subject is original, or that he has given any new interpretation to his material. What he has done is to relate in a pleasing and popular style a wide array of events connected in one way or another with the history of the cotton plant.

The record begins with the discovery of cotton culture and cotton cultivation in India and the introduction of cotton fabrics into Europe by the armies of Alexander the Great, and continues down to the time when the Great War in Europe interrupted the orderly exports of cotton from the Southern States to European markets. The subjects which are dealt with at considerable length are the Industrial Revolution in England; the introduction of cotton cultivation in the United States and its effect in delaying the disappearance of slavery; the invention of the cotton gin; the influence of cotton culture in national politics; the effect of the Civil War upon the cotton trade; the cotton famine in Europe; the revival of cotton culture in the South by free labor; the development of the cotton manufacture in the South and the social problems which have arisen as a consequence, and the prospects of successful cotton growing elsewhere than in southern United States.

Some of the important conclusions reached by the author and which, while not beyond dispute, are supported by plausible arguments, are that Eli Whitney, while the inventor of the cotton gin, was not the inventor of the "saw gin"; that the South did not make the best use of its cotton resources as a means of obtaining revenue during the Civil War; that child labor in Southern cotton mills is less detrimental than it was in New England mills or than it is in department stores; that the Great

War has taught the Southern farmer the value of diversification of crops, and that cotton growing in California, in Egypt, and in other lands will probably become of sufficient importance in the near future to break the monopoly held by the South in the production of this staple.

Among the important subjects which it is surprising to find are not considered at sufficient length are the growth of the cotton-seed oil industry, the damage wrought by the boll-weevil and the efforts made to overcome this danger, and the increasing tendency to supplant negro labor by white labor in the cultivation of cotton.

If President Scherer's book be regarded not as an original piece of investigation in the field of economic history but as a useful summary of the researches of other writers who have dealt with the influence of cotton in the world's history, it can be warmly commended as a work interesting to read and fairly reliable in its facts and generalizations. There are some useful statistical appendixes, a handy bibliography, and a good index.

M. B. HAMMOND.

The Elements of International Law, with an Account of its Origin, Sources, and Historical Development. By GEORGE B. DAVIS. Fourth edition, revised by GORDON E. SHERMAN, formerly Assistant Professor of Comparative and International Law in Yale University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1917. Pp. viii, 668. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is strictly what it purports to be, a revised edition of General Davis's work. He lived long enough to record the work of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, but not long enough to judge of its practical value. His third edition was published in 1908, before the adoption, *ad referendum*, of the Declaration of London. Professor Sherman prints in an appendix (H, pp. 604-620) the text of that paper, and a succinct and clear account of how far it has affected the pending European wars. Appendix I also gives our treaty of 1909 with the Dominican Republic.

It was, of course, desirable from the publishers' standpoint to make as few changes as might be, in the stereotype plates of the edition of 1908. It remains Davis's book. It remains a treatise in which the author writes as a military man, and gives special consideration to problems connected with war. This gives it a particular value at the present time.

Professor Sherman found it necessary to rewrite important parts of the first two chapters, which treat of the value and sources of international law and the nature of a political state. This he has done with discrimination and good judgment.

In printing the Declaration of London he has added notes, referring to the bearing of its dispositions on the present wars, as wrought

out in practice. One could wish that his annotations of this nature had been more numerous, if not more extended. Thus, the question of the right to mark off a *mare clausum* off an enemy's coast, which was considered with some favor by our Naval War College in 1912, and has been claimed by most of the belligerents since 1914, is not discussed or referred to, except (p. 607) in one of these notes to the chapter on the Declaration on "Blockade in Time of War". In this note it is briefly stated that "the provisions of this chapter are in large measure avoided by the war-zone device", and that the blockade of the Austro-Hungarian coast in 1915 "seemed to have been the only real blockade of the first year of war".

The book contains many recent papers, often the subject of reference, such as the British lists of contraband, absolute and conditional, up to April 30, 1915 (pp. 609-611); and new provisions of the Imperial German Prize Ordinance as revised April 8, 1915 (pp. 614-615). It also refers to several important American statutes passed and departmental regulations prescribed, since the publication of the third edition, such as the compilation of circulars as to citizenship and passports, published by the State Department in 1915 (p. 164), and (p. 602) the "United States Radio Communication Laws and Regulations" of 1914.

As to the questions raised by the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Professor Sherman takes the view (p. 30) that "international law will protect the *lives* of all non-combatants afloat or ashore; and whether the merchant-ship be neutral or hostile, whether it carry contraband or non-contraband goods, the belligerent has, indeed, a right to enforce search of neutrals and a right to capture belligerent merchant-ships, but none of these may be *destroyed* until human life aboard has been placed in safety". In discussing the case of the *Nereide* (9 Cranch 388) he holds that Marshall's opinion justifies the proposition asserted in the memorandum of our State Department of March 25, 1916, that merchant vessels are under no circumstances subject to attack on the ground that they are armed for defense. He adds that these principles apply with great force to modern submarine warfare; that a submarine is not justified in attacking and destroying a merchantman, either belligerent or neutral, because it is armed, or because it carries contraband merchandise, without first removing all passengers and papers of value; and that if the vessel be then destroyed, the belligerent must be taken to assume all risk of having acted without warrant of law (p. 602).

The proof-reading has been poorly done.

Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture: a Study in Method. By E. SAPIR. [Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 90, no. 13, Anthropological Survey.] (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau. 1916. Pp. ii, 87.)

TEMPORAL flatness of the available data is the one great weakness of that branch of historical science called ethnology. For the student

of prehistory, historical perspective almost invariably means speculative reconstruction. This circumstance, together with the fact that ethnology has often been called upon by other sciences, such as history, sociology, law, ethics, to give a categorical answer to the problems of ultimate origins, is responsible for the over-crowding of anthropological books and journals with fantastic speculations which are at best of interest as material for the ethnologist rather than as contributions to ethnological science. The critical student is therefore doubly concerned about a careful methodology of historic reconstruction in ethnology. For him Dr. Sapir's *Study in Method* will prove a rare treat. The author brings to his task good general knowledge of anthropological fact and theory as well as distinctly unusual qualifications as a linguist. This explains the unequal value of the two parts into which the work informally falls. The first, considerably the longer, deals with time perspective in connection with general cultural data, and presents no more than a clear and concise summary of work done by others, often with greater wealth of argumentation and more fortunate in formulation. The briefer second part examines linguistic evidence from the same standpoint; it brings original data and opens new vistas.

To turn to some of the generalizations arrived at in the first part. Culture elements which are presupposed by other elements in order to make the existence of the latter possible, must be regarded as earlier in time (p. 15). A well-defined style in any domain of culture always stands for relative age (p. 18). The larger the territory covered by a cultural trait, the older, *ceteris paribus*, the trait (p. 28). The interrupted distribution of a feature may serve to establish its minimum age, for it must clearly be ascribed to a period preceding that in which were active the factors responsible for the discontinuous distribution (p. 41). Incidentally the author takes pains to emphasize, with great justice, that the various aspects of culture, such as social organization, religion, art, mythology, technical features, display vastly different modes of behavior in connection with cultural diffusion (p. 32). Therefore, adds the author, it is of the greatest importance to ascertain the paths of diffusion of culture in North America, a task hardly begun (pp. 35-36).

Passing to the linguistic discussion, Dr. Sapir cautions that linguistics can be drawn upon for historical reconstruction in culture only to the extent to which language reflects culture (pp. 51-52). This is eminently the case with vocabulary, which can often be utilized for purposes of relative chronology. Noting, *e. g.*, that the Tsimshian term for phratry defies analysis while that for crest is readily analyzable, one is led to conclude that some form of phratric division antedated among the Tsimshian the appearance of phratric and clan badges (pp. 55-56). Another test is the "criterion of morphologic irregularity": a culture concept associated with an archaic linguistic process is itself an old one; although the reverse conclusion cannot be drawn with safety (p. 64). The analysis of grammatical categories may also throw light on cultural conditions: thus the existence of

numerical classifiers in Yurok referring specifically to woodpecker scalps and obsidian blades is in a high degree symptomatic of the great age of the custom of prizing these objects as valuable forms of property and further implies that the keen sense of property evinced by these Indians is by no means a recent development. Similarly, the occurrence in both Salish and Tsimshian of numerical classifiers defining canoes necessitates the conclusion that both groups of tribes have not only been acquainted with the canoe from time immemorial, but have long been dependent on it in the pursuit of their livelihood; this comes out even more strongly in the case of Tsimshian, which employs entirely distinct stems for "one" and "two" when these numbers refer to canoes (p. 65).

When a term used in one language can be shown to belong to another used by a different tribe, the fact is valuable not merely as indicating diffusion, but the direction of diffusion as well (p. 69).

Specific enumeration of the author's conclusions must stop at this point, but before closing one is tempted to emphasize the double significance of Dr. Sapir's contribution. On the one hand, it kindles the hope that the deficient historical perspective in ethnology will in time be offset, at least in a measure, by the rigor of reconstructive technique. On the other hand, the *Study in Methods* is symptomatic of the new spirit of ethnologic science, which, having gathered in vast stores of descriptive data, begins to take stock of its resources, and sets about the task of interpretation and reconstruction with a method progressively more critical and precise, and under the guidance of a rapidly maturing body of theoretic doctrine.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

Storia dei Romani. Per GAETANO DE SANCTIS. Volume III. *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche.* Parts I., II. (Milan, Turin, Rome: Fratelli Bocca. 1917. Pp. ix, 432; viii, 727. 12 lire.)

AFTER an interval of nine years since the publication of volumes I. and II., the third volume of de Sanctis's great history makes its appearance. In the first volume, a criticism of the tradition and a description of contemporary institutions were interwoven. In the second one, with the formation of the Latin League the narrative element comes into somewhat greater prominence, and when we reach the war with Pyrrhus, toward the end of this volume, a reasonably consecutive and trustworthy narrative is possible. In this last installment of his work the author has taken another step forward in his method of treating the subject, by giving us a continuous narrative in his successive chapters, and by consigning his treatment of critical questions to appendixes and foot-notes. In discussing in a brief review a volume which contains over 1100 pages and nearly 1200 foot-notes, we shall be obliged to limit ourselves to comments on the scope of the work, on the author's critical attitude, and his conclusions on two or three very fundamental questions.

Part I. of the volume opens with a sketch of the history and civilization of the Carthaginians, and closes with their occupation of southern Spain. Part II. carries us from the outbreak of the Second Punic War to the conclusion of peace in 201 B.C. The chronological limits which the author has chosen give unusual dramatic unity to this part of his history. We have set before us the titanic struggle between Rome and Carthage—nothing more. Even Rome's war with Philip of Macedon is treated, and very properly, as an episode in the Second Punic War and is styled "*La guerra annibalica in Oriente*". We cannot quite sympathize, however, with the author's neglect of the political, social, and economic history of the period for the sake of securing continuity to his military narrative. Perhaps a discussion of the economic effects of the war with Hannibal, of the leasing of great tracts of land in Italy, and of the establishment of the tenant system has been relegated to the next volume, but we have a right to expect in this volume something on the remarkable *entente cordiale* between the senate and the popular assemblies during the period of the great wars and on the violation of oligarchical policy involved in the retention for long terms of such commanders as the Scipios and Marcellus. The book might have been called *Le Guerre Puniche* rather than *L'Età delle Guerre Puniche*.

However, as a military history, it is incomparable. De Sanctis has both the critical and the constructive faculties in a remarkable degree. Characteristic illustrations of the acumen and the sanity of his critical analysis are furnished by his discussions of the sources for the history of the First Punic War and its chronology in the appendix to chapters II. and III., or in his study of the Sicilian tithing system (pt. II., pp. 347-354). In his critical methods the author has wisely steered a middle course between the skepticism of historians like Pais and the traditionalism of many writers of the Italian school. So far as the author's acquaintance with the pertinent ancient and modern literature is concerned, in a somewhat minute study of selected parts of the work the reviewer was unable to find a single important passage in ancient literature or a modern treatise of value which had not been taken into account. Next in importance to the author's reconstruction of the story of the Punic Wars and his critical appendixes are the technical analyses in part II. of the great battles and campaigns of the Second Punic War. These analyses are supplemented by maps at the end of the volume.

The most serious point in which the reviewer cannot follow de Sanctis is in the author's analysis of the situation which gave rise to the war with Hannibal. We believe with him that war to the death between Rome and Carthage was inevitable, and that the desire of the Barcid family for revenge and for the humiliation of Rome was the impelling cause on the Carthaginian side, but we cannot think with him that the Romans went into the war for the sake of taking Spain and her mines and her valuable trade away from Carthage (I. 425). The war was thrust upon Rome, and as Frank has said in his *Roman Im-*

perialism (p. 125), "Rome doubtless intended if successful to demand an indemnity and end the affair". The only way in which considerations of trade influenced the Romans was an indirect one. The commerce of Massilia was suffering severely at the hands of the Carthaginians, and she undoubtedly exerted herself to the utmost to bring her Roman ally into the field against Carthage, so that trade interests played some part in bringing on the war, but not in the way in which de Sanctis implies. In the same connection (I. 418) de Sanctis remarks, "Ma essendo Sagunto città iberica a mezzogiorno dell'Ebro, è evidente che se l'alleanza con Roma era anteriore al trattato d'Asdrubale, a' sensi di esso i Romani s'erano impegnati, almeno implicitamente, a rinunziarvi; se posteriore, costituiva una deroga almeno implicita a quello". This reasoning is open to the double objection that it projects back into the third century before Christ the modern doctrine of the sphere of influence and runs counter to the fact that "in no ancient source is there the slightest indication that Carthage considered her rights in Spain to have been infringed by the Saguntine treaty".¹

This volume has a peculiar interest at the present time, because no war in the past furnishes so close a parallel to the present war as does the struggle between Rome and Carthage, both in respect to the two protagonists, the questions at issue, and the course of events. That the author has kept his eyes fixed solely on the events of the third century, and has not allowed his interpretation of them to be influenced by conditions in 1914-1917, reflects no small credit upon the soundness of his judgment and his detachment as a scholar.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

Manuel d'Archéologie Romaine. Par R. CAGNAT, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France, et V. CHAPOT, Docteur ès Lettres, Ancien Membre de l'École d'Athènes. Tome Premier. *Les Monuments, Décoration des Monuments, Sculpture.* (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1917. Pp. xxvi, 735. 15 fr.)

THIS is the first volume of our first manual of Roman archaeology. Stuart Jones's *Companion to Roman History*, Sandys's *Companion to Latin Studies*, and Baumgarten, Poland, and Wagner's *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur* are all manuals with archaeological inclinations, but none lays titular claim to the entire field. MM. Cagnat and Chapot do make such claim. In this first volume they treat of monuments and their sculptural decoration, in the second volume they are to take up painting and mosaic, and the *instrumenta* of public and private life.

The poor quality of paper used in the book reflects war times. It makes no great difference, to be sure, but many illustrations (there are 371 in the book), especially those reproduced from photographs, have lost the sharpness that is needed to bring out detail. The things one

¹ Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 124.

sees in all the books are reproduced as a matter of course, but it is a pleasure to find illustrations of new monuments, especially from Africa, where the French have been doing so much good archaeological work these past fifteen or twenty years.

The chapters (I. and II.) on building materials and their use are very satisfactory, and the notes—as is true throughout the book—show widespread up-to-date reading and careful discrimination. For example, in the matter of dating imperial brick-faced constructions, the authors mention the brick stamps, but they accept the canons of mortar and brick measurements as lately laid down by Dr. Esther B. Van Deman of the Carnegie Institution. Again, McCabe's *Roman Empresses* is mentioned, but the reader is warned about it, and rightly so. By the time one finishes chapter XVI., the last chapter of part I., he will have a pretty definite idea about the towns, their walls and gates, their aqueducts and fountains, their fora and the various buildings therein. Illustrations both fix and qualify the statements that the fora in the towns of the provinces took the Forum Magnum at Rome as their model. But the differences are as important as the likenesses, and practical reasons inspired enough variations in form to qualify decidedly the Greek-inspired dictum as to Roman slavishness of imitation. The temples, the various buildings for athletic and theatrical spectacles, the baths, libraries, camps, honorary and funeral monuments, all have their share of attention. Perhaps monuments that have been lately discovered or that have escaped general notice get at times something more than their due share.

The decoration of monuments is the general subject of part II., and in thirteen chapters, portraits—ideal for divinities, idealized for emperors, and realistic for other persons—genre subjects, decorative relief, and bas-relief of several sorts, lamps, stucco and ceramic reliefs, are handled in much detail, but with conservative judgment. The authors do not allow the Romans any creative credit beyond the wax masks of the atrium. Less than justice seems to have been done the Romans in historical relief work, perhaps to counteract the over-enthusiasm of several recent writers on Roman art.

There are almost no typographical errors in the book, and few errors of fact. The temple of Castor (note 1, p. 113) is wrongly called Castor and Pollux on page 22, the Via Appia (p. 44) is not in as good preservation as stated, Ponte Amato should have been added to the bridge list (p. 48), "Le Sette Sale" (p. 87) are not on the Aventine but on the Esquiline, the four reservoirs mentioned by Fernique, Nibby, and Marucchi, and the great one described by Magoffin in his book on Praeneste should have been mentioned (p. 91), Canina is given more credit than he deserves, to the exclusion of Nibby and Piranesi, Cuq's correct explanation of *insula* was not seen by the authors (p. 292). Particularly worthy of remark, on the other hand, are the classification of sarcophagi (p. 333), the settling of "tear-bottles" as *unguentaria*

(p. 334), the fact that Honos is the only masculine abstract divinity (p. 461), and the arrangement of imperial iconographic groups (p. 501).

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

History of Serbia. By HAROLD W. V. TEMPERLEY, Fellow and Assistant Tutor, Peterhouse, Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. 1917. Pp. x, 359. \$4.00.)

ALTHOUGH the author meant to write a history of Serbia in the nineteenth century, he finally decided to cover the history of that country from its beginnings to 1914. He gives as his reasons that the "principles of strategy are eternal" and that geography has affected diplomacy in Serbia in a "strikingly similar way". He, therefore, emphasizes the geography of the home of the South Slavs and follows this admirable survey, based largely on Cvijić or Newbigin, by an account of the medieval Serbian states, borrowing heavily from Jireček, the best authority. Serbia is always the main thread of the story, although Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, and Dalmatia are brought in to secure a better horizon. One chapter is devoted to Serbian medieval society, three to Turkish domination, two to the struggle for independence, four to the history of Serbia since 1815, and one, the last in the book, to the Macedonian question.

The author has not written a work essentially from primary sources, nor has he read material published in Serbian or other Slavic languages, but has produced a popular history based on secondary materials in the Western languages. He is interested in the political and geographical history of the Serbian people, not in their economic and social evolution. For this, Jireček's wonderful study of medieval Serbian society and the works of Janitch, Kessler, Jovanovitch, Nestorovitch, Krikner, and the publications of the Serbian government should have been used. Diplomatic history, which, in its details, would have illustrated the author's extensive geographical knowledge, has been inadequately handled, especially after 1875. In this period, the fundamental works of Ristitch, Rachitch, Peritch, and others are indispensable. Hence, the treatment of Serbia before the nineteenth century is the better part of the book.

In a very able manner, the author has pointed out how the geography of the Balkans has been an obstacle to South Slav unity and how modern inventions and educational forces are fast overcoming the greatest barriers after those of different religions and alphabets. But the effect of geographical obstacles should have been traced down into the time of railroad building.

The author is to be congratulated for his emphasis on the fact that "Serbia was not fully a nation before she became an empire" (p. 91),

an observation which applies admirably to many medieval states. Stephen Dushan's determination to build up a great cosmopolitan land empire at Constantinople, in preference to a national naval empire on the Adriatic, is only further evidence of the obscurity of vision, on the part of the Slavs, to the rôle which sea power would play in future history.

In another sentence the author very aptly states a fact more evident to-day than ever before: "The victory of the Turks over the Serbs was a victory less of arms than of institutions" (p. 106). The Turks had developed a standing army and a government or polity organized for military conquest, which neither the Serbs nor Western Europe possessed, owing to the character of their feudalism and the weakness of their kings. The author will hardly be able to substantiate his position that "Turkish rule does not appear to have been as oppressive as that of a Latin conqueror might have been" (p. 120). He has given enough evidence himself that it was otherwise.

Among the more apparent defects in the work may be noted the following. The original home of the Slavs was certainly further north than that indicated (p. 9). Names such as Šafařík, Jagić, Hrebelianovitch, and others are not uniformly spelled in the book. The bibliography is good, though lacking in the works mentioned above, but the index is inadequate.

On the whole, while Mr. Temperley has written the best popular account of the history of Serbia in the English language, he verifies the truth of his own words that "Slavonic nationalities are the despair of the historian".

R. J. KOERNER.

Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule (By Muhammadans). By NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L. With a Foreword by H. BEVERIDGE, F.A.S.B., I.C.S. (Retired). (London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1916. Pp. xlviii, 260. \$4.50.)

To turn from the contemplation of evil in order to examine exclusively the good of any nation is an unusual but gratifying method of historical research. The evil that Mahmud and other tyrannical bigots have done has lived after them for a thousand years and Mr. Narendra Nath Law feels it is high time to bring into stronger light the good so long interred with their bones. For this purpose the genial author of *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity* has associated with himself a number of Indian Muhammadans and compiled this attractive account of Muhammadan imperial virtues, chiefly educational; but *Promotion of Learning* leads the authors naturally to animadvert upon other laudable traits than that of fostering talent.

This book is not wholly the product of fresh investigation. Elliot's

History of India as told by its own Historians has furnished some of the material. But that work and others here drawn upon do not bring Pathan culture into clear relief. They give the impression that the House of Ghazni and the following Houses were more devoted to their own Kultur than to culture. Therefore it is pleasant to be reminded again that Mahmud, who has appeared a monster of cruelty, founded colleges, subventioned poets, and even, as a token of appreciation, rewarded a philosopher by thrice filling the sage's mouth with jewels. Some of Mahmud's successors also were cultivators of science and art. Even Alauddin, who came to the throne so ignorant that he could not read, soon remedied his defects and patronized scholars until his reign (1300) became famous for its poets and university professors.

At this time Muhammadans and Hindus, victors and victims, first began to study each other's literatures and native princesses were wedded to Muhammadan princes. Somewhat later Muhammad Tughlak even studied Greek philosophy and natural sciences, to which he was so devoted that he personally attended patients suffering from unusual diseases, in order to perfect his knowledge of medicine. Firuz Shah, his successor, was the first to preserve archaeological remains, such as the Pillars of Ashoka. Timur (Tamerlane) during a siege (1399) gave express orders that the houses of learned men should not be razed. He also richly endowed various seats of scholarship attached to mosques. The Pathan rulers are not of course on the level of the Mughals, but, as our author says, their contributions to the cause of education should suffice to prove that they were not wholly given over to battle and bloodshed.

The period of the Mughals before its decline (two centuries, 1526-1707) offers little difficulty to the author and his friends. Babar was a scholar, poet, and musician, and his successor Humayun was an astrol-oguer and savant who gave learned and religious men precedence before the nobles. Akbar instituted meetings for debate, favored Hindu literature, married a Christian, and was really "a most enlightened and liberal monarch", regarding whose education Mr. Law, in an important "Ad-dendum", has given us really new information (compare especially the question whether *ummi* means illiterate or taciturn). It is noteworthy that Babar introduced colored pictures of animals into his *Memoirs*, perhaps the first Indian work to be "illustrated". Painting and music were encouraged especially by Akbar.

The last chapter of this handsome quarto, which is well supplied with indexes, is devoted to the subject of female education. Girls as well as boys went to school. About 1500, "school-mistresses and women to read prayers" were employed in the Sultan's seraglio. Babar's daughter and Humayun's niece were "learned ladies". One of Aurungzib's daughters knew Persian and Arabic and was skilled in calligraphy; her sister knew the Quran by heart. No evidence is given that nobles or lower classes followed the court in thus educating women,

but Mr. Law's final word on the subject is that "we are justified in the conclusion" that Muhammadan ladies in general were "not so ignorant as it is generally supposed".

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies. Volumes II., IV., V., VI., VII. *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle Isole Nuovamente trovate in Quattro Suoi Viaggi* [1504], Facsimile. *Amerigo Vespucci: Letter to Piero Soderini, Gonfaloniere. The Year 1504.* Translated with Introduction and Notes by GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. *Mundus Novus, Letter to Lorenzo Pietro di Medici.* Translated by GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP. *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino Intitulato* [1508], Facsimile. *Sensuyt le Nouveau Monde et Navigations Faictes par Emeric Vespuce Florentin. Des Pays et Isles Nouvellement trouvez auparavant a nous inconnuez tant en l'Ethiopie que Arrabie Calichut et aultres plusieurs Regions Estranges.* Translate de Italien en Langue Francoise par Mathurin du Redouer, *Licencie es Loix*, [1515], Facsimile. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. 32; 52, 65; 13; 166; 184. \$6.75.)

THIS series, as explained in each of these five scholarly volumes, had its origin in the gifts to the Princeton University Library, by Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, of eight tracts relating to Vespucci, all formerly in the famous Hoe Collection. Because of the need for inexpensive and reliable copies of prime sources, authority was granted for the publication of any of the McCormick gifts in facsimile together with other basic documents, in order that they might be used in the training of the critical faculty in students of American history. The definite subject-matter of the first volume of the series, which is not yet published, has not been announced. Volume III. will be a facsimile of the Florence Manuscript of the Soderini Letter. Provision has also been made for the publication of as many as possible of the various editions of the Latin text of the *Mundus Novus* or Medici Letter, together with a critical bibliographical study of them by Mr. George P. Winship; the *Von der new Gefunden Region*; the Latin version of the Soderini Letter, etc. The five volumes already published are a distinct contribution to Vespucciana, and the student of the early origins of America will await with impatience the remaining volumes of the series. Their scholarly and dignified appearance and their mechanical excellence, coupled with their very moderate price, should all combine to give them a wide circulation. The three facsimiles, admirably reproduced by the photographic method, offer students sources as valuable as the rare

originals, indeed more valuable, because of the inaccessibility of the originals.

Of the original of *Lettera di Amerigo Vespucci delle Isole Nuovamente trovate in Quattro Suoi Viaggi*, the famous Soderini Letter, probably printed not later than January, 1506, there are but five known copies, one only of which is in the United States. This last, formerly the Quaritch and Kalbfleisch copy, has been reproduced in photographic facsimile several times, so that the actual document has been fairly accessible. The Soderini Letter was also published, but not in photographic facsimile, by Bandini (1745), Canovai (1817), and Varnhagen (1865), but each of these editions contains serious faults. There is also the well-known Latin version by Martin Waldseemüller, *Cosmographiae Introductio* (St. Dié, 1507), with its many reissues and translations. The jumbled Ramusio version is rather a curiosity than a thing of permanent value, when compared with other versions of the letter. The many English translations are a further proof of the lasting interest of Vespucci to the historian. The Princeton facsimile of this letter is above criticism except in one point—and this is true of the other facsimiles made from the same copy of the original—namely the blemish in the types on page 10. The same blemish—the smashing or dropping out of several letters, so that two words are illegible—may or may not occur in the other four known copies of the original. If it does, a note should have been added to the volume. If not, that page or a portion of it should have been photographed from one of the other copies, and a note added in regard to it—which could have been inserted at the end or in a preface without destroying the unity of the old print. The same criticism might be offered in regard to the facsimile of the compilation of voyages, *Sensuyt le Nouveau Monde*. Pages 171 and 182 should each have been photographed from one of the other original copies, in case one be whole, in order to preserve the four obliterated lines of the Princeton copy. The above book is the French translation of the *Paesi Novamente Ritrovati*, a compilation of early voyages by Montalboddo Fracazio, among the narratives being a version of the *Mundus Novus* of Vespucci. The three facsimiles would have been improved, so far as their use is concerned, had they been accompanied by bibliographies. It has evidently been the aim of the editors to issue the facsimiles, as far as possible, exactly in their old form without extraneous matter, and it may be the intention to present a complete Vespucci bibliography before the end of the series is reached, as well as the announced bibliography of the *Mundus Novus*. It is hoped that this will be done, for the Vespucci bibliography is as yet by no means complete, despite the researches of Varnhagen, Harris, and others.

The other two volumes, both translations by Professor George Tyler Northup, of Toronto University, will undoubtedly have a wider use than the facsimiles, for the majority of historians, as well as of other people, will go to a good translation rather than to the original. Those few

who prefer the originals will find it convenient to use the translations side by side with them. Volume V. presents probably the best translation into English that has yet been made of the *Mundus Novus*. This has been made from the Latin version published at Vienna in 1504, for the original Italian manuscript has probably been lost, but Professor Northup has been able to use previous translations. This letter has been published in several languages and in many editions. The promised Winship bibliography will be a welcome addition to the tools of the historian.

But of all five volumes, the fourth, the translation of the famous Soderini Letter, with its admirable introduction, offers most interest and value. Here is a work replete with the best that scholarship can offer. In his painstaking labor, Professor Northup has done what few men would care to do, for this is work that demands not only a certain training and acquirement, but a certain temperament as well. This is, in fact, more than a translation. Professor Northup has done what Napione, Gustavo Hughes, and Uzielli dreamed over—constructed a critical text of this most perplexing Vespucci letter—and his work will not have to be done over again. The problem he set himself was philological not historical.

Vespucci's writings . . . have suffered at the hands of translators, copyists, printers, and even, it is to be feared, at those of modern editors. The texts on which we base our judgments are vastly different from those which left the author's hand. The extant versions of these must be critically examined, collated, and classified; critical texts must be established before historians can hope to form accurate judgments based upon Vespucci's writings.

There has been no attempt before to furnish something better than the confessedly erroneous texts that have been used. Professor Northup's aim is first to describe the three extant versions in which this narrative has come down to us; next, to work out their filiation and trace their descent; then, to state the principles of textual criticism which should be employed in deciding between variant readings. After this will follow an English translation . . . not based like previous translations upon a single text, but upon all three, following the better readings and supplying omissions.

The three texts selected are the Florentine print, which is labelled "P", the Magliabecchiana MS., labelled "M", and the Waldseemüller translation into Latin, the *Cosmographiae Introductio*, labelled "H". The first probably more nearly approaches the half-Spanish, half-Italian original, and the second is an eighteenth-century copy of a copy made in 1505 from a manuscript source differing somewhat from that from which "P" was printed. Professor Northup's attempt to construct the original text of the letter as it reached the hands of Piero Soderini in 1504 is ingenious, and his reasoning will generally be accepted as sound. He has proceeded on the theory that when two of these three versions agree as against the third the two have the correct reading. When all

three are different, the one that is in accord with known facts or with common sense is the correct reading. In the case of the most delicate differences where facts and common sense cannot come to his aid, he has frankly fallen back on subjective impression, assuming that reading to be the correct one because it seems to be correct. Obviously this is the only one of the three methods on which there can be much difference of opinion and it constitutes the only weak point in the building up of the critical text. But the original text is not reached, according to Professor Northup, by a mere comparison of the three versions. He believes that "P" and "M" proceeded from a common ancestor, each deriving through one or more intermediate forms. The immediate common ancestor of these two versions and of "H" in turn proceeded from another common ancestor, which itself proceeded from the original, with the possibility of one or more intermediate forms at each stage. Professor Northup does not attempt to construct the barbaric text of the original, but does try to give the original text in an English translation, and probably with fair success. For instance, he concludes, as most historians already have, that "Parias" is the correct reading as against the reading "Lariab" of the "P" version, because found in both "M" and "H". Many of the passages of "H", which have quite generally been considered to be interpolations by Waldeemüller, he decides are part of the original, as some of them are found also in "M", and others seem probable though in neither "P" nor "M". In his translation, he shows by the mechanical devices of brackets and italics the readings adopted from "M" and "H", and at the end of the volume, he gives the variants of the three versions in the language of the version.

With Canovai and Harris, Professor Northup believes that the Vespucci documents have not come down to us in the form in which Vespucci penned them, and that the Soderini Letter was at least partly based on a Spanish original. The only wholly autograph letter by Vespucci that has come down is written in correct Spanish, and this Professor Northup accepts as trustworthy evidence that Vespucci was well versed in that language—a not oversound reason, as Vespucci might easily have employed a Spaniard to write the letter for him and have later copied it himself. With better reasoning he believes it unlikely that Vespucci, who had left Italy so late in his life, could have forgotten his native language so thoroughly as to write the bastard jargon of the Soderini Letter. The earliest form of this, he thinks, was a report in Spanish to his Spanish patron, to whom he quite naturally would write first. Later, to save himself time and trouble, he had someone else copy it into Italian. The result was the Soderini version, which was made by a careless translator, whose work often becomes a mere transliteration. However, as Professor Northup admits, the matter is not to be settled in a moment, but should be passed on by a jury of competent Romance philologists. Of real help is the

treatment of the Hispanisms (he uses the inharmonious term "hispanicisms") of the letter, which have been mentioned by other critics of Vespucci. These he has carefully collected and classified. He divides them into three classes: first, words reported by others as Hispanisms, but which are really old Italian or dialectical forms; second, undoubted or probable Hispanisms; and third, less certain instances in which it is impossible to say whether the word belongs to the one language or the other. Most students will accept his statement that the letter shows no Portuguese influence, since the so-called Portuguese forms may be resolved into Spanish or Italian. The whole introduction is well worthy a careful study with constant reference to the original and the translation. Professor Northup has performed a service which it is hoped will prove an incitement to other scholars, for there is still much work necessary to be done on the earliest sources of American history.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653: a Study of Matrimony and Family Life in Theory and Practice as Revealed by the Literature, Law, and History of the Period. By CHILTON LATHAM POWELL, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1917. Pp. xii, 274. \$1.50.)

LESS than two decades ago the family, as a social institution with a vitally significant history, was almost a *terra incognita* save to special students in the fields of anthropology and sociology. Within the last fifteen years, however, excellent historical and social studies of marriage and the family institution have appeared in English, of which the most scholarly is unquestionably Professor Howard's *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, published in 1904. Dr. Powell's book on *English Domestic Relations* marks a new era, in which intensive studies of family ideals and practices in certain fruitful periods will increasingly be made.

The author declares the subject of his investigation to be that of domestic relations in England, including both the contract of marriage (its making and breaking) and the subsequent life of the family. The period involved extends from the first appearance of the subject in English writing up to its first great crisis, a height of clear thinking and vigorous expression on which Milton and Cromwell stand alone.

With painstaking care Dr. Powell has examined a long array of legal and controversial works, dealing with questions of spousals, marriage, and divorce. Some of these writings have been referred to, more or less briefly, by previous gleaners in this field; others, as the author assures us, "have been examined for the first time in connection with the subject of marriage". In the opening chapters of Dr. Powell's book the development of the heated controversies waged by Anglicans and Dis-

senters over the marriage contract and ceremony and over matters of divorce jurisdiction and legislation is clearly traced, with liberal quotations from the works of leading writers. The early practice of the Anglican Church as set forth by Harrington in his quaint *Comendacions of Matrymony* (1528) is brought into sharp contrast with the views of such prominent Dissenters as Brown and Robert Barrow. Particularly interesting and valuable is the chapter on the Attempted Reform of Divorce. Here the enlightened views of Bishop Hooper, Cartwright, John Rainolds, and other reformers, who upheld the doctrine of divorce for adultery, desertion, and "poisonings", are set over against the conservative attitude of the Established Church, which steadfastly clung to ancient Catholic practice.

Perhaps the most valuable portions of Dr. Powell's book are the chapters describing and analyzing the Domestic Conduct Book of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Contemporary Attitudes towards Woman and the Wider Ranges of Domestic Literature. As the author rightly points out, this field "has been almost entirely neglected in connection with the present subject". And the field is both rich and interesting. Finally, four appendixes are added to the book, in the first of which a complete account is given for the first time of the divorce suit of Henry VIII., and in the second, a new conception of the married life of Milton and the cause of his famous divorce tracts is advanced.

Such a careful and detailed study as Dr. Powell's should be sincerely welcomed by every student of the family. The fresh material it assembles and the painstaking way in which it traces the evolution of new ideas concerning marriage and divorce make it a genuine contribution to the growing body of literature on this subject.

WILLYSTINE GOODSSELL.

The Seconde Parte of a Register: being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that Title intended for Publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams's Library, London. Edited by ALBERT PEEL, M.A., Litt.D., B.Litt., Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. With a Preface by C. H. FIRTH, LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. xviii, 311; 328. \$6.50.)

ABOUT 1593 there was printed without name of publisher or place, but probably from the press of Robert Waldegrave in Edinburgh, or by that of Richard Schilders, possibly in London, a now rare volume, long known to students of English Puritanism, entitled *A Parte of a Register; contayninge sundrie memorable Matters, written by divers godly and learned in our Time, which stande for and desire the Reformation of our Church, in Discipline and Ceremonies, accordinge to the pure Worde of*

God and the Lawe of our Lande. It was a collection of Puritan papers, letters, petitions, complaints, arguments, and proceedings of the ecclesiastical authorities, written between 1570 and 1588.

The title indicated that it was a portion of a larger collection, which the repressive action of the government prevented from publication in its entirety. In fact most copies of the *Parte of a Register* printed were destroyed by the authorities. Where the manuscripts for proposed further issues may now be, if in existence, is unknown; but fortunately they were copied, in the seventeenth century, for Roger Morrice (1628–1702), a clergyman of Puritan sympathies, and the transcript came in some way, now unknown, into the Williams Library of London. The collection was carelessly, but somewhat extensively, used by Neal in his *History of the Puritans*, and by Brook in his *Lives of the Puritans*, and it has been consulted on special topics by a few other authors. In general, it has been neglected or ignored.

The marked recent interest in Elizabethan religious history has induced Dr. Albert Peel to prepare a careful calendar which constitutes the volumes now under review. The work has been admirably done. The calendar includes 257 documents, the more important of which lie between 1570 and 1590, and the large majority in the last ten years of that period. Their content is such as to justify the claim of the editor "that no accurate account of the ecclesiastical history of the years 1570–1590 can be written without consulting them".

Naturally such a collection is of a very miscellaneous character, but there is abundant evidence of the aims of the Puritans, of the attempts made to realize those wishes in practice, and of the resistance encountered from the ecclesiastical authorities. Much light is thrown on the extent and localities of the Puritan movement among the clergy, and on the relatively scanty participation of the laity in it, in contrast to the seventeenth century. For the general student of the religious conditions of the period no documents are more suggestive than the elaborate surveys of the ministry of a considerable portion of England prepared by Puritans in 1586, and giving names of clergymen, parishes, sometimes stipends, and indicating whether pluralists, residents, and preachers or "dumbe". Even more significant is the estimate of moral worth or worthlessness given, with definite charges in the case of a large portion of the clergy here enumerated. Such charges were, of course, partizan; but their number and definiteness leave a distinct impression that many of the Elizabethan parish ministers, quite apart from any question of ability to preach, were unworthy of their office. As Professor Firth remarks in his interesting preface:

The revolutions through which the Church passed after 1551 were not calculated to increase the learning and efficiency of the clergy. Puritans and Bishops alike aimed at raising the standard, by different methods, and each with some success, though the process was a slow one.

The reader is glad to note that the editor plans speedily to reprint the rare *Parte of a Register*, for continuation of which the papers here calendared were originally collected; and to give with that republication an elaborate introduction to the whole body of documents thus gathered by the Elizabethan Puritans.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Making of Modern Germany. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL.
(Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1916. Pp. vii, 259.
\$1.25.)

SIX lectures, delivered in Chicago in 1915, form the basis of Schevill's work, which sketches in broad outline the political and social development of Prussia-Germany from the collapse of the medieval empire and the rise of the "hard, resistant nucleus", Brandenburg, to the beginning of the Great War. The appeal to a popular audience justifies the style of presentation, which is vigorous and picturesque, and at times somewhat flamboyant. Here and there the author rises to real eloquence, as in his descriptions of the effects of the Thirty Years' War. He does not disdain colloquialisms, and now and then lapses into a solecism ("the then ruler", p. 36). The book shows evidences of too great haste in preparation in not a few loose and even incorrect statements. The following are instances: "[Prussia] by giving up the territory acquired in the three partitions of Poland" (p. 89, it retained West Prussia and received back Posen, *cf.* p. 229); "The reduction of military service from three to two years occurred shortly before 1900" (p. 130, it was in 1893). It would be very hard to show that Austria in April, 1849, "threatened with war" if Frederick William IV. should accept the imperial crown from the Frankfort Parliament (p. 118). The Socialist vote in 1912 was nearly four and one-quarter millions, not three and one-half, as stated (p. 174). Incorrect is the statement that "Germany compels school attendance only until the fourteenth year"—it is corrected, in fact, on the next page—as well as the statement regarding the loyalty of the Poles in East Prussia and Silesia (p. 230). In East Prussia the land in Polish hands increased 1900 to 1912, as a result of systematic, aggressive effort, by more than 27,000 hectares, and in Silesia in 1908 the *Wasserpolacken* captured five Reichstag districts in the uplands. The Expropriation Law of 1908 was not simply "dangled as a threat" (p. 232). It was put into practice in 1912.

Schevill's book really falls into two parts: an historical and an argumentative part. The first, down to the Bismarck era, is a sympathetic and at times brilliant sketch of the development of Prussia into a "patriarchal state" with "traditions of work and service". With considerable skill the author selects the fundamental points in the story down through Frederick's programme and the subsequent struggle with Napoleon to the catastrophic results of Berlin's "official neutrality". In

recounting Prussia's regeneration he does not overlook, as so many historians of Prussia do, the continuance for years after 1815 of the transforming impulses which Stein set in motion, though few will agree with the assertion that after this date "the view that the state was an end in itself . . . lost all but a few hidebound supporters" (p. 92). The thesis that the authoritative and collective tendencies in Prussia are an organic development dominates the discussion and in his eagerness to develop this through the nineteenth century Schevill occasionally overlooks important points, such as the unifying effects of the enthusiasms of the Frankfort Parliament and the constitutional results of Bismarck's victory over the Prussian Liberals in 1863, so crucial for the development of the Bismarckian state.

The book was planned before the war, nevertheless the conflict determines the tone and content of the discussion of Bismarck and after. Schevill defends vigorously and ably the German constitution as a "healthy interaction" of authority and democracy, and finds that the authoritative principle has taken a more genuinely democratic course than English and American liberalism. A statement of Lord Northcliffe's that the Germans are "second-rate imitators" introduces eight pages on German contributions to science, municipal government, etc. The author's arguments, like Delbrück's, in defense of the German dualistic system give the impression of one tilting against windmills. The British middle-class Liberalism, which Schevill attacks (p. 166 ff.), has long since ceased to exist in theory or practice save as a sort of bogey-man for critics. Is the British social legislation, from the factory laws of the 'forties down to Lloyd George's sick-insurance bill, not evidence of a growing fusion of liberalism with democracy, that freedom with equality, which Schevill finds so antipodal?

Appendixes on the Polish question and Alsace-Lorraine give a fair and sympathetic statement of the German position on these matters. Still another appendix (there are eight in all) absolves Bismarck from the charge of falsifying the Ems Despatch. Over against the fine-spun arguments of Schevill and others on this point one would like to set the classic remark of the hard-headed Moltke, when Bismarck read him the "concentrated" form of Abeken's message: "So hat das einen anderen Klang. Vorher klang es wie eine Chamade [signal for negotiations], jetzt wie eine Fanfare [flourish in answer to a challenge]." (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen*, II. 91.)

Frederick the Great: the Memoirs of his Reader, Henri de Catt (1758-1760). Translated by F. S. FLINT, with an Introduction by Lord ROSEBERY. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xl, 312; 344. \$7.50.)

AFTER Frederick the Great had separated from Voltaire through incompatibility of temper, and after he had thrown De Prades into a

fortress on a charge of espionage, it was a Genevan Swiss, Henri de Catt, whom he selected as his literary crony. Officially Catt was the king's "reader"; actually he was his listener; for Frederick liked to follow the advice which he often gave to others that the best way to clarify one's own thoughts is to express them to someone else. Catt joined the king in camp in March, 1758, and for more than a score of years thereafter it was his duty, after dinner, to listen reverentially to his patron declaiming French tragedies, to correct and criticize his mediocre verse, to place adroitly sympathy or compliment, and to tell the king what his officers were saying about him. Great men, and even men not great, often have need of such retainers. Johnson had Boswell, Goethe had Eckermann, Byron had Moore, and so forth. Catt was a devoted admirer, but his incense was not of that gross kind, burned by others, which obscures the idol and defiles the worshippers.

During the bitter years 1758-1760, in which Frederick suffered at Olmütz, Hochkirchen, Zorndorf, and Kunersdorf, and in which he was bereft of his beloved mother, brother, and sister, Catt kept a very brief Diary of all conversations and journeys with the king. Many years later he artistically amplified the Diary into *Memoirs*. Neither the Diary nor the *Memoirs* were used by Carlyle, nor by any German historians to any extent until they were published by Koser in 1884. Mr. Flint's translation of the *Memoirs*, preserving something of the savor of the original French, is excellent. Either he, or Lord Rosebery in the charming estimate of Frederick and his Boswell, might well have warned the reader of the difference between the Diary and the *Memoirs*. The former, not here translated, consists of disconnected jottings and is wholly without literary form. It is of much value, however, to the meticulous biographer of Frederick, because of its unvarnished accuracy. The *Memoirs*, on the other hand, put together in pleasing narrative form, have doubtless much greater interest for the general reader, but are not quite so trustworthy. They betray a naïve tendency on Catt's part to magnify his own importance. But the prominence which he assigns to himself is not always in harmony with his own statements in the Diary. When Frederick hears of the death of his brother, the Prince of Prussia, it is to Catt, according to the *Memoirs* (I. 187 ff.), that he at once pours out his grief; according to the Diary he was not called to see the king until four days after the sad news had come. In the *Memoirs*, Catt has also an eye for dramatic effect. For, according to the Diary, it was on August 14, 1758, that Frederick busied himself writing an improvement on Rousseau's Ode to Fortune; in the *Memoirs* (I. 286) Catt places this episode ten days later, on the 24th, so that it dramatically takes place on the eve of the battle of Zorndorf, and Catt is saying, "Yes, Sire, I doubt whether the generals whom you have to combat ever write verses on the eve of a battle."

Admitting, however, that there is a mixture of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in the *Memoirs*, they nevertheless give a generally veracious, favor-

able, and intensely human picture of a really great man. They recount his foibles, jokes, hemorrhoids, poems, and persiflage. Often the weary head of the state would exclaim to Catt, "What a dog's life I have to lead!". He even had thoughts of resigning the crown to his brother, in order that he might retire to the literary delights of Sans Souci. Catt gives many amusing anecdotes illustrating Frederick's fondness for practical jokes on other people; but there are also plenty of stories evidencing the king's essential generosity and genuine solicitude for the welfare of others. Frederick frequently adverted to his miserable youth and his hard study for the tasks of life, but he seems to have had a more kindly appreciation of his father's severe character than one would gather from the pages of Carlyle or Macaulay.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Modern Russian History: being an Authoritative and Detailed History of Russia from the Age of Catherine the Great to the Present. By ALEXANDER KORNILOV, Professor at the Polytechnicum of Peter the Great in Petrograd. In two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1917. Pp. 310, 370. \$5.00.)

It is really a pity. Here is an excellent book on a subject about which there is little good literature in English, and it is made almost unreadable for us by the incompetence of the translator. He is evidently a foreigner with a large theoretical knowledge of English, but he has no real sense of a clear idiomatic use of the language. The order of his clauses is apt to be clumsy, there are countless inversions, articles are inserted where they do not belong, and omitted where they do (in Russian there are no articles), there are many mistakes in the use of prepositions, and words of all kinds are used with not quite their right meaning and sometimes with totally wrong ones and sometimes with no warrant for their existence. The reader is thus kept in a continual state of irritation while he is trying to find out what a sentence means or should mean, or is jarred by some extraordinary expression. To quote a few examples, we find such terms as "ideational", "hydraulicians", "draining wars", "civilism", "cadet corpses", "motivated", "the anachronic despoty". Paper money is called "assignments", and we are told about their "course". Instead of he "disapproved of", we have he "regarded negatively". The Academicians, such as Storch, are dubbed "academic Storch", etc.

The following if not perhaps fair are characteristic passages:

Not satisfied with the custom repressions Paul ordered arrested all English goods in the stores (I. 61).

To the next period we must assign the following four decades of the nineteenth century, when the results of the abolition of serfdom had developed the further process of the substitution by a constitutional of the autocratic state (I. 65).

As a comment on Alexander I. we find:

In a fatal way he had destroyed for himself the possibility of a consequential and regulated leadership of Russia on the way of progress and fundamental improvement of her state, destroyed it by being carried away with the chance for participation in the world-events of his time (I. 217).

Chapter XXVII. begins with the sentence: "The attentate of Karakozov, on April 4, 1866, produced a shocking impression upon Alexander and upon the public" (II. 111).

Coming at last to the subject of Professor Kornilov's two volumes, the first criticism one has to make is that the title is misleading. It promises a general history of Russia, but the work is almost confined to Russian institutions and political development in the last century and a half. Foreign relations and wars and expansion of territory are touched upon only in a casual and rather slipshod manner, and there are several errors in statement. Economic development comes out a little better, but not much, and there is nothing about such things as the progress of science, literature, or art. On its real topic the book is valuable. It has been written with evident care and competence, with outspoken liberal conviction, but soberly and without rhetoric. The facts it gives are of consequence in themselves, but it covers too much ground to go deeply into any of them. Being composed for Russians, it presupposes a certain knowledge of Russian history on the part of its readers. It also has a great many proper names, which makes it confusing, especially to a public not already familiar with most of them, and to whom they seem uncouth. In short, Professor Kornilov's work is a scholarly, judicious compendium of an important subject, but it is not likely to prove attractive to many American readers.

The transliteration of Russian words is in the main good, though there are some inconsistencies and a few mistakes, especially in names that were originally foreign, not Russian. *Ts* is better than *tz* (for instance, *tsar*, not *tzar*), and there is no sense in the form "Nicolas", which is not the English and still less the Russian way of writing the name.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

The French Revolution and Napoleon. By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. iv, 385. \$2.50.)

THIS volume is a reprint of a portion of Professor Hazen's school-text on *Modern European History*, minus the illustrations and bibliographies. The book is a war-product. It was the belief that, "To an age like our own, caught in the grip of a world war . . . there is much instruction to be gained from the study of a similar crisis in the destinies of humanity a century ago", that between the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon and our own there are "not only points of interesting and suggestive comparison, but there is also a line

of distinct causation connecting the two". It was this belief that led to the publication as a separate volume of the portions of the *Modern European History* devoted to the French Revolution and Napoleon. The result has been a book outwardly attractive and charmingly written; it will probably be a popular text-book and, compared with other volumes of the same size, it will deserve to be popular. Tested by the ideal standard of what such a volume might be, it is more open to criticism. Correctness in the statement of fact and fundamental unity in the synthesis of facts should be the aim of every popular work and success in realizing these two aims should be the final test of the historical value of the book. In the volume under examination, there is a third criterion to be considered, namely the success with which the "instruction" of that period for the present is made clear.

As to the incorrect statements of facts, while there are fewer than in the majority of school-texts dealing with this same period, there are still more than necessary, more than should be allowed to stand in a revised edition of the work. Notwithstanding all that has been written upon the French Revolution the main facts have not yet been critically established; but few trustworthy monographs exist. It would be extremely difficult, even for the specialist on the period, to present the whole subject in a condensed synthesis and make no blunders in matters of fact. There are some trustworthy monographs and every writer on the Revolution should be familiar with them; facts should not be drawn, without critical examination, from general histories of the Revolution. Lack of space makes it impossible to do more than illustrate my point. A trustworthy account of the night of August 4, 1789, has been written by Aulard; Professor Hazen's account is evidently taken from Madelin's *The French Revolution*, and is full of inaccuracies. The insurrections of July and October, 1789, of June 20 and August 10, 1792, the massacres of September, 1792, the Worship of Reason of 1793 have all received monographic treatment and a knowledge of these monographs would have improved Professor Hazen's text. At times, the *élan* with which the narrative was written triumphed over historical accuracy. The statement (p. 185), for example, that "Louis was given a trial, a trial, however, before a packed jury, which had already shown its hatred of him", is not history but rhetoric. The same is true of the statement (p. 178) touching the September massacres.

The synthesis of the Revolution begins in a most promising manner with a treatment of the *ancien régime*, the beginnings of the Revolution, and the making of the constitution, and then reverts to the usual topics of the Legislative Assembly, the Convention, and Directory. The excellent chapter on the Making of the Constitution is, to my mind, an example of what the whole book should have been. The chapter devoted to the Convention is the least satisfactory of all, perhaps necessarily so. But it should have been made clear that from 1792 on and especially in the great year 1793 everything was conditioned by war and war should have been thrown into the foreground; it is the only method of treat-

ment that gives significance to the facts of the internal history. A good synthesis of the Napoleonic Period is less difficult to realize than one of the Revolution and here it is well done.

The connection between these periods and the present war is not made especially clear; it is treated very incidentally. Perhaps it could not be made clear in a work that ends with the Congress of Vienna; it might have been shown in two chapters on the great world development that has led to a world war to solve, if possible, the problem of how this world society, the result of six thousand years of history, shall be finally organized. A successful synthesis of the Revolution and the Napoleonic Period and an understanding of their relation to the present war are possible only under the conditions created by a clear insight into the character of the development of the world's history.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The French Colonial Question, 1789-1791: Dealings of the Constituent Assembly with Problems arising from the Revolution in the West Indies. By MITCHELL BENNETT GARRETT, Ph.D., Acting Professor of History in Saint Lawrence University. (Ann Arbor: George Wahr. 1916. Pp. iv, 167. \$1.25.)

PROFESSOR GARRETT here presents a study of a question which, as Boissonnade has remarked, gave rise to one of the "most serious crises in the history of civilization". When one reflects upon the fact that the "colonial question" brought to the halls of the revolutionary assemblies, for discussion and settlement, social problems of such great import, both to the colonies and to humanitarian philosophers, as the institution of slavery and the slave-trade, economic problems of such far-reaching consequences, to planters and merchants, to colonies and metropole, to the integrity of the empire and the welfare of the larger trading-world, as the reform of the *pacte colonial*, political problems of such vital interest to visionary reformers and to practical defenders of colonial interests, as colonial self-government and imperial control with all the intricate and perplexing minor problems related thereto, it is hard to regard Boissonnade's remark as an exaggeration. The importance of the question has not failed to attract scholars and to inspire some excellent work. Boissonnade, Castonnet des Fosses, Léon Deschamps, de Vaissière, H. E. Mills, Stoddart, Miss E. D. Bradby, and, since the publication of the present study, Miss Ellery, have all published works of value which have dealt with some vital phases of the question. All of these writers with the exception of Deschamps, of whom more will be said presently, have approached its study either with the purpose of delineating more sharply the rôle played by some character in the Constituent Assembly or else through a primary interest in the colonies as such, and have not examined with "painstaking care the records of the Constituent Assembly to discover the efforts of the national deputies at Paris to understand and redress the colonial griev-

ances". Professor Garrett has attempted to do what they have failed to do and thus to present a clear and accurate account of the colonial question before the Constituent Assembly. On the whole he has succeeded in the undertaking and has made a distinct contribution of importance to our literature on the subject.

The story is not an easy one to tell. Many factors and forces, strong and important, but ever shifting and changing, must be traced by patience and skill through perplexing and complicated situations so that the reader may follow the narrative with understanding. Illustrations of this abound. The planter-interests, for instance, were both in favor of and opposed to the revolutionary movement. They were in favor of it in so far as they were inspired by the hope that it would break the hated tyranny of monopolistic control over colonial commerce. As supporters of the revolution they found themselves allies of the mulattoes and *petits blancs*, who from far different motives welcomed the dawn of a new day; as such too they found themselves enemies of the merchant class, who dreaded a change and wished still to fatten upon the old theories of Colbertism. But when these same planters heard resounding in the excited French capital the wild notes of equality and fraternity and realized that such notes, once resounding upon the rich plains of St. Domingo, would produce lurid scenes of devastation and destruction, they became opponents of the movement. They then found themselves allies of the merchant class and uncompromising enemies of the mulattoes and the *petits blancs*, at least until slave insurrections forced them all into united action. From this complication of interests among those concerned personally with the colonies, one may turn to find a similar complication in the attitude of the members of the Constituent Assembly, where the cause of principles struggled against the restraints of wise statesmanship ("Périssent les colonies plutôt qu'un principe"), a struggle which, as our author points out, led to a wavering policy in the colonial legislation of the assembly, which had serious consequences. The play and interplay of such forces as these and of others like the *Amis des Noirs*, the delegates of the colonies, the exiled assembly of Saint Marc, the Jacobin Club, the ever changing conditions in the storm-centres of the West Indies, the feverish, shifting sentiments of the Constituent Assembly, might have led very easily to bewildering confusion. The author's skill, however, has saved the reader from such a misfortune. It is quite remarkable, indeed, how in the compass of his small volume Professor Garrett has succeeded in setting before the reader a complicated story in such clear, concise form and yet with enough detail to give substance to the narrative.

The work is based almost entirely upon original material and has all the freshness and vigor of such work. The study however has some very decided limitations. It has failed to include a treatment of *la réforme commerciale* which led to some legislation in the Constituent Assembly of great importance to the colonies and treated very properly

by Deschamps as an essential part of the "colonial question". It displays decided limitations in the treatment of events in the colonies, such as the revolt of the mulattoes in St. Domingo under Ogé, which though small and unsuccessful certainly had an important influence. Likewise the treatment of the assembly of Saint Marc (ch. III.) shows some rather careless workmanship. A comparison of the summary (p. 61) of the "Constitutional Bases" issued by that assembly with the text of them published by Castonnet des Fosses (*La Perte d'une Colonie*, p. 57) will reveal not only some awkward translation but even inaccurate and misleading statements of fact. Also, I am very curious to know the authority for the statement that the word *acceptation* as used in the "Bases" "precluded the possibility of a refusal" of them by the king and the National Assembly. The principles of the "Bases" do not appear quite so extremely radical and arrogant as the author represents them, as will be evident from a comparison of them with the "instructions" of March 28 (p. 54) and with the principles finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly (p. 132). In spite of its crudeness and limitations the Assembly of Saint Marc proposed an extremely interesting solution of the colonial problem, comparable in statesmanship to those offered by the Stamp Act Congress and the Congress of 1774 in our own revolutionary movement.

It is rather surprising to find Professor Garrett treating the work of Deschamps in such a summary fashion as he does in his bibliography. He there dismisses it with the remark that it is "full of typographical errors, inaccurate statistics and misstatements of fact". Now Deschamps (*Les Colonies pendant la Révolution: la Constituante et la Réforme Coloniale*) covers the identical ground covered by Professor Garrett, although in less detail, because he has treated the "colonial question" in a more comprehensive way. His work has enjoyed a good reputation. It would seem therefore to be incumbent upon the author to have indicated in his foot-notes at least some important facts to justify his comment upon such a comparatively recent writer in the same field. He has cited Deschamps only four times and in each case as an authority. However inaccurate in details it might prove under critical analysis, yet there is a breadth of view in Deschamps's book which makes it valuable and delightful.

STEWART L. MIMS.

Lord Stowell: his Life and the Development of English Prize Law.

By E. S. ROSCOE, Registrar of the Prize Court of Great Britain and Ireland. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. 116. \$1.50.)

STOWELL's biographies are out of print, men remember him as Eldon's brother, prize law is of but sporadic importance, and admiralty is a neglected mystery to lawyers and laymen who dwell away from deep water.

To the Registrar of the Admiralty, custodian of the court's traditions, and versed in its peculiar learning, such ignorance of the greatest name in its annals is distasteful, and now that the carriage of goods by sea is as dangerous as in the day of Stowell (and Napoleon), Mr. Roscoe has written an "impression" of William Scott "as a man", and a proof that his "individual, important and permanent" labors answer modern requirements.

It is high distinction that any man's intellectual work endures for a century, yet in our day of steam, electricity, and international credits, Stowell's law, formulated for sailing ships that disappeared from knowledge on every voyage, has proven wholly applicable. His successors have done little more than indicate the legal identity of phenomena a century apart and differing in every external. Thus bottomry and respondentia have disappeared, but Stowell's treatment of these liens upon captures has disposed of claims based on hypothecated bills of lading securing bankers' drafts.

Such logical victories appeal especially to the bar, and the book is primarily for lawyers. But no other volume has clearly shown the reasons for Stowell's unique influence in prize. He was no mere practitioner, office bred and sharpened by immature advocacy; but a ripe scholar, a teacher of history, a sound common lawyer, a thorough civilian, an astute politician, and something of a courtier. Many judges had presided over the English Admiralty, but he was the first to set forth the grounds of judgment in ordered sequence, and to make his "sentences" a body of "case law"—the method of legal formulation still most acceptable; he was perhaps the first able to do this, as he certainly was the first with business enough to give scope to ability.

The author admits that the *corpus juris* reasoned out by Stowell inclined against the neutral and favored belligerents. Bitterly did contemporary America complain of this; but there is scarcely an anti-neutral decision that has not been drastically applied in our courts. The book might have illustrated this more fully, for it is high tribute to the Englishman's mental power that when Americans warred they adopted the rules once so cordially abused.

A judge writes to be quoted, and Stowell's quotability might have received ampler treatment. Phrases such as the "cobweb title" that does not divest jurisdiction in possession, and the resounding sentence that a mariner's wage lien is "sacred as long as a plank" remains of his vessel, have kept Stowell in the mouths of counsel.

Mr. Roscoe easily shows the judge's importance and modernity; "as a man", there was temptation to special pleading. Yet the book fairly pictures the worldly man, "pleasant" to Sir Walter Scott, Dr. Johnson's companion and executor—but no man's hearty friend. An intelligent selfishness, not unmixed with parsimony, forbade any commitment not easily broken without open reproach.

The volume pretends to nothing new, except to fit Stowell into our

century; that point is fully proved; for the rest it is an attractive summary of the enduring work of a well-bred, selfish, highly educated, and slightly miserly gentleman.

CHARLES M. HOUGH.

Three Peace Congresses of the Nineteenth Century. By CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN, WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, ROBERT HOWARD LORD. *Claimants to Constantinople.* By ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1917. Pp. v, 93. \$75.)

FOUR of the most timely papers read at the Cincinnati meeting of the American Historical Association have here been collected and delightfully published, with a prefatory note by Professor H. E. Bourne, under the imprint of the Harvard University Press. The papers, because of their pertinency to the present war and its issue and also because of the well-recognized competency of their authors, should now be read with pleasure and profit by a wide circle.

Messrs. Hazen, Thayer, and Lord, in dealing respectively with the Congresses of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, have not bored us with repetitious discussion of the detailed problems that came before the assembled diplomatists or of the merits of the solutions reached. Rather, they have all conformed admirably to the dictum laid down by Mr. Hazen that he would content himself with describing "the manner in which the Congress approached its problems, the way in which it handled its business, its mode of organization, its methods of work, the machinery it employed in the discharge of its highly complicated task". To many it will seem a pity that the authors have not broadened the scope of their papers sufficiently to admit of some indication of the hopes and aspirations voiced in the press and popularly entertained immediately before, and during, the several congresses. Such hopes and aspirations—even prior semi-official pronouncements of the governments concerned—have so often been at variance with the treaty achievements, that a frank recognition of this fact might go far to restrain undue optimism about the millennium's being ushered in by the congress which will terminate the present war. With the exception of Mr. Lord's passing reference to the petitions of representatives of the Alliance Israélite and of the Peace Society to the Congress of Berlin, the congresses are considered as jousting matches for brightly caparisoned (though not over-chivalrous) noble diplomatists, never as dickerings of cabals unrepresentative of their fellow nationals in social position, in manners, in purpose, and in "interests". Perhaps the authors have done wisely to exclude consideration of contemporaneous public opinion of the congresses, for otherwise their studies would have been expanded to much larger dimensions, would have lacked unity, and would have engulfed the "gentle reader" in a most desperately abysmal slough of pessimism.

As it is, the effect of the hour's perusal of the three papers is to

produce a feeling bordering on despair. The most striking lesson to be drawn from the Congress of Vienna is that a power, overwhelmingly defeated on the battlefield and actually occupied in large part by the victorious troops of a grand alliance, may, if it has a diplomatist of the calibre and shrewdness of Talleyrand, set its conquerors at variance one with another and in the name of "legitimacy" or of some other mouth-filling fiction preserve its territorial integrity and continue to play a rôle as a great power. The Congress of Vienna was not even a congress, yet it accomplished much more of permanent value than did the Congress of Paris. In the latter there is only a comedy of errors played by a humorous green-table troupe—the pompous, ponderous, Palmerstonian Clarendon; Walewski, the much-talking and little-thinking agent of Napoleon III.; the "arrogant, mannerless, and haughty" Count Buol; the bluff, jovial, "old-soldierly" Count Orloff; and the Turkish grand vizier, "the only self-made man"—as much like Gilbert-and-Sullivan in their procedure as they were like Hamlet in their crazy and tragical achievements. It is not surprising that historical interest has centred less in this burlesque than in the two side-shows which accompanied it—the Declaration of Paris on maritime law in time of war, and the quiet but effective intrigues of Count Cavour.

Both at Paris and at Vienna the visiting diplomatists were constantly distracted from business by banquets, receptions, and balls; at Berlin, they had only to retire to Bismarck's buffet and to sample his "jug of port", and they were forthwith refreshed and invigorated for the tasks before them. Yet in sheer futility the Congress of Berlin outrivalled its predecessors. Mr. Lord, after endorsing the statement that "the treaty of San Stefano was the wisest measure ever prepared for the pacification of the Balkan Peninsula", affirms that had the powers other than Russia

been actuated only by disinterestedness, moderation, and foresight, they would then have assembled in congress resolved, at the least, to confirm the essential arrangements of San Stefano, to stipulate analogous arrangements for the western half of the peninsula, and to provide for the collective guardianship of Europe over the organization and free development of the liberated nations.

That they did nothing of the sort was due to their indifference to the principle of nationality, to their unfounded jealousy of Russia, and to the fact that they consulted only their own selfish interests; their selfishness was to bear fruit in wars of the twentieth century.

In a word [concludes Mr. Lord] the great fault of the Congress of Berlin, as of so many congresses in the past, was the failure to recognize that the peace of Europe is not ensured nor the interests of any Power permanently served by creating unnatural, unjust, and intolerable conditions; the failure to recognize that even in international politics justice is, in the long run, the surest foundation of states and nations.

All the papers are interesting and suggestive. Mr. Thayer's alone is rather shabbily dressed so far as literary form is concerned and not exactly punctilious in its impartiality; the author of *Germany versus Civilization*, in characterizing Prussian diplomatists, even the aristocratic Manteuffel, must needs lay aside his sense of humor and his mellow historical-mindedness in favor of a somewhat unseemly vindictiveness. Brennus could hardly be a prototype of modern Prussian diplomacy, as Mr. Thayer maintains, for Brennus was a Celt!

Mr. Coolidge's article on "Claimants to Constantinople" is a clear, well-balanced, and fair-minded, though appropriately brief, account of the most difficult question in the international relations of modern times. It deals mainly with the political aspects of the problem, and only incidentally with the economic. Mr. Coolidge brings out best "the clash between the interests and we may say the legitimate ambitions of Russia and Germany". So baffling to us does he make the clash that he can have a good laugh at us by suggesting "that the Russians shall have Constantinople and the Straits, and the German railway shall go under them somewhere by a tunnel". But what will be the effect of the revolution at Petrograd upon Russian claims to Constantinople?

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

Herbert Spencer. By HUGH ELLIOT. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. vi, 330. \$2.00.)

THE editor of the series in which this volume belongs is safe in his observation that (p. v), "Whatever may be thought to-day of the value of Spencer's writings, no one who wishes to understand the thought of the nineteenth century can neglect him." There will be more dissent from the editor's further opinion (p. vi), "As far as one can see, whether as a philosopher or as a man of science, Spencer is not likely to live for future generations."

Not all the men and women who, in the seventies of the nineteenth century, were beginning to take philosophical problems seriously, and who were fascinated by Spencer, have thought beyond their preceptor. A faithful few remain whom Mr. Williams's objectivity will affect as impiety. What will these few say to the brutal frankness of the biographer himself? He tells us that he accomplished his first reading of the *Synthetic Philosophy* while he was in active service on the South African veldt. His appraisal of that work at the time may be inferred from the further detail: "Not infrequently I had little other baggage than a toothbrush and a volume of *The Principles of Psychology*" (p. 5). Fifteen years later, after a second reading of Mr. Spencer's works, together with a collateral study and consultations with many of the author's most intimate friends, Mr. Elliot had reached the conclusions which his book elaborates:

His life was *par excellence* in his writings; and a true biography of Spencer must consist chiefly of an account of his works. He was one of those authors of whom it may be most truly said that his works were much greater than himself; and all the best of him will be found in his philosophy. His personality, outside his works, was meagre and petty.

We must certainly discard the whole dogmatism and formulary of Spencer's social philosophy: we cannot force the conclusions of sociology into a few narrow and rigid laws, as Spencer endeavoured to do (pp. 8-9).

Whether one is of the minority or of the majority in estimating the present worth of Spencer's writings, one can scarcely imagine students, for a long time to come, with sufficient detachment from the more urgent problems of the day to dedicate themselves, as men did while the publication was in process, to eager line-upon-line study of everything which Spencer wrote. With the utmost respect for Spencer's services as a path-breaker for positivism, all but the few for whom we have made allowance realize that his chief significance at present is as a factor in the evolution of thought, not as an authority for present thinking. In other words, even those of us who have profited most by following Spencer through his solution of his problems, must be painfully aware that for men now in their formative years Spencer is largely archaeology. That being the case, a sympathetic introduction, with indication of the main positions in the system, and with a plot of the traps that guard those positions, is the most serviceable addition that could be made to Spencerian literature. Mr. Elliot has admirably satisfied these requirements.

For example, after a succinct statement of the general character of Spencer's philosophy the biographer is equally lucid in showing that it was wholly "worked out by the deductive method . . . the outstanding fact remains that the two great doctrines of his *Sociology* and *Ethics* are just the two doctrines which he imbibed with the greatest avidity in his early years as a political agitator" (pp. 84-85). Equally wise is the indication of prematurity in Spencer's insistent division of societies into "militant" and "industrial" (p. 95 ff., cf. p. 162). Again, the author is at his best when elaborating such propositions as: "Spencer's sociology was unfortunately under the immediate and powerful bias of his *Ethics*. . . . But Spencer had no historical sense" (p. 101); "We cannot admit that the dogmas of the fifties are the last word in the science of sociology or in the art of ethics. . . . Liberty should not be a dogma, but should constitute the atmosphere of social and political thought."

Mr. Elliot successfully locates the fatal flaw in the Spencerian method of explaining social evolution. He indicates it by varying the proposition: "Spencer's perennial search for a logical origin blinds him to the truth that the origin is psychological" (p. 168). He applies the same test to the Spencerian ethics: "Man is primarily a being of emotions and feelings; and in that region we must seek explanations of his behaviour" (p. 185).

In the chapter *Metaphysics and Religion* the biographer neatly hits off the humor of Spencer's attempt in *First Principles*, to deal with problems so far beyond his competence that he chiefly makes the impression of having imperfectly learned what Sir William Hamilton had so convincingly taught. "If 'the Unknowable' is really unknowable, there is surely nothing more to be said about it; and the ascription of various attributes to the Unknowable is in reality a sufficient condemnation of the whole doctrine" (p. 217).

After all the drawbacks are charged off, it still remains true that men who are able to be more critical than credulous may add cubits to their mental stature by studying the *Synthetic Philosophy*. If one is wavering about the value of such study, Mr. Elliot's book would almost surely remove the doubts, and it might most profitably be used as the brief for the respondent.

ALBION W. SMALL.

Portraits of the Seventies. By the Right Hon. GEORGE W. E. RUSSELL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1916. Pp. 485. \$3.75.)

OBVIOUSLY from what Mr. Russell tells us in a frankly written preface to *Portraits of the Seventies*, publishers in London regard his intimate knowledge of English politics of the last forty years and of English society of the same period as a valuable asset. There are readers of his books and of his contributions to the periodical press, especially readers who recall his contributions to the *Manchester Guardian*, who also appraise quite highly his peculiar and intimate knowledge of English politics, and his ability to write on English politics, which comes partly from the fullness of his knowledge. There is no man in England to-day—no man who has made any position for himself as a writer—who is better acquainted than Mr. Russell with the history of the Whig party from the Reform Act of 1832 to the eclipse of Whiggism that resulted from the extension of the parliamentary franchise in 1884-1885, and the epoch-making division in the Liberal party over Gladstone's bill for Home Rule for Ireland of 1886. Mr. Russell was born into the Whig cult. He was on terms of intimacy with most of the prominent men of the Whig party from 1867 to 1886, and while all through his political career he has been a convinced believer in democracy, he is steeped in the history and traditions of Whiggism. It seems never to have occurred to any London publisher to attempt to draw on this particular vein of Mr. Russell's store of political information. It may be that there is to-day little popular interest in the achievements of the Whig party; for since 1886 a new generation has come on to the electoral rolls in England to which Whiggism is not even a name or a tradition.

Mr. Fisher Unwin's request to Mr. Russell—as he tells us in his unconventional preface—was for a book about people eminent in the

seventies and eighties, as a sequel to Justin McCarthy's *Portraits of the Sixties*; and *Portraits of the Seventies* is the result. It scarcely need be said that the book is extremely readable. Readableness has always been a characteristic of Mr. Russell's writings. But in a volume of not more than 120,000 words, he draws no fewer than fifty-five portraits. They are of women as well as of men; for while the larger part of Mr. Russell's book is devoted to men who later were his contemporaries in Parliament when he was of the House of Commons from 1880 to 1895, he writes also of bishops and clergymen of the Established Church, of dignitaries and priests of the Roman Catholic Church in England, of poets and physicians, of the wives of statesmen, and of other women who in the seventies and eighties were famous as hostesses. Almost necessarily in a comparatively small book carrying so many portraits, there is in some of the shorter sketches a flavor of what in the jargon of Fleet Street would be described as "mainly about people" stuff. But as has been indicated it is the statesmen and politicians of the seventies and eighties who receive most detailed attention at Mr. Russell's hands. He is generous in the proportion of his book allotted to these men; and from the point of view of a contribution to the literature of English politics in the nineteenth century *Portraits of the Seventies* will always have a value for the side-lights thrown on Beaconsfield, Gladstone, Sherbrooke, Salisbury, Devonshire, Argyll, Bright, Chamberlain, Churchill, and Parnell. There are fifty-two reproductions of photographs or portraits, but there is no index.

E. P.

The Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914. By EDWIN A. PRATT. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 405. \$2.50.)

THE latest of Pratt's works on the character and development of railway transportation, in presenting an historical survey of the scientific utilization of the modern railway for purposes of war and conquest, is a very timely book. The tremendous task of all of the European belligerents in concentrating unparalleled numbers of troops, in providing vast armies with supplies and munitions of well-nigh limitless quantity, in maintaining lines of communication of unprecedented length and difficulty, in removing from the zones of war hundreds of thousands of prisoners and as many wounded men of varying degrees of disability, in protecting their systems of transport against the newer weapons of this war, particularly against the aggressive manoeuvres of alert air fleets, and more especially, the marvellous flexibility of the German war machine in maintaining an active resistance and a vigorous offensive on a multiple of fronts, have emphasized as never before the fact that railway transportation plays as indispensable a rôle in the successful prosecution of modern warfare as it does in the peaceful development of modern industrial society. But while *The Rise of Rail-Power in*

War and Conquest is timely, it differs from most of the war books of the past three years in at least two important respects: first, it consists very largely in a presentation of facts, and not merely in a formulation of opinions; and secondly, it makes no attempt to carry the investigation beyond the outbreak of the World War in 1914. The purpose of the work is to describe in detail the policies and practices in the utilization of rail-power for military purposes that had been developed up to that time, to indicate the nature and possibilities of this factor in warfare as it was "imposed upon mankind in 1914, to undergo a development and an application on a wider, more impressive, and more terrible scale than the world had ever seen before".

The title of Mr. Pratt's book is fairly indicative of its scope and character. Its viewpoint is uniformly historical. It emphasizes the *rise* of the various aspects of rail-power, the continuous historic evolution of railway transportation for a period of eighty years (1833-1914), in all the leading countries of the world and under the stress of all the important military combats of modern times, as an instrument of warfare. The earliest proposals for utilizing the railways for military purposes were made in Germany in 1833, but

the American Civil War was practically the beginning of things as regards the scientific use of railways for war, and . . . many of the problems connected therewith were either started in the United States or were actually worked out there, precedents being established and examples being set which the rest of the world had simply to follow, adapt or perfect.

Accordingly, considerable space is devoted to a discussion of the use of railways in the Civil War. Moreover, in dealing with such special problems as the establishment of a distinct military organization for railway destruction and restoration, the adjustment of railway control between the military and technical (railway) elements, the development of special devices for the protection of railways, the utilization of armored trains and railway ambulance transport, attention is repeatedly directed to the fact that the initial steps in all these matters, and substantial progress in some of them, must be traced to our Civil War. The development of rail-power is further exemplified by a detailed account of the use of railroads in the Franco-Prussian War, the Boer War, and the Russo-Japanese War, and special treatment is accorded to the employment of "military railways" in various campaigns, and to the nature of the German strategical railways.

As illustrations of the European policy of preparedness for war in time of peace, applied to the problem of rail-power, there is presented a detailed description of the development and present character of the organization of the transportation systems of Germany, France, and England, for military purposes. It is interesting to note that Germany's campaign for the organization of rail-power dates from the early thirties, but received especial impetus from the experience of our Civil War

and the War of 1870-1871, at which time "the alleged perfection of Germany's arrangements . . . is merely one of the fictions of history"; that the effective application of French effort in this direction followed the disastrous results of the Franco-Prussian War; and that the beginning of England's preparation "was the direct outcome of the conditions of semi-panic" developed there in 1859 by the prospect of an early French invasion.

Two chapters deal with the building and control of so-called "economic-political-strategical" railways, as a means of conquest, without the necessary accompaniment of war. The first describes the development of German strategical railways in Southwest Africa, directly as a means of dominating British South Africa, and ultimately for the purpose of transforming the whole of Africa into a German-African Empire, "possibly more valuable and more brilliant than even the Indian Empire". The second of these chapters describes the German designs on Asiatic Turkey, through the instrumentality of the Bagdad Railway, "designed to ensure the establishment of a German Middle-Asian Empire, bringing under German control the entire region from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, and providing convenient stepping-off places from which an advance might be made on Egypt in the one direction and India in the other". These two chapters are among the most interesting in the book, but they deal too largely with political rather than military matters. They involve primarily questions of German aspiration in the field of *Weltpolitik*. National motives and national ambitions are analyzed and appraised. While the author's conclusions are based on authentic data and are not in disagreement with dominant opinion at the present time, all of the pertinent evidence will not become available until the veil is lifted at the end of the World War. This task must be left for the future historian.

The subject-matter of the book, in so far as it is limited to the rise of rail-power for direct military purposes, may logically be treated from three distinct aspects: the military functions of rail-power; the organization essential for effective performance of these functions; and the historical development of both the functions and organization of rail-power at various times and places since this "new factor" in warfare was recognized. From such an analysis, it is believed, would emerge a more distinct picture of the nature and significance of the railroad as an element in modern warfare than can be gathered from the author's uniform and largely exclusive adoption of the historical method. And if it be urged that the author's task was primarily an historical one, answer may still be made that a preliminary and distinct analysis of the problems of function and organization would make more vital and intelligible the exposition of historical development. The present treatment is unduly discursive, and in parts fragmentary. While the general presentation is comprehensive and accurate, the material is insufficiently digested and co-ordinated. As a result, the reader's im-

pressions are somewhat blurred; and the book serves more adequately as a storehouse of specialized facts in military history than as a finished study of the significance of these facts. In gathering this material, however, and in subjecting it to partial analysis, Mr. Pratt has rendered a valuable service. He has brought together, from a large number and variety of sources, primary and secondary, a mass of material that throws light upon the past military history of the leading nations, and which will serve as a substantial starting-point for the future study of a very important aspect of the present world struggle. This book constitutes the most comprehensive general treatment yet available of the rise of rail-power as an instrument of warfare.

I. LEO SHARFMAN.

General Botha: the Career and the Man. By HAROLD SPENDER.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916.
Pp. 348. \$2.50.)

THIS is a biography begotten of the war. Useful because the first narrative of Botha's career and because written by one who has known Botha and his friends for a long time, it is nevertheless not a significant addition to the literature of South African history. Mr. Spender has set out to make familiar to the public a man whose services to the British Empire deserve fullest appreciation. He has handled a considerable body of sources, and he has evidently been given opportunities to consult with those public men who have had to do with South Africa, opportunities that should give his work authority. Yet there are indications of hurry and carelessness which impair the value of the book. That part of the biography which I have been able to test by the sources, the part dealing with the South African War and the events immediately following, contains slight inaccuracies and misstatements, most of them the result less of a want of knowledge than of pains. The worst slip is the confusion of the battle of Diamond Hill with that of Berg-en-dal.

The author is too sketchy. Never economical of words, he wants space, nevertheless, to tell us what we would like to know most. Botha's schemes of attack, his gift of holding Boer soldiers, each inclined to go his own way, to one purpose, and of organizing stubborn retreats—such matters he fails to bring into clear relief. The story of Spion Kop is so told that we miss essential and characteristic features. Botha's most signal victories he owed as much to the stupidity of his adversaries as to his own strategy, a fact Mr. Spender blinks. He also fails to recognize Botha's mistakes and indiscretions. The reader might suppose that Botha's military conclusions had never been at fault; he is told nothing of Botha's errors in judgment on his European mission after the war.

The latter part of the work seems to be much better. Certainly the narrative of events from 1906 to 1914 embodies much not so easily found

elsewhere. The author has used parliamentary reports, South African newspapers, memoirs, and private information to good effect. The story of Botha's work as premier of the Transvaal, of his part in shaping the Union, of his policies as premier of South Africa, of his handling of the Hertzog split and of the labor crisis, of his quick suppression of the rebellion of 1914, and of his swift invasion of German Southwest Africa is well told. The twistings and involutions of South African politics are straightened out in workmanlike fashion. It becomes easier to account for the Boer support of Britain in 1914. That support was the outcome of the policy of a man of great natural shrewdness and remarkable capacity for growth, who not only mastered in a few years the ins and outs of the English party system and the duties of party leadership, but also caught the conception of British imperialism. It may be that the author gives Botha more than his due, and it is probable that he has interpreted South African politics from the standpoint of a watcher at Westminster. He has drawn a great man, whose policy in the last two years is the finest tribute to imperialism—of the Liberal kind.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Les Origines du Pangermanisme (1800 à 1888). Avec une Préface par CHARLES ANDLER, Professeur à l'Université de Paris. [Collection de Documents sur le Pangermanisme traduits de l'Allemand publiés sous la Direction de M. Charles Andler.] (Paris: Louis Conard. 1915. Pp. lviii, 335.)

Le Pangermanisme Continental sous Guillaume II. (de 1888 à 1914). By the same. (*Ibid.* 1915. Pp. lxxxiii, 480.)

Le Pangermanisme Colonial sous Guillaume II. (de 1888 à 1914). By the same. (*Ibid.* 1916. Pp. c, 335.)

Le Pangermanisme Philosophique (1800 à 1914). By the same (*Ibid.* 1917. Pp. clii, 398.) (25 frs. for the four vols.)

ONE of the immediate results of the war is the realization that the history of Austro-German statecraft and diplomacy since 1870 must be rewritten in the light of the war of 1914 and of Pan-Germanism. German history written for us by Germans—and it has dominated by mere weight of erudition the studies of foreign students—has been a defense, a justification, a background for the war of 1914 itself which would convince the German people and, if possible, other nations as well, of the justifiability and necessity of the war when it should be fought. It was however a history in which real aims and policies could not appear; it must create the essential foundations for a structure whose existence must be unsuspected until "the day" dawned. While it would be idle to deny that there is much truth in the history of Germany as German scholars have written it, and absurd to suppose that the overwhelming

majority had direct relations with the Wilhelmstrasse, the truth of history as they have written it is at best partial truth; many omissions must be supplied and a change of emphasis is in most cases essential. The whole of German history must be scrutinized in the light of Pan-Germanism.

The reconstruction is a task difficult in the extreme. So much was prepared for our perusal that we do not know what we dare accept from the older histories and documentary collections. Nor shall we for a long time have much else. Indeed the older material can be finally evaluated only in the light of information which will for decades be locked in diplomatic and official archives. It is this problem which Professor Andler has tried to meet by studying the older diplomatic materials in connection with the published works of the Pan-Germanists. He has sketched in his prefaces a history of German policy and statecraft since 1800 which makes Pan-Germanism an integral part of German development. The text of his volumes contains what he believes to be the most cogent evidence of the truth of his conclusions. He has deemed it wise to print it at such length because of the comparative unfamiliarity and inaccessibility of his sources. The convenience and usefulness of such an extended collection, so carefully chosen, so faithfully translated, handled in so scholarly and impartial a temper, is apparent to every student.

While Professor Andler has not been unmindful of the purely historical and chronological aspects of the history of Pan-Germanism, and has devoted much space in his long prefaces to them, his real purpose—and to this his text is devoted—is an exposition of Pan-Germanism itself in all its manifold phases and aspects. For its relation to past diplomacy is largely a question of definition; before we can intelligently trace beginnings, find originators and sponsors both past and present, we must first agree upon the thing itself. Nor has Professor Andler been able entirely to solve the riddle over which the Germans themselves are still acrimoniously disputing; one is by no means sure that he is describing in the second volume the same Pan-Germanism whose origins he discussed in the first, though the plan for the organization of Middle Europe seems to be his test formula. The first volume deals with certain intellectual antecedents of Pan-Germanism. The father of its military aspects was Dietrich von Bülow, M. Andler declares; its notion of economic supremacy should be traced to List; the religious mission of the Germanic race comes from Arndt, Jahn, and especially from Paul de Lagarde. From Treitschke came its political philosophy, while Constantin Franz stated best its colonial and expansionist policy. On the whole M. Andler concludes that the Pan-Germanic programme is old and had until 1888 been repeatedly rejected by German statesmen, including Bismarck, as bad statecraft. The prefaces of the second and third volumes contain the narrative of German diplomacy from 1888 to 1914, and the texts furnish an elaborate and admirable exposition of

Pan-Germanism, drawn from the writings of the professed propagandists, the second volume being devoted to plans regarding Europe and Asia Minor and the third to Africa, South America, the United States, and colonization generally. The fourth volume treats at great length of the historical, philosophical, and economic background upon which the Pan-Germanic structure depends for confirmation and verisimilitude.

Scarcely any series of selections could have been made to which some objections could not have been raised or some additions been deemed desirable and M. Andler's judgment on so many points is so careful and discriminating that one is loth to criticize. Still, the allotment of one-fifth of the second volume and a considerable part of the third to Harden and *Die Zukunft*, one-sixth of the third to Rohrbach, and a quarter of the fourth to H. S. Chamberlain and Langbehn, when the Kaiser, Secretary Zimmermann, von Reventlow, and Bernhardi are reduced to less than ten pages each, and Nietzsche, Gobineau, Mahan, and Seeley are not mentioned at all, will surprise both the erudite and the general reader.

Again, the main stress of these volumes is laid upon imperialistic ambitions which involve the rearrangement of the map of Europe and which presuppose military aggression and conquest. That this is good orthodox Pan-Germanism no one will gainsay; but the stress of the ante-bellum Pan-Germanist propaganda was devoted to other issues to which very secondary places are allotted in these volumes—the weaknesses of the position of Germany's rivals, their past aggressions against Germany and present pretensions to world dominion for themselves, Germany's consequent defensive needs to meet their subtle and insidious encroachments, and the necessity for the expansion of the German trade area to keep pace with the growth of population. These were the notions accepted most widely in Germany, while the imperialistic dreams were in many quarters regarded as dangerous and unsound before the war and still meet with strenuous opposition from important groups. The expository purpose of Professor Andler makes this objection of less weight but this change of emphasis somewhat lessens the value of these volumes as an historical presentation of Pan-Germanism as a movement. Others will feel that the pamphlets distributed gratis to the general public and the school-books memorized in the gymnasia rather than books published through the usual channels contain the material of most value for a study of the opinions of the masses and should have been accorded more extended treatment. Nevertheless, when all is said, these volumes remain a solid and important contribution to the reconstruction of the history of German diplomacy.

ROLAND G. USHER.

L'Europe avant la Guerre. Par AUGUSTE GAUVAIN. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1917. Pp. 303. 3.50 fr.)

IN this little volume are collected a number of magazine articles written, with the exception of the last, in the years immediately before the war. They deal with some of the crises, particularly the Morocco crisis and the various Balkan crises through which Europe passed between 1908 and 1913, and are informed, intelligent, but slight treatments of these grave situations. The article which is most carefully studied deals with the origin of the Balkan alliances of 1912 and, though clearly developed, suffers from a very imperfect documentation. Everything considered, these essays, written for the general public, would not be suitable for review in a scientific journal of history, if it were not for the fact that they are held together by the political philosophy which was dominant among enlightened Europeans before the war and which, because of possible transformations occasioned by the present catastrophe, it is worth while to seize and define.

How does the author envisage the crises which he sketches and, what is more important still, the whole European development? To begin with, as a Frenchman he has a French patriotism; but let us hurry to testify that it is generally moderate and never offensive. Far more significant is it that he persistently sees events from the angle of diplomacy. He is on the whole pleased with Europe: things are as they have to be. The nations are patriotic and armed to the teeth. They are divided into two groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, which are in balance and which, in the main, successfully and happily neutralize each other. The diplomat-author has the air of perpetually studying the scales and cannot refrain from expressing a joyful professional satisfaction when he is enabled to constate their perfect equilibrium. This felicitous European stalemate has brought it about that the European nations in their irrepressible energy have thrown themselves upon the backward and undeveloped lands outside of Europe, thus producing the colonial movement. This amusingly diplomatic explanation of colonial origins is voiced on page 25. The colonial movement is in itself wholly admirable and has proceeded in accordance with the law of nature, for the rest of the world exists to be civilized by Europe. Of course it is going to be exploited too, but that is incidental to a healthy process which it would be foolish to decry. Now let there be no mistake: the author wants this, on the whole, satisfactory play of world forces to continue without the sword ever flying from the scabbard. He is for peace and he thinks peace is perfectly possible, with its excellent concomitants of a balance of armaments in Europe and an accelerated "civilizing" of the backward continents—on one condition. Nations must learn to use—they are passionately implored to use—what the author calls the *manière douce* instead of the *manière forte*. Here lies the hope of mankind, as he tries to bring home to his reader by many instances. Every new crisis in Europe, how does it

come about otherwise than by the foreign offices, and the excitable newspapers and populations behind them, showing a regrettable preference for the *manière forte*? In the Moroccan crisis of 1911, for instance, the author distributes his blame almost equally between France and Germany: France was too precipitate to realize on her investment, Germany was incredibly rude (p. 50). In the same way Austria is taken to task for showing a lack of consideration for Turkey in 1908, and Italy was, if anything, even more offensive in her manner of seizing Tripoli three years later.

Such then was the wisdom of the intelligent diplomat-historian before 1914. Stirred by the war to the very depth of our nature, we are fairly appalled by the shallowness of the analysis and the quackery of the remedies. But even more appalling is this thought: if the gentlemen who will gather together to draw up the great Peace are diplomats or diplomatic historians of the old school, satisfied with things as they are (except for the lamentable inclination of governments to use the loud pedal), without the vision of a world-union on the basis of a new moral and spiritual orientation, what becomes of the New Europe of which our dreamers dream?

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Ruling Class and Frenzied Trade in Germany. By MAURICE MILLIOUD, Professor of Sociology in the University of Lausanne. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart, P.C., D.C.L., LL.D. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. 159. \$1.00.)

THE interest attracted to this book of a Swiss professor, at the time of its publication, was probably due in large measure to the fact that it set out to demonstrate the weakness of Germany's economic system. It appeared at a time when perplexity over the financial staying power of the German Empire, under the stress of war, was at its height. Even as late as 1915, the banking community of the world at large had been talking of the war being terminated by "economic exhaustion"; and Germany, with her foreign trade suddenly cut off, with practically no means of raising funds abroad for her war expenses, and with her three allies virtually bankrupt or in a precarious financial situation, had seemed to be indicated as the power likely first to succumb.

Yet not the least indication of such exhaustion had appeared. Each successive war loan, issued at intervals of six months, elicited larger subscriptions than its predecessor. One war loan of 1915 surpassed all previous achievements of any government, and has even to-day been overtopped, in the amount of subscriptions, only by the British war loan of last February and by Germany's own loan of the ensuing April. Professor Millioud's thesis, that the remarkable economic development of Germany, in the twenty or thirty years before the war, was itself built up by essentially unsound methods, and that an overwhelming

economic catastrophe had been surely foreshadowed as a result of it, seemed to throw light, not only on the German financial achievements in peace, but on the nature and probable longer outcome of the government's financial achievements in war.

From this point of view, there is much that is enlightening in the book under review. The "pyramiding" of capital for purposes of economic penetration of foreign markets; the subordinating of the home market's welfare to the main objective of the world-exploiting policy; the diverting of banks from their proper functions to the promotion of foreign enterprise on a constantly expanding scale, with extension of credits for periods far beyond the limits prescribed by the experience of prudent bankers—each and all of these expedients, described as an element in the period before the war, has subsequently been invoked for the purpose of ensuring success to the empire's war borrowings.

Formal appeals of the treasury to German investors have urged the use of securities already owned as a basis for credits wherewith to subscribe to the government's war loans, and have intimated indefinite extension of such credits. The condition of the currency (shown by the recent discount of nearly 50 per cent. in the mark on foreign exchange), the complete disorder of other industries than those producing war material, and the attempt to dispense entirely with taxes as a means of meeting war expenditure, are parallel instances in the subordination of the home market to the imperial programme. The extent to which the portfolios of the German private banks have been progressively crowded with loans to promote subscriptions to the government's borrowings is at least suggested by the prodigious rediscounting operations of the Reichsbank at every quarter-day; notably by the \$1,000,000,000 expansion of its loan account in the week before last April's loan was floated. It is no unreasonable presumption that, whether or not Professor Millioud's view is correct, of economic catastrophe as an outcome of Germany's methods in obtaining economic dominion over the outside world, the prophecy will at least be realized in the longer sequel to her war financing.

But this is not what the author undertakes primarily to prove. The aim of his book is to demonstrate that misgiving and apprehension as to the approaching crash, in consequence of the overdone exploitation of foreign fields, were the real cause of the present war. Rather than await "the downfall of her credit, the misery which must overwhelm her people, and the fury which would perhaps possess them in consequence", Germany seized what she thought to be the opportunity for a successful war, such as would sweep aside all other considerations.

The reader will hardly be convinced that the events of 1914 admit of this single explanation. That the commercial classes may have been reconciled to those events, through doubt regarding their own financial prospects, is possible. There is evidence that such an influence prevailed in Austria, whose financial condition in 1914 was notoriously

bad. Yet all the evidence which we have goes to show that the great bankers and business men of Germany were simply swept along in the rush of governmental actions and policies suddenly disclosed, and that ever since the possibility of an immediate victory disappeared, they have been insistent in pressing for peace on the best terms obtainable.

Professor Millioud examines, and dismisses as unsatisfactory, each of what he describes as the four prevalent explanations of why Germany declared war. It was not a counter-blow against the suddenly imminent "Russian peril". It was not expression of the Nietzschean doctrine that might is right and war the proper assertion of it. That pleasing theory, the author states, was effect, not cause. The war was not a blow to free Germany from the strangle-hold of the surrounding powers; no such strangle-hold existed. Nor was it, so thinks the author, an attempt to achieve lasting prosperity through crushing and financially ruining commercial competitors. Germany, he holds, was perfectly well aware beforehand that in a long war she had economically more to lose than her antagonists; especially with England one of them.

These explanations once disposed of, Professor Millioud asserts that his own explanation, of a desperate recourse to avert or obscure the approaching financial crisis, is established. The conclusion will not be readily admitted. It leaves quite out of account the gospel of hate, the fanaticism over a coming trial of strength with France or England, the belief, not only in Germany's invincibility but in the certainty of her speedy victory with a huge indemnity, which had for years possessed the mind of the dominant military caste in Germany. The secrecy and suddenness with which what appeared to be their opportunity was seized by them—even the Kaiser possibly being taken unawares—is no bad evidence of a long-postponed but predetermined purpose. It is possible, indeed, to apply to this military caste the supposition applied by Professor Millioud to the commercial magnates. May not the Junker party, rather than the banking and exporting group, have foreseen the probable downfall of their power in Germany; a personal catastrophe which could be averted only by an early and successful war?

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

The War of Democracy: the Allies' Statement. (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 441. \$2.00.)

THE subtitle is misleading. This volume does not contain any of the official utterances which have defined the position and purpose of the Entente Allies.

We do find, however, a score of brief essays and interviews, concisely and forcefully phrased, in which fifteen eminent statesmen and publicists offer their individual judgments upon some of the issues of the war. Ten of the fifteen are English; two are French; one is Belgian; one, Dutch; and one, Alsatian. Nearly half of the volume is

filled with selections from four men: Mr. Balfour on maritime questions, Professor Gilbert Murray on ethical and cultural issues, Viscount Grey on various aims for which Great Britain is contending, and Viscount Bryce, who strikes the keynote for the volume in a general introduction. In addition to that, Lord Bryce discusses "Neutral Nations and the War", and, in a third essay, declares Great Britain to be the defender of five principles, *viz.*: liberty, nationality, maintenance of treaty obligations, humane regulation of methods of warfare, and the triumph of the pacific over the military type of civilization.

In passing it may be noted that on page xi of the introduction, Viscount Bryce has by a strange oversight assigned the Russo-Japanese War to the year 1901 instead of 1904-1905.

Mr. Edward Price Bell, London correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*, contributes an interview with Lord Haldane concerning the latter's visit to Germany in 1912. A prominent Alsatian lawyer and Francophile, Paul Albert Helmer, discusses German rule in his country. A Belgian statesman and a Dutch professor render a similar service concerning Belgium. Professor Henri Hauser of the university of Dijon writes of German industry as a factor making for war, and Maurice Barrès pictures "The Soul of France" as typified by Sister Julie at Gerbéviller-le-Martyr. H. A. L. Fisher considers "The Value of Small States", and G. M. Trevelyan provides a very short account of the Serbian race. One chapter contains a history of the Cavell case; in another Lloyd George tells an Italian journalist why the Allies will win, and in a third is Mr. Asquith's speech in reply to the German chancellor in April, 1916. Mr. Balfour's discussion of naval questions comes no nearer to our time than the summer of 1915, and this fact suggests the most obvious comment upon this whole volume. It is not keyed to the present moment. It meets no present vital need. The entry of the United States into the war and the overturn in Russia have profoundly altered the "War of Democracy". This book contains nothing about the vanished Russia of the Czar, and it is equally dumb about the Russia of Kerensky.

The volume entitled *The War and Democracy*, which Messrs. Seton-Watson, Wilson, Zimmern, and Greenwood published in 1915, is incomparably superior to this one in value for either the student or the general reader. The book which interprets the significance of the war in its relation to recent democratic policies and progress is not yet written.

C. H. LEVERMORE.

The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe. By LEÓN DOMINIAN. (New York: Published for the American Geographical Society of New York by Henry Holt and Company. 1917. Pp. xviii, 375. \$3.00.)

THE publication of this book is timely. Questions of nationality are

the most difficult issues to be settled at the end of the war. The European nationalities are, with certain well-known exceptions, as the Belgian, Swiss, and Irish, virtually linguistic groups, and especially in eastern and southeastern Europe, where lie most of the outstanding problems, language is the only tangible and available criterion of nationality. Now, even with the fullest recognition of nationality as the basis of political independence or autonomy, it is not to be expected, not even possible, that political boundaries should coincide precisely with linguistic boundaries. But it is the first essential to know what these latter are. Yet the requisite information is scattered through countless statistical reports, local monographs, and articles in journals of diverse character, linguistic, historical, and geographical.

Mr. Dominian, who is a graduate of Robert College, Constantinople, and has the advantage of familiarity with the languages of Southeastern Europe, is conversant with this scattered literature, and has made the results available in what, so far as I know, is the only single work which combines sufficient detail with so broad a scope. Especially convenient are the many linguistic maps, and one would welcome still more of them, at the sacrifice of the profuse illustrations of scenery which have presumably been borrowed from elsewhere to adorn the book. For example, the "View of Dissentis in the section of Switzerland where Romansh is spoken" might well be replaced by a map of the Romansh speech area, and most of the illustrations are still less relevant to the discussion. A reduced reproduction of Cvijić's ethnographical (=linguistic) map of the Balkans from *Petermanns Mitteilungen* of March, 1913, would have been a valuable addition.

A full linguistic atlas of Europe is a desideratum, and the author has come so near to supplying it that one regrets he did not go further and include many more of the available but scattered linguistic maps of different sections. The areas of present Celtic speech are not discussed. True, they have no bearing on any present problem of nationality, not even the Irish question. But that is true also of several other boundaries which are discussed. The areas of Lithuanian and of Lettic are stated only in the most general terms. Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, a work not mentioned in the author's bibliography, contains the fullest information, with detailed maps, for the Prussian Lithuanians, Cassubians, Masurians, Wends, etc.

However, the sections of most general interest for the coming problems of reconstruction are those dealing with the areas of Polish, Bohemian (including Slovak), and the Balkan languages, and with the peoples of Asiatic Turkey. The treatment is objective and impartial. In the case of Macedonia, Servian and Greek critics will certainly accuse the author of having accepted outright the Bulgarian view, and will point out with truth that he has taken his statistics from Bulgarian sources (Brancoff, Tsanoff, Schopoff; Brailsford's *Macedonia*, which gives much the same conclusion, and which, despite an over-

reaction against the extreme Greek claims, is on the whole unpartizan, is neither quoted, nor mentioned in the bibliography). But the fact remains, and ought to be faced, that the prevailingly Slavic population of inland Macedonia was never even claimed as Serbian until after Serbia's disappointment at being denied access to the Adriatic. With removal of the ban on Serbia's natural expansion westward and some compromise with the Hellenism which is strongly intrenched in the larger towns, a permanent solution of the Macedonian question ought to be possible. The previous blunders of European diplomacy, of commission and omission, seem intolerable, now that we see to what they have given an opening.

"The inhabitants of Albania are totally devoid of national feeling. Various causes militate against national unity." The second statement is true, but the first is much too strong. Despite religious differences, tribal feuds, and backward social conditions, the Albanians are fully conscious that they are not Slavs, Turks, or Greeks, but a distinct nationality. The sentiment is not less there because it has not overcome the obstacles to effectiveness. Witness the formal demands of the Albanian leaders in 1911 for Turkish recognition of Albanian nationality and language, and the vaguer dreams of the peasants described in Miss Edith Durham's *High Albania* (also not mentioned in the author's bibliography). It is not unlikely that this small nationality will be sacrificed to larger issues. But an Italian protectorate would at least give it a much better chance to try itself out than a division between Serbia and Greece, which have an inherited contempt for the very idea of Albanian nationality and would aim to uproot it. Recognition of an Italian protectorate might also induce Italy to withdraw her claims to the Dalmatian coast, thereby aiding Serbo-Croatian unity (and so indirectly the solution of the Macedonian question), and to give up the purely Greek islands of Rhodes, Cos, etc., her retention of which is the grossest violation of principles proclaimed.

In matters touching the character, history, and relationship of languages, there are not a few remarks which savor of uncritical popular philology, some merely naïve in expression, some positively erroneous. But these do not seriously affect the main purpose and value of the book.

C. D. BUCK.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

American State Trials. A Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which have taken Place in the United States from the Beginning of the Government to the present Day. By JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D. Volumes VI., VII. (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Company. 1916-1917. Pp. xxvi, 905; xxvi, 974. \$5.00 per vol.)

THESE two volumes of Dr. Lawson's inestimable work are as useful and interesting as those which precede them. They increase the debt due him by historians and members of his profession. The parts which show the greatest care in their preparation are the reports of the trial of the Knapps and Crowninshield for the murder of White in Massachusetts, which contain Webster's most famous speech to a jury, and of that of John Brown and his associates in Virginia. The reprint of the trial of Alexander McLeod for taking part in the burning of the steamship *Caroline* under authority from the British government, will also, since the original edition is rare, be of value to the historian. The state authorities and the state judge, an eminent common lawyer, then acted against the protest of the national government and were severely criticized by Webster for their conduct. Had the accused not been acquitted, the case would have caused serious international complications. Dr. Lawson omits any reference to the act of Congress passed in consequence of this prosecution (act of August 29, 1842, c. 257, 5 *St. at L.* 539, now incorporated in *U. S. R. S.* § 753), which gives the federal courts power to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* when a prisoner in a state jail

being a subject or citizen of a foreign state, and domiciled therein, is in custody for an act done or omitted under any alleged right, title, authority, privilege, protection, or exemption claimed under the commission, or order, or sanction of any foreign state, or under color thereof, the validity and effect whereof depend upon the law of nations.

The editor describes John Brown as an "insane fanatic" but in the biography he omits any reference to the massacre authorized by Brown at Pottawatomie.

The arrangement of the contents is less at haphazard than in the former volumes, although it is still neither chronological nor topical and by no means logical or scientific. The juxtaposition of the court martial of Benedict Arnold, resentment at which seems to have been the motive of his treason, with the trials of André and Joshua H. Smith is commendable. So is the conclusion of volume VII., two cases affecting liquor sellers in which one lost and the other won.

The first is the trial in New Bedford, Mass., 1845, of the publishers of the *Dew Drop* for a libel upon a liquor seller, where an acquittal was secured by an admirable argument by Henry Stanton, the husband of that great woman Elizabeth Cady Stanton. This is followed by the trial in Albany, New York, 1855, where a jury acquitted a hotel-keeper upon the ground that the New York prohibition act of April 9, 1855, was unconstitutional although the trial judge had charged them that the statute was valid. This last report preserves from oblivion one of the greatest arguments to a jury that was ever delivered, a speech which will stand comparison with any by Erskine, Choate, or Webster. It was made by John K. Porter, whose memory, like that of most lawyers,

had hitherto seemed to be ephemeral. Dr. Lawson makes no reference to the decision of the court of appeals in *Wynehamer v. People* (13 *N. Y.* 378), which reversed the court below (20 *Barbour* 567, 11 *How.* 530), and held that the act of April 9, 1855, was unconstitutional. He refers to the advocate's connection with the trial of Guiteau, although without any mention of the famous cross-examination of the prisoner which probably more than anything that occurred upon the trial convinced the jury that Guiteau was responsible for his act. He does not, however, refer to the fact that Judge Porter served on the New York court of appeals from 1865 to 1867. The absence of any biography of Nicholas Hill, jr., who was Judge Porter's associate in the Albany trial, is unfortunate. He was, perhaps, the greatest common lawyer who has practised in the state of New York. His briefs that are preserved in the reports are still used as models for legal arguments. He was the editor of *Hill's Reports*. His portrait is in the court-house of the New York court of appeals. He and Judge Esek Cowen are the joint authors of that great repository of learning, Cowen and Hill's *Notes to Phillips on Evidence*. It is surprising that an author such as Dr. Lawson, who has himself produced a meritorious treatise upon a topic of that branch of the law, should not, in the biography of Judge Cowen, when referring to that book, have shown an appreciation of its value.

Rufus Choate surely deserves more than the skeleton of a biography which is contained in the note after his name. The traditions and anecdotes concerning him which are still repeated in Massachusetts should have been preserved in a work like this which is intended to be a legal classic. The bibliographical note to the trial of André does not mention Chandler's *Criminal Trials* although Chandler is quoted in the subsequent report of the trial of Joshua H. Smith.

Those who use the work as a book of reference will be inconvenienced by the persistence of the editor in his habit of inserting much important historical matter in his prefaces without adequate references to them in the notes to the subsequent reports of the trials. But this generation and posterity should be grateful to Dr. Lawson for his labors.

ROGER FOSTER.

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Jahrgang 1916. Herausgegeben von Dr. JULIUS GOEBEL, Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, vol. XVI.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1917. Pp. 398. \$3.00.)

THE *Jahrbuch* of 1916 opens with a thorough study of the life and works of Carl Follen, by G. W. Spindler. Here for the first time all biographical sources are taken into account, both the German, of Treitschke, Biedermann, Haupt, and Pregizer, treating Follen's revolutionary activity, and the American, beginning with but by no means limited to

that fundamental tribute to her husband by Eliza Cabot Follen, in five volumes, *The Works of Carl Follen with a Memoir of his Life*. While doing justice to the great mass of material, Dr. Spindler does not fail to bring out clearly the leading features in the portrait. Carl Follen was above all else an ardent reformer. In the period of political reaction in Europe he was an uncompromising republican, making an appeal to force and revolution; having fled to Switzerland he assailed the bondage of hide-bound Calvinism; a refugee in America he became a persuasive advocate of the liberal church movement, and soon took up the cause of enslaved humanity, becoming one of the earliest and most courageous of the radical abolitionists. True to his principles he repeatedly forfeited his position and prospects and chanced the supreme sacrifice of life in the cause which he espoused. In three countries he gave up academic positions which were very congenial and useful to him. The universities of Jena, Basel, and Harvard either dismissed or refused to retain this daring, eloquent apostle of free speech and liberal thought. When the First Unitarian Church of New York City, which he had served with distinction, refused to appoint him permanently because of his activity in the cause of abolition, he might well conclude that the world had no place for a true reformer. Yet he was no idle dreamer, for each of the principles for which he fought, national unity and constitutional reform in Germany, liberal church doctrines and abolition of slavery in America, were accepted in course of time by public opinion. Follen always fought on the most advanced line of battle, where certain death overtakes the brave before they can gather in the fame or fruits of their achievements.

The reformer does not complete the portrait of Carl Follen. We must follow him in his favorite studies, expounding Schiller (temperamentally his double), the first professor of German language and literature at Harvard, the pioneer of German studies in America; we must see him the founder of gymnastics after the model of Jahn, the popular instructor leading a procession, practically the whole college, out from the Harvard yard, "at a dog-trot in single file, and arms akimbo, making a train a mile long bound for the top of Prospect Hill".

Among the most valuable contributions of Dr. Spindler are his investigation of Follen's share in the foundation of the Burschenschaften, and his critical estimate of the influence of Follen upon W. E. Channing and other leaders of the Unitarian Church. His study of the interrelations between German idealism and New England transcendentalism, while not exhaustive, is lucid, judicial, and convincing. To the bibliography there should be added the mention of the separate edition of Mrs. Follen's biography (London, 1845), and Kuno Francke's "Karl Follen and the German Liberal Movement" (1815-1819) in *Papers of the American Historical Association*, vol. V. (1891). A separate reprint of Dr. Spindler's monograph has been made available.

In view of the approaching hundredth anniversary of the entrance of Illinois into statehood, the *Jahrbuch* appropriately gives space to early settlement history, *e. g.*, an account of the German farms near Belleville, and Gustav Koerner's critical review of Duden's book on the western states. The concluding article is by Mildred S. MacArthur, on the German Element in the State of Colorado. While teaching at Colorado University, Dr. MacArthur for more than three years carried on a painstaking investigation of the character and influence of the Germans in the state, through correspondence, personal interviews, studies of the files of newspapers and other contemporary and historical materials, and arrived at certain conclusions. Colorado is typical of the far western states in so far as the foreign element is not as large as in many other sections. Still the foreign element is influential, the German being the most numerous and having contributed very largely to the building up of the state in all sections and at all periods. The Germans have been conspicuous in certain industries, as sugar-beet culture, in truck farming, in irrigation and forestry improvements, in mining, brewing, and trading. Their social customs, churches, singing and gymnastic societies, journals, and educational aspirations are well described in a final chapter.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860: a Study in Industrial History. By ROLLA MILTON TRYON, Assistant Professor of the Teaching of History in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1917. Pp. xii, 413. \$2.00.)

THE purposes of this book, as expressed in the preface, are (1) "to determine the extent to which household manufacturing was carried on in the United States prior to 1860, the phases and processes relative to the industry, and the products resulting therefrom", and (2) "to relate household manufactures to the people's social, political, and general industrial life". In carrying out the first of these purposes, the author has attained a large measure of success. His detailed description of the numerous articles of clothing, food-stuffs, and household furnishings made by the people in their own homes, his careful explanation of now-forgotten processes such as the preparation of flax and woollen fibres and the manufacture of soap and tallow-dips, his information concerning the geographical distribution of the home industries, all mark the book as the best and most complete description of household manufactures in this country.

But the reader whose interest lies more in the author's second purpose will probably be disappointed. In a short introductory chapter, pages 1-12, there is indeed comment of a general nature upon the characteristic features of social life prevailing in communities industrially

self-sufficient. The important educational aspects of home-manufacturing are also described. But little of the exposition and illustration of the body of the work is devoted to these subjects.

The chief economic conditions affecting household manufactures, we learn, were: "(1) a general decline in prices and the uncertainty of supplies just after 1640; (2) adequate or inadequate transportation facilities; (3) occupation of the people; (4) staple crops; (5) fluctuations in the supply and price of tobacco; and (6) favorable or unfavorable balance of trade" (pp. 43-44). It is to be feared that most readers will fail to get from this formidable list, or from the detailed discussion which follows, a clear conception of the position of household manufactures in the colonial economic organization. For the author has failed to emphasize sufficiently the intimate relation between these manufactures and the agricultural industry. Spinning and weaving, the making of tables and chairs, brooms, soap, and candles were but by-industries of farming. The simple truth is that the farmer and his family made all these things for themselves because they could not get them in any other way. The lack of a market for farm products was the difficulty confronting most farmers in inland regions up to 1810. Without such a market there could be no purchase of goods from outside. The important consequence from the point of view of economic or "industrial" history, which Professor Tryon fails to point out, was the low efficiency of the community in production, resulting from the lack of a well-developed division of labor.

The process of transition from home-made to shop- and factory-made goods, which took place in the half-century before the Civil War, the author quite appropriately terms an industrial revolution. In chapter VII. the early steps in the transition, first from household manufactures to the handicraft stage and finally to the factory system, are traced in considerable detail with especial reference to the textile industries. The final chapter, treating the period 1830-1860, is made up principally (67 out of 74 pages) of an elaborate table computed from the censuses of 1840, 1850, and 1860 showing the per capita value of household manufactures in every county in the United States at these three dates. Such a mass of figures undoubtedly proves the author's contention that "the end of the period found family-made goods the exception rather than the general rule as formerly". Some of these pages might better have discussed the social significance of the "Passing of the Family Factory". What employments were found for the labor force set free in the farm-houses? Where did the people get the money to buy store goods? To what extent did this revolution bring with it a rising standard of living among the rural folk? What rural amusements took the place of the husking-bees and the quilting-parties? Such questions cannot be answered from census figures alone.

In general, Professor Tryon's book has both the merits and the defects of an essay in economic history written by one whose training

and point of view are those of an historian rather than of an economist. The facts garnered with painstaking industry from a wide range of sources have been grouped into a well-planned, coherent exposition. The technique of the book is admirable; the classified bibliography is the most complete yet published on the subject; a good index increases the value of the book for reference purposes. But the writer of economic history must do more than this. Only by the constant application of the principles of economic science can he give an adequate, well-reasoned explanation of a past industrial system, the causes of its origin and of its peculiar characteristics, and the reasons for its eventual decay and disappearance.

PERCY WELLS BIDWELL.

Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699. Edited by LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG, Ph.D., of the Research Department of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1917. Pp. xiv, 382. \$3.00.)

If the early history of Wisconsin and neighboring regions is not adequately accessible to future generations, it will be through no fault of a group of zealous and competent students who, perhaps inspired by the examples of Draper the collector, and Thwaites, collector and editor, continue the work in true historical spirit and scientific method. If Wisconsin is fortunate in her students, she is also abundantly rich in material for study.

In this volume are printed in English translation from original texts, thirteen narratives of journeys or episodes, in the region of the Upper Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi. Vimont's brief account of Jean Nicolet, who, fourteen years after the Landing of the Pilgrims, had made his way into the region between Green Bay and the Mississippi, is followed by Lalemant's report of the journey of Raymbault and Jogues to Sault Ste. Marie, in 1641, and this in turn by Radisson's none too lucid account of his third voyage—but first to the region under study—referred, with some doubt, to the years 1658-1660. The text is drawn from the Prince Society edition of Radisson's Journals, and a facsimile page is given of Radisson's singularly modern-looking manuscript, in the Bodleian Library. Three chapters of La Potherie's *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, relating the adventures of Nicolas Perrot in the Northwest; Father Allouez's journey to Lake Superior, 1665-1667, and his later journey into Wisconsin, 1669-1670, are followed by the whole of Galinée's *Journal*, 1669-1670. Then we have one of three known accounts of the pageant at Sault Ste. Marie in 1671—a spectacular ceremony by which France sought to assert supremacy over the not greatly impressed aborigines. Other papers are: the Mississippi voyage of Marquette and Jolliet in 1673, and Marquette's last voyage of 1674-1675; Tonty's Memoir on La Salle's discoveries—the

amplifier of Tonty's two authentic narratives, not to be confused with the spurious work ascribed to him; a memoir of Duluth in the Sioux country, 1678-1682; and the letter of St. Cosme, describing his journey from Mackinac to the Arkansas, 1698-1699.

All of the narratives thus brought together are elsewhere printed, but not all are readily available, nor are all English versions complete or trustworthy. The Tonty memoir, here given in full, should prove useful to students of a wider field than that to which this volume is specially devoted. So, too, we have Galinée in full, but without the map, which indeed has more value in relation to the Lower Lakes than for the western region. Dr. James H. Coyne's translation is used; his notes which accompanied the bilingual publication of Galinée by the Ontario Historical Society, are not used, as they relate chiefly to differences between the Margry and Verreau texts. For all of the journals, Miss Kellogg's abundant annotation is helpful. We wish she had added one more note, explaining Radisson's wonderful word, *auxotaciac* (p. 65). The clearly-penned introduction to each narrative not merely summarizes it, but informs the student of what printing it has already had, either in French or English, and makes plain the editor's choice of text. Not the least interesting feature of the work is a facsimile of a contemporary map drawn to illustrate Marquette's discoveries, here reproduced from the original in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A portion of Franquelin's map of 1688 is also given. Few typographic slips are noted; even La Salle (Cavelier), recorded in more than one work as "Chevalier", gets through safely here, with but one transformation into "Cavalier" (p. 164).

The volume as a whole bespeaks scholarly care and regard for the needs of a large class of students to whom rare volumes or obscure texts may not be available; and admirably presents the essential original material of the first half-century and more, from the first known advent of the white man in the *pays d'en haut*.

An Old Frontier of France: the Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control. By FRANK H. SEVERANCE. In two volumes. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1917. Pp. xvii, 436; xi, 485. \$7.50.)

In these two stout volumes Mr. Severance has told the story of the Niagara frontier from the days of the first white man who visited the region to the capture of Fort Niagara by Sir William Johnson in 1759. For Mr. Severance's purpose the Niagara frontier is more than the stretch of water connecting Ontario with the Upper Lakes; it includes the whole compass of Lake Ontario and the eastern end of Lake Erie. Frontenac and Oswego, Presqu' Isle and Venango, all come within the scope of his narrative.

Strategically this was the most important section of the whole line of frontier. French, English, Iroquois, and the tribes of the Upper

Lakes and the Ohio were all vitally concerned with this all-important link in the line of communications between Montreal, Albany, and the Mohawk Valley on the one hand and the country north and south of the lakes on the other. How the French came to control it, and thereby checkmated the English, gained the trade and alliance of the western tribes, and made the Iroquois waver in their friendship for the English, the author has related in these volumes.

No one is so well qualified as Mr. Severance to tell the story of this region. With its topography and later history he has long been familiar, and he has evidently spent years collecting material for this work, laying under contribution manuscript sources in the archives of Paris, London, and Ottawa, contemporary newspapers and pamphlets and familiar printed collections like the *New York Colonial Documents*. Few facts can have escaped his notice.

The author has in his preface anticipated the chief criticisms which may be urged against his presentation of the mass of material thus collected. He has deliberately chosen to give the reader all the facts, however minute, and wherever possible he has allowed the principal actors to speak for themselves, with a minimum of personal comment and explanation. Where he does venture a conclusion, it is always based on unimpeachable documentary evidence. "Conjecture is not history", is his motto (I. 124). Mr. Severance has also chosen to make his book supplementary to existing narratives. To that end he has used unfamiliar sources in describing familiar episodes, and has treated in detail only events which occurred in the Niagara region, even where those events are only part of larger and more important operations. The result is a work for the specialist and not for the general reader, one which will be found to disclose new facts and sources of information rather than to change fundamentally the reader's conception of the character of the men and events under consideration.

Within these self-imposed limitations the book is one of great value. Those who seek new light on the operations of the Albany traders will be disappointed, but will conclude that material bearing on that subject must indeed be scarce since Mr. Severance has not found more. But the historian who desires a detailed account of French activities on the Niagara frontier and of the English attempts, finally successful, to wrest it from French control, will find here a perfect mine of information. Nowhere else can so good an account be found of early naval operations on Lake Ontario, and students of the frontier will be grateful for the careful identification of little-known French soldiers and officials who played some part in the history of this region. The very massing of details, together with the numerous quotations, often results in the creation of a vivid impression of men and events.

Above all the narrative is concerned with the activities of the Joncaire family, who for half a century were the leading representatives of France in western New York. It was the elder Joncaire whose influ-

ence with the Senecas enabled the French to erect the fort at Niagara; and his sons, especially the younger, Chabert de Joncaire, kept French influence paramount in that region. The career of the latter will be found very instructive of the methods and difficulties of the frontier diplomats who upheld the power of France among the fickle Indian tribes. Whether he is wheedling a favor from some Indian tribe, or checkmating English intrigues, or peacefully conducting his establishment at Niagara, or, after the English conquest, standing trial at Paris for alleged complicity in the enormous frauds which disgraced the last days of the French régime, Chabert is always self-confident, always interesting. The temptation to quote his memoirs, so freely quoted by the author, would be irresistible did space permit.

If we are ever to understand the obscure struggle which for nearly a century went on along the frontier between the English and French colonies, we must have more studies like this. Mr. Severance has done for the Niagara frontier what Mr. Hanna in his *Wilderness Trail* did for the less-familiar Pennsylvania frontier. May there be other studies of the same sort. Certainly no student of the region and period can afford to remain unacquainted with what will probably long remain a definitive study of this "Old Frontier of France".

A. H. BUFFINTON.

Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702: the Beginnings of Texas and Pensacola. By WILLIAM EDWARD DUNN, Instructor in Latin-American History in the University of Texas. [University of Texas Bulletins, no. 1705, January 20, 1917, Studies in History, no. 1.] (Austin, Texas: University of Texas. 1917. Pp. 238.)

To persons interested in the colonization of the lower Mississippi Valley Mr. Dunn's book will be most interesting reading. Until the appearance of the present volume the Spanish side of the story of settlement on the Gulf coast had not been told. Students of this period of the history of the United States have felt this omission and will welcome this admirable narrative, so well worked out of a mass of new documentary material found by the author in the archives of Spain.

In chapter I. the story is told of how "the unscrupulous ambitions of Louis XIV." on the Continent of Europe led the Spaniards to believe that the French king "merely awaited a favorable opportunity to extend his aggressions to the new world", and that he would seize upon the first chance "to wrest away the choicest portions of her colonial domain". Not much interest was aroused in the matter until a definite scheme of conquest threatened Spain's claims to the Gulf region. Chapter II. contains an account of the receipt of the news in Mexico and Spain of the establishment of La Salle's colony on Espiritu Santo Bay. Chapter III. deals with the diplomatic activity of the Spaniards at the court of the Catholic James II. of England, where an attempt was made to get the

English king to join Spain in an undertaking to frustrate the new designs of Louis XIV. in the Gulf region. Repeated orders were sent from the mother-country to the officials of New Spain during the years 1687-1690 commanding them to spare no effort "to find the site of the French settlement and to exterminate the invaders". Chapters IV. and V. show how well these orders were obeyed by the colonial officials. No less than five maritime and three land expeditions set out either from Mexico or from Florida in search of La Salle's settlement. "After three and a half years of almost ceaseless agitation and suspense the mystery of the French colony on Espíritu Bay had finally been solved." The fear of further aggression on the part of Louis XIV. caused the Spaniards to undertake the founding of missions among the Texas Indians and the occupation of Pensacola Bay. Chapter VI. reviews the work among the Texas Indians, while chapter VII.⁴ gives an account of the establishment of a Spanish fort on Pensacola Bay. Chapter VIII., the concluding one, tells of the second French invasion of the Gulf region and the founding of Iberville's colony on Biloxi Bay and its effect upon the Spaniards. The accession of Philip V., the grandson of Louis XIV., to the throne of Spain soon led to the adjustment of the unsettled question of Pensacola and the French occupation of Louisiana. Spanish acquiescence was hastened by the report that England had designs on Spain's colonies and had already sent out colonizers, and by the difficulty she had encountered in planting a post on Pensacola Bay.

The book has four maps of interest for the period under discussion, and two sketches, one showing the location of La Salle's camp on Matagorda Bay and the other illustrating the Pez-Sigüenza expedition of 1693. The author has succeeded in fixing definitely the exact date of the founding of Pensacola and has given much interesting biographical matter relating to such men as Peñalosa, Echagaray, Monclova, Pez, and others.

The bibliography and index are full and satisfactory, but the appearance of the book would have been improved if the table of illustrations occupied a separate page. It would have been of considerable aid to students if the table of contents had been somewhat more analytical.

N. M. MILLER SURREY.

Life and Letters of the Rev. John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683-1749. Edited by the Rev. WILLIAM J. HINKE, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages and Religions in Auburn Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia: Publication and Sunday-School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States. 1916. Pp. xxiv, 501. \$2.00.)

IN several notable particulars there was a broad line of demarcation between the colonization of Pennsylvania and that of the other settlements made along the Atlantic seaboard. The first was the unusual rapidity with which settlers from the Old World made their way into the region between the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers. It may be questioned whether William Penn himself had an adequate idea of the quick success his "Holy Experiment" would achieve. From what source would his settlers come? He could not count on England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland because the men of his own religion were not numerous in Britain. He did count on the Continent because in the course of his several visits there, he found many who, under various names, held doctrines not far different from those of the Quakers. In 1677 Penn, with Fox and Barclay, advocates of the Quaker faith, crossed the Channel on a mission religious as to its purpose, and with religious tolerance as its corner-stone, and in Germany met men whose faith differed but little from their own. No sooner had Penn secured the charter for his province than his German pamphlets found their way into the Rhine country and presently the tide from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany set in. They came not in hundreds but by thousands and his experiment was a success. With toleration, liberty, and justice as his platform, the non-militant commander became a conqueror.

Secondly, while the people from Germany and Holland were nearly all members of the Reformed faith of Luther and Zwingli, they brought few or no religious teachers with them. With no spiritual leaders or guides, they began to differ with each other and presently half a dozen sects and creeds came to the fore. Beside the Reformed and Lutherans, the Moravians, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Seventh Day Baptists, Dunkers, and other minor groups appeared. Only a few of these had an educated ministry. There was lay preaching and praying and the result was that few knew what to do, where to go, or what to believe.

Into this babel of belief came Johann Philip Boehm in 1720, a member of the German Reformed Church, and with his family settled in the Perkiomen valley, Pennsylvania. He had been a "reader" and schoolmaster of the Reformed congregation of the city of Worms and at Lambsheim, and he was persuaded upon his arrival in Pennsylvania to act as pastor and reader for the many German Reformed settlers and also, as there was no hope of securing a regular ordained pastor, to assume the office of minister, which he had for five years declined to do. Three congregations were formed, placed under a single charge; these invited him to become their pastor and then his work and his troubles began. All this was in 1725 and this was the beginning of the regular Reformed worship in Pennsylvania. It was the misfortune of Pastor Boehm to get into many troubles from his early manhood until his death in 1749, and yet after reading all the evidence preserved and printed both in Europe and in Pennsylvania we are compelled to believe that he was an honest man and a faithful servant of his Master.

The fact that, up to the time when he assumed the duties of a minister, he had not been duly licensed as such, was used against him by others with less ability and less sincerity. However, this trouble was finally overcome by his licensure by the Synod of Holland.

Meanwhile the Lutheran element in the population had sent to them from the fatherland the eminent Pastor Mühlenberg, the Moravians sent over Count Zinzendorf, and the Reformed, George Michael Weiss and Michael Schlatter. The number of Germans in the province was nearly or quite 50,000, as early as 1730. About 32,000 were Lutherans and Reformed, and it was among these and the sect people that the fierce scramble for adherents was carried on.

Boehm himself established no less than thirteen congregations during his church activities. As most of them were many miles apart his labors were incessant and tedious. Perhaps no preacher of any denomination had so many struggles to retain his adherents as he, but he was a fighter, a champion of the Church Militant as well as the Church Triumphant. But he won, and that, after all, may be regarded as evidence of the character of the man.

Drs. Harbaugh, Dubbs, and Good have given Boehm a good deal of attention, but as their researches were mainly confined to American authorities and documents, while much pertaining to his career was buried in European synodical and church archives, it was necessary that Dr. Hinke should pursue his career in Holland and Germany. This he has done and his enterprise was richly rewarded. The Royal State Archives at Marburg, the city archives of Worms, yielded no fewer than thirty-two separate documents and a number came from the town archives of Lamsheim. Extracts were also made from the Reformed Church records at Worms, Hanau, Wachenbach, and Hochstädt. Still other finds were made in Heidelberg, Basel, Zürich, and Bern.

Dr. Hinke has allowed Boehm to tell his own story through his own letters, to which are added extracts from the letters of his associates and contemporaries; this seems at once authoritative and fair. All in all, Dr. Hinke's comprehensive work must be regarded as a valuable addition to our knowledge of the religious condition of affairs in eastern Pennsylvania during the early half of the eighteenth century.

FRANK RIED DIFFENDERFFER.

Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations. By JOSEPH STANCLIFFE DAVIS, Ph.D. In two volumes. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XVI., nos. I-IV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1917. Pp. xiii, 547; x, 419. \$5.00.)

THIS book is a bundle of related but separate studies. Occasionally they overlap. The main essay is on Eighteenth-Century Business Corporations in the United States, and this necessarily embraces a period covered by the first essay, on Corporations in the American Colonies. The second essay, on William Duer, Entrepreneur, includes the story

of his connection with several of the great corporate enterprises of the day. The third, on the First New Jersey Business Corporation, gives a detailed account of the fortunes of the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, much of which had already been given in the second essay (I. 270, 271, 317-319), and was to be repeated again in the fourth (pp. 275, 276, 283).

In a history of corporations one would expect to find a definition of what a corporation is. The author of these essays nowhere gives the essential qualities of such an entity; nor does he lay down any direct test of separation between public and private, or between quasi-public and public corporations. It would have been of service if he had either expressly recognized or expressly denied the proposition that the vital essence of a corporation is in its possession of a personality of its own. The courts have framed quite clear definitions. One of private corporations aggregate is this:

An association of persons to whom the sovereign has offered a franchise to become an artificial, juridical person, with a name of its own, under which they can act and contract, and sue and be sued; and who have either accepted the offer and effected an organization in substantial conformity with its terms, (in which case a corporation *de jure* has been constituted); or have done acts indicating a purpose to accept such offer and effected an organization designed to be, but in fact not, in substantial conformity with its terms, (in which case a corporation *de facto* has been constituted).¹

Had any such rule of decision been followed by Dr. Davis, he would hardly have denied (II. 179) the claim² that North Carolina, in 1795, passed the first general incorporation law for business purposes, since the time of the Roman Empire.

Omnis definitio periculosa est. Nevertheless the want of definitions makes it easy to misunderstand or misinterpret facts. It leads to reading them in the light of a preconceived theory.

Thus, in describing (I. 40) the petition for the charter of Providence Plantations of 1643, which asks in terms for "a free charter of Civil Incorporation and Government", the author says that it "seems" to have called for this. Nor does the grant as made, he continues, specifically give any of the general powers customarily belonging to corporations except to make and use a public seal. In fact it gives and confirms to the petitioners

full Power and authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any Part of the said Tract of land, by such a Form of Civil Government, as by voluntary consent of all or the greater Part of them, they shall find most suitable to their Estate and Condition, and for that end to ordain Civil Laws and Constitutions.

¹ Mackay v. New York, New Haven, and Hartford R. R. Co., 82 Conn. Law Reports 81.

² "The Contributions of North Carolina to the Development of American Institutions", *North Carolina Booklet*, XIV. 147, 154.

It would be difficult to convey greater rights of self-government than this charter did, or the similar one, also treated rather cavalierly (I. 64), of 1649, for the town of Providence.

So Dr. Davis states (II. 294) that he has discovered no instance, prior to 1800, of losses to creditors of business corporations. We feel less inclined to rejoice in such successes of early American finance, because all must depend on what constitutes such a corporation. He rules out many organizations which to others would seem entitled to that name.

The work bears evidence of large and minute investigations of original sources. It is not taken for granted that standard authors are always accurate in their statements or conclusions. Errors in the dates assigned in compilations of high authority to some important papers are fearlessly corrected (II. 87).

Dr. Davis has made good use of the census reports. He finds from that of 1800 that every New England town of over 5000 inhabitants, with three exceptions, had its bank, and also that three having less than 5000 had theirs (II. 102).

The chapters devoted to "William Duer, Entrepreneur", are a frank study of early speculations which followed the Revolution, and in which some public characters of prominence were engaged on a great scale. The Revolution, the author says, with force and truth (I. 178), "had broken down psychological barriers, and established relationships among men of affairs", and made great combinations of American capital practicable for the first time (II. 5). Small capitalists could now find opportunities to grow into great ones. "These years saw the emergence of the stockbrokers' profession" (I. 199).

Joel Barlow is acquitted by Dr. Davis of having done anything worse, in his connection with the Scioto land speculations, than to undertake a business for which he had few qualifications (I. 251).

The author is of opinion that few of the eighteenth-century corporations were financed or controlled by a handful of large capitalists, or speculative promoters, but rather by a coterie of men of moderate means, largely of the merchant class (II. 303). They flourished best where capital had been accumulated in liquid form, such as particularly was afforded by the securities of the United States (II. 296).

An unguarded statement is made (II. 315) that, up to 1800, corporate charters were subject to repeal or alteration at the pleasure of the legislature, although no power to that end had been reserved in the charter. Such was the common opinion at the time; but the Dartmouth College case only declared what the law on this subject had always been. If a legal contract had been closed, by acceptance of a charter involving certain duties on the part of the grantees, it was as inviolable in 1789 as in 1819.

Dr. Davis calls attention (II. 325) to numerous eighteenth-century charters in which interlocking directorates were forbidden.

The style of these volumes is more that of a newspaper reporter than of an historical treatise. St. Clair's troops were "an ill disciplined lot". Rufus King and Gouverneur Morris were too ready to listen to the "siren songs of speculative capitalists". "Wolcott had got wind of Duer's shakiness, and thought to save his own skin, by striking before the fall came." "The Chesapeake and Delaware Bay project bobbed up again and again." This is probably due to the use of the material as a basis of informal instruction in college work.

An appendix to volume II, gives quite a full bibliography. We observe, however, in the list of "Histories of Corporations", no reference to the important work on that subject by the late John P. Davis. In the supplementary list of "Miscellaneous Books and Articles" it is mentioned, but only for its chapter on "Colonial Companies", whereas those on the "Legal View of Corporations" and "Modern Corporations" are largely applicable to early American conditions, while that on "Joint Stock Companies" contains a valuable summary of the doings of the English companies chartered to trade with America—a topic briefly treated by the work under review (I. 34 *et seq.*).

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

The Records of the Original Proceedings of the Ohio Company.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, Professor of American History in Marietta College. [Marietta College Historical Collections, vol. I., Ohio Company Series, vol. I.] (Marietta, Ohio: Marietta Historical Commission. 1917. Pp. cxxxvii, 132. \$2.50.)

THIS is the first of a series of volumes which will contain original records, letters, etc., illustrating the settlement and development of southeastern Ohio. There is a long introduction by the editor treating of the origin of the Ohio Company, the part taken in its formation by Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, and other leaders, the relation between the Ohio and Scioto companies, and a summary of the land, financial, and "paternalistic" policies of the company.

The text of the records covers the period from 1786 to December 21, 1789, and shows, in part, why New England influences were so important in this section. The provisions for "compact settlement" (pp. 45, 52), the grants of land for grist-mills, windmills, etc. (pp. 66, 87, 95, 113), the articles for settlers to sign (pp. 76-77), the methods of dividing lands among the proprietors (pp. 19, 81, 97, 123-125), and the efforts made to promote schools and education (pp. 39-40), all remind one of New England ideals and methods. These records vividly illustrate the capitalistic as contrasted with the individualistic method of promoting the settlement and development of a new region. The latter was based on the natural instinct of individuals to migrate to the frontier to improve their economic status or to escape from an environ-

ment unsatisfactory for other reasons. The other was a capitalistic enterprise, conceived by the men of wealth and education who organized a company, obtained a large tract of land by grant or purchase, planned the details of settlement, allotted or sold lands to the actual settlers, provided for their protection and helped to promote their religious, social, economic, or political development. Their reward came in the profits of the enterprise, in money or land, the power to direct the nature of the settlement and to act as officials in the actual government of the community. For example, the leading stockholders of the Ohio Company were also the first officers appointed for the government of the Northwest Territory. Governor Arthur St. Clair, Secretary Winthrop Sargent, and Judges Parsons and Varnum were shareholders. The two last, with Putnam, were the directors of the company. Sargent was the first secretary of the company, as well as the first secretary of the Northwest Territory.

Professor Hulbert makes a vigorous and unqualified defense of Manasseh Cutler in his dealings with the Scioto group of speculators. He aims "to repudiate sternly such lurking human-like insinuations as have been made now and then that Dr. Cutler overstepped the ethical boundary lines in his work for the Ohio Company" (p. 55). Lack of direct evidence to the contrary favors this conclusion. However, the indirect evidence still raises the question whether Cutler squared his ethics with those of the group he was seeking favors from (p. 73); or whether he was lacking in the astuteness needed to fathom the character and motives of these men, a supposition not quite in harmony with the sketch given of his character (p. 58). Elsewhere Professor Hulbert speaks of the "credulity of the Ohio Company's agents" (p. 88) and explains Cutler's connection and dealings with this notorious group on the ground that he was in complete ignorance of their real motives and character (pp. 58, 72-77).

The introduction as a whole is exceedingly well written, and for the first time adequately presents the story of the founding of the company and its influence. The form, appearance, and editing of the book are excellent. Historical students are fortunate in being assured that the editorship of this series is in such competent hands, and we shall look forward eagerly to the completion of a series that will contain one of the most important collections of sources for the study of this section of the West.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

A History of the United States. By EDWARD CHANNING. Volume IV. *Federalists and Republicans, 1789-1815.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. vii, 575. \$2.75.)

PROFESSOR CHANNING'S fourth volume deals with the history of the United States between the years 1789 and 1815. It has not quite as many words as the two and two-thirds volumes allotted to the same

period in Professor Hart's *American Nation*. But the author has used his space with a great deal of care, and by contracting at some places at which other writers have given more attention to details he has been able to give excellent accounts of incidents that were formerly treated with less than the necessary fullness. The readjustment of emphasis will probably disappoint some readers accustomed to the older distribution, but it has much to recommend it, if the author's point of view is considered. The discriminating reader will also note the success with which Professor Channing solves his problem of writing a new book which is not merely a re-statement of what he wrote in the twelfth volume of the *American Nation*. The space assigned to the years between 1800 and 1812 is nearly the same in each volume, yet each has maintained its individuality.

The success with which this is achieved is due to the extremely original treatment of the facts in the volume now before us. By a large use of sources and recent monographic publications the author's original mind has been able to present a new narrative at a great many points. The result is that we have a body of history unlike that of Hildreth in its statements, and in spirit, at least, different from the writings of Henry Adams. Hardly an important episode has been left just as it was before; and all has been done with such directness and evident fairness that it carries conviction to the reader. It does not seem extravagant to say that for the period with which this volume deals Professor Channing must be regarded as having set a new light in the historical heavens in the United States which none of his successors will ignore. If critics find flaws in his treatment they will probably find small ones, and they will have to fight hard for their contentions.

The most important general feature of the volume is that the author irons out the New England crimps that have long been noted in the history of this period. He does it most deftly and without letting us see that he thinks it should have been done long ago. By a fresh examination of documents, with his mind divested of the ideas that he got from the older books, he composes his own narrative in which appears no sectional bias of either conscious or unconscious origin. He gives us ample evidence that he appreciates the point of view of every section of the country and all classes of society. There is no intolerance for New England, nor for Virginia, and the feelings of the men of the frontier are given full consideration. These are things that have long waited the doing and he who has done them should have the thanks of the country. Some of the incidents in which this new treatment is evident are here given, taken at random from a long list that was made during the reading of the volume.

For example, we learn that it was the King of Spain himself who ordered Morales, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, to suspend the right of deposit in 1802. Moreover, Morales was directed to excuse

himself for his action by saying that he interpreted the treaty of 1795 as granting the right for only three years. He was cautioned that he should not let it be known that he really acted by royal orders (p. 326). The incident created great concern in the West and the Federalists promptly seized on it to embarrass the administration. Their best success at winning popularity was achieved in the French affair in 1798, and they saw in the situation of 1802 an opportunity to repeat the process, wrenching from Republican allegiance the passionate men of the frontier. The way in which we are here shown the working of party motives behind the political scenes is characteristic of the treatment generally.

Of interest, also, is the information that Commodore Preble suggested to Jefferson to send gunboats for use in the Tripolitan harbors. The boats were built and sent to the Mediterranean, where they did good service and won the praise of British naval officers who saw them. When Jefferson took up the question of harbor defense at home he was appalled at the cost of erecting forts at all the needed places. It was a greater expense than a new and only partially settled government could endure. He turned to gunboat defense as a less expensive substitute. In doing so he had the approval of Commodore Barron and Captain Tingey, as well as of Preble, naval officers of high rank. In the face of facts like these the scorn that the historian has poured on Jefferson's gunboat policy must be abated (p. 270).

Professor Channing has an open hand for John Adams, who suffered largely from the historians of his time. He finds much to approve in Adams's proposition to send Jefferson to France when it was known that Pinckney would not be received by the Directory. Jefferson was popular in France and he was patriotic. Adams's idea of creating a non-partizan administration was good, and in the unformed state of parties then existing it was not fanciful. If these two men, leaders of the two new parties, could have come into co-operation at the time, the history of the succeeding years of perplexity might have been much altered (p. 181). But it is difficult to think that Jefferson would have worked with Adams more successfully than another; for John Adams was a man who did his own planning and he would not have followed the lead of any man.

Again, it is refreshing to read in connection with the X Y Z affair that "the commissioners did not abhor the thought of buying the Directors and Talleyrand any more than Pitt and King George had done; but they refused point blank to involve the United States in any breach of neutrality which would be the necessary outcome of a loan to France" (p. 187). This new dress alters materially the figure of an old tale that has long been cherished as an illustration of our peculiar type of political virtue. Of equal interest is the fact that the Nootka Sound incident is given the treatment which its importance in the history of the Pacific Coast demands.

While one cannot say that these new points should have been omitted, he will at least regret that it was necessary to shorten the account of some of the old features of the story. The Whiskey Insurrection is brought down into such narrow compass that it is impossible to explain its importance in the political life of the day. The Hartford Convention is disposed of in six pages, which seems to the reviewer insufficient for the discussion of an incident that brought into strong relief the most penetrating political and sectional division of the people of the time. Burr's intrigues in the Southwest are similarly shortened, but in that case the curtailment seems well done; for Burr's conduct was not as important as the consideration it has received would warrant. He was an ex-vice-president and his position enhanced the significance of his deeds in the minds of the historians.

New as is his presentation, it is as an old-style historian that we must rank Professor Channing. For him the political thread is the clue to follow. He gives the first chapter in the volume to social conditions, and thereafter he goes on from one political event to another. It is probable that his interest in social history is not expressed in this treatment; for the period under consideration is singularly knit together. One event follows another so rapidly that there is no good place for interjecting descriptions of manners of living and conditions of transportation. In previous volumes the author has shown appreciation for such treatment; but he has never been disposed to accept the demands of those who see all history as economic and social. He seems to realize that he writes for an audience of readers of general intelligence and interest. The central fact in his narrative is the conscious life of the nation as expressed in its organic will, the government at the capital. What was done here and who did it and why, and what it signified, are all ever-present facts in this book, and it is not too much to predict that they will find hearty appreciation from the public.

The author's style is very direct and simple. There is a wholesome absence of the terminology of the *seminar*, that weight dragging to oblivion many an otherwise excellent book on history. In the arrangement of matter he encounters a problem that puzzles all who try to write our national history. It is very difficult to gather in a logical way the events that rise to importance in political life. He has the easiest task who sticks to the chronological way, as Hildreth, and somewhat harder but not very greatly so, who goes at it by administrations. Hardest of all is the attempt to make a logical arrangement, which must cut across administrations. Of the third method, which Professor Channing largely employs, it is to be said that he has used it successfully, although there are drawbacks in the method—interferences with the reader's power of giving attention—that no one can overcome. Mention must be made, also, of his excellent use of foot-notes. He makes them illuminate the text without the suggestion of pedantry, and any young writer of history may well study the art with which it is done.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

Thomas Jefferson, Architect. Original Designs in the Collection of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, junior, with an Essay and Notes by FISKE KIMBALL. (Boston: Privately printed. 1916. Pp. vii, 205, plates ix.)

THE late Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, jr., of Boston, widely known both as an architect and as a collector of papers relating to his great-great-grandfather, the third president of the United States, left at his death the richest collection of drawings and documents pertaining to Jefferson's architectural activities to be found in the United States. The drawings and notes relating to them, 232 pieces in all, Mrs. Clara A. Coolidge has caused to be published, with accompanying descriptive list and historical essay, in a sumptuous folio volume of over 250 pages, "for private distribution". In so doing she has rendered most generously a great service to architecture in America and to students of the early culture of the republic, as well as to the reputation of the distinguished and versatile Virginian.

The historical essay by Professor Fiske Kimball of the School of Architecture of Michigan University is preceded by a brief but illuminating essay on the history of the Jefferson Papers by Worthington C. Ford. Thanks to Jefferson's methodical habits and the zeal of his descendants, an extraordinary quantity of these papers have been preserved in spite of many vicissitudes, and it is most fortunate that among those descendants an architect should have been found who could appreciate the inestimable value to American history of hundreds of unsigned sketches, memoranda, and casual scraps left by his great ancestor, but for nearly a century neglected, overlooked, or misesteemed. Mr. Ford's essay establishes the pedigree of these papers as having come from Jefferson. But even with their provenience thus established their authorship remained unproved until Professor Kimball, by processes of inductive reasoning skillfully applied, based upon a minute examination of every scrap of evidence in the papers themselves, in the voluminous correspondence of Jefferson in this and other collections, and a comparison of sketches and memoranda with the buildings designed by Jefferson, verified by official documents, was able to demonstrate the Jeffersonian authorship of most of the papers and to exclude such as had come from other sources. His close study of the papers appears in the descriptive schedule, which occupies 101 pages. Material, water-marks, section-lining, subject, handwriting, and probable date are all set forth with minute exactness. The essay discusses Jefferson's development as an architect, the conditions of architecture in his day, the respective Palladian and French influences in his work, his place as the first American apostle of the classical revival, the architectural books in his library, and his methods of work, and establishes beyond serious question his right to be called an architect. He was no mere gentleman amateur or architectural dilettante, entrusting to others, better trained profession-

ally, the revision and execution of his designs, but a competent and scholarly designer, who figured and specified in detail his quantities and materials and made all his own drawings, from preliminary sketches to large-scale details. Monticello, the University of Virginia, and the state capitol at Richmond were his principal works (though the last two have undergone extensive alterations) but he had a hand in many other buildings, and he exercised a preponderant influence on the early architecture of the national capital.

Mr. Kimball had already, before undertaking this task, devoted much study to Jefferson's life and works, and in two important brochures had met and satisfactorily answered the contentions of Mr. Norman Isham, Mr. Glenn Brown, and others, attacking the Jeffersonian authorship of many of the drawings attributed to him. The outcome of these controversies has been wholly favorable to Mr. Kimball's claims for Jefferson. This stately volume is the final and brilliant fruitage of these labors, and will doubtless long remain a standard authority on its subject.

A. D. F. HAMLIN.

Breaches of Anglo-American Treaties: a Study in History and Diplomacy. By JOHN BIGELOW, Major U. S. A., retired. (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 248. \$1.50.)

THE preface to this volume is dated at New York, January 23, 1917. It therefore antedates not only the present war between the United States and Germany but also the rupture of their diplomatic relations; and the body of the text must have been written long before. A perusal of the work indeed fully confirms the accuracy of the statement that it "was not written to form or influence public opinion as to any phase or feature of the present world war". On the contrary, the author's main purpose seems to have been to investigate the foundations of charges of bad faith made in England against the United States, within the past five years, in terms which seemed to him possibly to savor of exaggeration. In particular he mentions the assertion of the *Saturday Review* that "American politicians" would not be "bound by any feeling of honor or respect for treaties if it would pay to violate them", and that it was too much to expect "to find President Taft acting like a gentleman"; the intimation of the *Morning Post* that Americans are disposed "to lower the value of their written word in such a way as to make negotiations with other powers difficult or impossible"; and the statement of Sir Harry Johnston that treaties with the United States are "not really worth the labor their negotiation entails or the paper they are written on". These polite admonitions seem not so much to have annoyed the author as to have piqued his curiosity, impelling him dutifully to make the more or less detailed studies the results of which, as he sums them up, are not unfavorable to his own country.

The investigation begins with the controversies relating to the exe-

cution of the treaty of peace of 1782-1783. The author finds that there were violations on both sides, but the principal breach he conceives to be the refusal of Great Britain to withdraw her forces from the United States. The reason assigned for this refusal was the failure of the United States to make immediately effective, as to private debts due to British merchants, the stipulation that creditors on either side should meet "with no lawful impediment" to the recovery of debts previously contracted. But, as the treaty contained no provision for the holding of territory as a guaranty for the performance of its stipulations, the author accepts as well founded Franklin's opinion that the evacuation was in reality delayed in the hope that some change in the European situation or some "disunion" among the late colonies might afford an opportunity for recovering dominion over them and securing their future dependence.

An examination of the disputes arising out of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty occupies nearly two-thirds of the volume. In this way their relative importance is perhaps unduly enhanced. The author affirms that Clayton was "willing to accept war" if this were necessary to secure an interoceanic railway or canal, although he would not go so far to secure "a purely American one". Probably it would have been more nearly correct to say that Clayton would have accepted war to prevent the construction of a canal under exclusive British control. It may be doubted that an American Secretary of State would then have been permitted to hold any other position. Of Clayton's desire to avoid a rupture there is abundant proof. The very fact that he was willing to sign a treaty by which the so-called Mosquito protectorate was permitted to stand even as (to use his own phrase) a "nominis umbra", sufficiently attests his anxiety for a friendly arrangement. In this relation the author scarcely grasps the importance of the incident of the bombardment of Greytown, which he says "left the general situation unchanged". In truth, although the instructions given to Captain Hollins did not specify the measures by which he was to obtain redress, and although the report of his summary and somewhat ruthless course came more or less as a surprise, there can be no doubt as to what the entire proceeding signified in the mind of Pierce's steady and sagacious Secretary of State, from the moment when it was determined to deal directly with the Greytown authorities down to the prompt assumption of full responsibility for what Hollins did. The incident probably did more than anything else to bring about the treaty of Managua of 1860.

As so much space is given to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, it would have been appropriate if the author had also examined the canal tolls question under the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, especially as the imputations that prompted his investigations were inspired by that controversy. He correctly states that, although the question has been temporarily disposed of, it has not been settled in principle. In these circumstances an examination of its merits would not have been out of

place, and might have served to remove superficial impressions which have widely prevailed.

The author, in his consideration of treaty-making, adverts to the supposition that negotiators have often used obscure or dubious phrases in order to create a basis for future claims. To some extent that device has no doubt been employed; but it has not been practised so extensively as negotiators would have us believe. The imputation is flattering to vanity. But obscurity or dubiety often result much more from anxiety to reach an amicable agreement than from a conscious effort to over-reach an opponent. This appears to have been the case with the Oregon Treaty and the resulting San Juan water boundary dispute, with which the author has not dealt, as well as with certain clauses in the treaty of Washington of 1871.

J. B. MOORE.

The Life of James J. Hill. By JOSEPH GILPIN PYLE (authorized).

In two volumes. (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1917. Pp. ix, 498; vii, 459. \$5.00.)

THE four outstanding names in the history of transportation beyond St. Paul—Jay Cooke, Henry Villard, Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), and James J. Hill—have now received biographical treatment, so that it is easily possible to fill out many gaps in the story sketched long since by Eugene V. Smalley and more recently by Balthasar H. Meyer. Three of these men were shaped through the direct pressure of the frontier. The fourth, Villard, exhibited the soul of the pioneer in the body of the German immigrant. All applied the vision that the frontier begot in them to the development of an empire whose unity and fertility one dreamer, Asa Whitney, had glimpsed as early as 1845; and another, Gen. Isaac I. Stevens, had mapped in 1853. Their combined story, from Jay Cooke's underwriting of the Northern Pacific stocks in 1869 to the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company in 1904, covers a generation whose interest to the economic historian cannot be surpassed.

Of the four, only James J. Hill, whose authorized biography is now at hand, was a railroad man. The others came to the work partly by accident, as speculator or broker or political promoter. But Hill was of the Northwest by adoption. Before he was twenty years old he had proved himself true to the frontier type by shifting from his old home in Ontario to St. Paul. Why his biographer should say that life on the frontier "was quiet, ruminant, without initiative" (I. 8), in the face of the abundant evidence that he gives to prove the opposite, is something of a mystery. But Mr. Pyle is clearly not a professional historian, and this slip, like others, which are frequent where he discusses matters not a part of the financial aspect of his subject, need not deter his reader. The life in St. Paul, the early business, the beginnings of ventures in transport by wagon, boat, and rail, and at last the details of the St. Paul and Pacific, the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba, and

the Great Northern, flow along through the two volumes with coherence and accuracy. Without displaying many of them, Mr. Pyle has had access to the letters and diaries of Mr. Hill, and has freely used autobiographic dictations. Only Dr. Oberholtzer's *Jay Cooke* gives financial history for the railroads with equal detail and accuracy. Mr. Willson's *Lord Strathcona* is distinctly surpassed in this respect by both of these.

The point of view of Mr. Pyle is disappointing. He prints, as his sailing chart, Mr. Hill's instruction to him to "Make it plain and simple and true" (vol. I, introd., p. v). He adds to this a determination to reveal Mr. Hill's mental, moral, and financial greatness. Instead of allowing his evidence to tell its own story, he lays down *dicta*. In twenty pages, chosen at random (II. 161-180), he adds unnecessary asseveration or praise to at least ten points. He fails to show adequately the opinions illustrated by the fragment which he gives from a letter of 1902: "It really seems hard . . . that we should be compelled to fight for our lives against the political adventurers who have never done anything but pose and draw a salary" (II. 172). Historically, we are more interested in what Mr. Hill did and thought than whether it was good or bad. We shall not be able to establish a sound basis for judging acts of the last half-century until we have seen the genuine opinions of honest men. And we are unable to take much interest in Mr. Pyle's effort to portray "a difference between him [Mr. Hill] and the rank and file of the extremely rich" (I. 291). Yet with all its shortcomings the book is a reliable and useful addition to our knowledge, and prepares the way for somebody's lives of E. H. Harriman and J. P. Morgan.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Former Philippines thru Foreign Eyes. Edited by AUSTIN CRAIG. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1917. Pp. [xiv], 552. \$3.00.)

THE editor of this useful book, easily the most original American in the Philippines, served his apprenticeship in the United States along the Northwest Coast, as lawyer, newspaper man, and teacher. In the Philippines he has been a teacher in the public schools and an official of the central Bureau of Education, and is now in charge of the historical work in the government institution, the University of the Philippines, where he has done more than any other man to stimulate the study of Philippine history among Filipino young men and women. His book was first published in Manila in 1916 under semi-government auspices for the sole use of the public schools of the Philippines, and has had a wide use. In the American edition, the same or duplicate plates have been used, but the book has been given a much more attractive appearance with its better-grade paper and binding, and the stamp of the official Philippine coat-of-arms on the outside of the front cover. The book is a compilation and, in part, a translation, of eight more or less extensive descriptions of the Philippines and their peoples by non-

Filipino authors, namely, two by Germans, one by a Spaniard, two by Americans, and three by Englishmen. The short preface is followed by an index of eight pages, in which only the most important data are noted, and which by its position constitutes a sin against the accepted canons of good book-making, although it is as accessible as if placed in the usual manner. All items after the first are in smaller type than the main item, and all after the second are set solid—parts of the mechanical process that would have appeared more logical had everything after the first item been included in an appendix. The book consists of the following items: *Travels in the Philippines*, an English translation of Feodor Jagor's *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873); *State of the Philippines in 1810*, an English translation of Tomás de Comyn's *Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1810* (Madrid, 1820); "Manila and Sulu in 1842", an excerpt from chapters 8 and 9 of volume V. of Commodore Charles Wilkes's well-known *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (Philadelphia, 1844); "Manila in 1819", an excerpt from Lieut. John White, U.S.N., *History of a Voyage to the China Sea* (Boston, 1823); "The Peopling of the Philippines", from the *Smithsonian Report* for 1899 (Washington, 1901), a translation by O. T. Mason of Rudolf Virchow's *Die Bevölkerung der Philippinen* (Berlin, 1899); and three very short excerpts by an English merchant in 1778, the British consul in 1878, and an English merchant about 1890. Taken together, these descriptions form an exceedingly valuable lot of material regarding the Philippines and have the added value of having been made at different periods. Of them all, the first is the most valuable, because of the intimate touch it gives of conditions and its excellent descriptions. It will be remembered as containing near the end the remarkable prophecy of the American occupation of the Philippines. The translation, which was made especially for this work by a young German, one of the victims of the Japanese onslaught on Tsing Tau, is immensely improved over the defective English translation published in London in 1875. It is complete except for the crude drawings of the original German edition, and one or two passages which had little bearing on the Philippines, as well as several of the appendixes of the original—omissions that will be regarded as defects by some. The book might have been made more attractive by including the illustrations of the original or some of the many excellent modern photographs that can be easily obtained, and which would illustrate Jagor's narrative as well in most instances as his own drawings. Comyn's narrative is especially valuable for its social and economic data, this, indeed, being one of the most valuable Spanish contributions of the nineteenth century to the history of the Philippines, and meeting on its publication with scant welcome from the official class. Professor Craig has approached his task more from the angle of the reformer and lawyer, than from that of the historian, as is seen in the opening sentence of his preface: "Among the many wrongs done

the Filipinos by Spaniards, to be charged against their undeniably large debt to Spain, one of the greatest, if not the most frequently mentioned, was taking from them their name." By choosing descriptions on the whole favorable to the Filipinos, Professor Craig has presented but one side of his thesis, although it must be confessed material on the other side is easily available to whoever wishes to study the question from other points of view. More detailed bibliographical data would have enhanced the value of the volume, but it must be borne in mind that the compilation was made for a wide circle and not for any special student body. The work has been done with enthusiasm and with the manifest purpose of inciting ideals through greater race-inspection. There is no doubt that this volume will have considerable influence in the Philippine Islands among all classes, and it should be given a wide and careful reading in America as well, for notwithstanding the almost two decades of American occupation, the Philippines are yet a sealed book to many Americans.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771). By HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY. [University of California Publications in History, vol. V.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1916. Pp. xiv, 449. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is the work of one of the younger men of the California group of historians who are devoting their energy to the study of Spanish colonization. It is a worthy addition to the list of studies published by the University of California. In distinction from most of the monographs, which treat largely of local matters, this work deals with the larger field of Spanish colonial history, confining itself to the study of some phases of the institution of visitor-general within the viceroyalty of New Spain during the eighteenth century. The author has made ample use of new sources from the archives of Spain and Mexico and, in addition, has made available in English much material already published in Spanish.

From the title and subtitle one would expect either a biography or an institutional study. Neither expectation is completely fulfilled, and considerable material, not strictly within the scope of either, finds place in the volume.

The book falls naturally into three parts. The first, comprising the introduction and chapters I.-III., forms the introductory section of the work. The introduction gives a brief biography of Gálvez, with some reference to his family. This is the most complete and most authentic account of the life of Gálvez, written in any language. Chapter I. is devoted to a résumé of conditions in Spain and of her colonial policy, with special emphasis upon commerce. A general survey of the administration of New Spain is presented in chapter II. The third chapter

gives a summary account of the general visitation, being chiefly an historical survey.

The second part of the book, or the body (chapters IV.-IX.), relates in great detail the activities of Gálvez, while he was in New Spain as visitor-general. From documents cited in the appendix it is clear that Gálvez was commissioned to investigate the affairs of the judicial and treasury (hacienda) departments of New Spain and possessed extensive powers for carrying out his task. Despite this twofold commission the author holds that the later efficiency of Gálvez was due to his experience in the affairs of public finance. Consequently, without explaining further why all reference to judicial matters is omitted, he places all emphasis upon the financial administration of New Spain. The subjects treated in this section include an account of the tobacco monopoly, details of the conflict of Gálvez and Viceroy Cruillas over the extent of their respective authorities, the activities of Gálvez in connection with the expulsion of the Jesuits, and his work on the peninsula of Lower California, carried out with a view to advancing the settlements of that region.

The final part comprises the last chapter (X.) and is a lengthy summary of Spanish colonial revenues, condensed from the works of Maniau (*Compendio de la Historia de la Real Hacienda de Nueva España*) and Fonseca and Urrutia (*Historia General de Real Hacienda*). It is the most complete statement in English upon the subject and as such possesses admirable merit.

The appendix contains careful translations of the instructions to Gálvez and other documents relating to the subject. There is a bibliography, which includes a complete list of the manuscript sources and a select list of the printed authorities which were used in the preparation of the work. The volume shows a vast amount of painstaking labor and is readable and interesting throughout. It is a valuable contribution to the study of Spanish colonial institutions.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

British Exploits in South America: a History of British Activities in Exploration, Military Adventure, Diplomacy, Science, and Trade in Latin-America. By W. H. KOEBEL. (New York: The Century Company. 1917. Pp. xiv, 587. \$4.00.)

FOR the most part the present work is a compilation of extracts culled from contemporary accounts by British writers and pieced together into a somewhat disjointed narrative. So much is the author under the spell of the ancient chroniclers that he has even prefaced each chapter with a tediously long analysis of its contents. Like all of Mr. Koebel's books on South America, the volume is intended for the general reader who seeks entertainment as well as instruction. Of the four parts into which it is divided the first covers the period up to the eighteenth century, including the story of the first English mariners to

"sail the Spanish Main(!)". The second describes the activities of the British up to the close of the Hispanic-American wars of independence. In the third the tale is continued from that point onward through most—and not the "early part"—of the nineteenth century, with especial reference to Brazil. The fourth, entitled "Scientific and Literary Observers", discusses British Naturalists, South America in English Print, other British "achievements", and To-day and To-morrow in South America. At the close are an appendix which, though entered as a separate item in the table of contents, is really a bibliography of books on South America published since 1870, and a list of "British arrivals in the River Plate at the beginning of the nineteenth century". The book, also, is provided with illustrations more or less apt in reference and plan of insertion.

The chapter on "South America in English Print" is a running commentary on many of the books put forth in that language up to about 1870. From the list the volumes published by the Hakluyt Society are omitted intentionally; but why they should have been included in the bibliography of works issued since that date is not clear. The latter, certainly, is not characterized by either accuracy or exhaustiveness, and lacks any sort of evaluation. That the works by Dawson and Scruggs should be mentioned twice, that Bourne's treatise, along with numerous others of merit, is ignored, that the authorship of Helps's volumes is ascribed to Oppenheim, and that a reprint of Humboldt's account should be put down as a recent contribution, are defects not remedied by the inclusion of substantially all of Mr. Koebel's own books. The chapter on To-day and To-morrow in South America is given over to a sketch of certain reasons for the decline of British trade. As might be expected under present circumstances, it displays a marked animus against the German competitor; but that is hardly a good excuse for converting the old Augsburgers into "Prussian" Welsers (p. 530).

Were Mr. Koebel as familiar with the Spanish language and records as he is with those he actually uses, he would not have allowed so many errors and omissions to mar his pages. That he calls the attention of the reader to the fact that a "total lack of haste in its preparation" (p. vii) is one of the merits of the book, makes the blemishes all the worse. To single out one or two of them: Rio de Janeiro could hardly have been "discovered" at any time (p. 12); the Inquisition surely did not "set out across the ocean" in 1533 (p. 19); the derivation of "gringo" (p. 253) is neither novel nor accurate; and "bucaneers", "Guazus", "Inglez", "Inglessa" need some rectification in spelling. Anyone at all acquainted, also, with the story of British "achievements" in Spanish America during the eighteenth century might have expected to find an allusion at least to smuggling operations at Porto Bello and to the "exploits" of the *Royal George*.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

The Literary History of Spanish America. By ALFRED COESTER, Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 495. \$2.50.)

THIS is a work of great industry. No other book in English even attempts to cover the whole field with such minute and painstaking detail. Going to original sources, and having had access to the most ample collections of material, Dr. Coester traces the literary development of each South and Central American republic, including Mexico but excluding Brazil. The task of merely reading through the copious output in belles-lettres of the Spanish-American press for more than two hundred years must have been brain-fagging. Such a mass of analyzed volumes, country by country, cannot be exhilarating reading, but it is highly informing. One pays tribute to the author's labor, and also to his scholarship. In his printing of Spanish names and quotations, he is singularly accurate, only a negligible number of trifling errors having fallen under the reviewer's eye.

Dr. Coester has three introductory and general chapters, but is stronger in his intrepid facing of the jungle of writers and works, nation after nation, than in his philosophy of the whole. He is, of course, aware of the mingling streams—Spanish and French—of literary tradition and formative impulse in South America, but does not clearly show which at any given time was the more powerful, nor give the reason for it. To do so would require, confessedly, a study of the reaction in literature which Spain has had upon France, and the reverse—itself a complex and controverted topic. But it would seem that Dr. Coester might have made it plainer that, at least for the past seventy-five years or so, Spain has been more an historical memory to educated South Americans, and France more a literary metropolis and inspiration. It is probable that for every Argentine or Chilean who has gone to Madrid for professional study or for pleasure, ten have gone to Paris. Such relationships, long continued, could not fail to make French literary fashions as much the mode in large parts of South America as French styles in gowns and hats.

It would be impossible, even if there were space, to follow Dr. Coester, with unequal steps, along the arduous path of his researches. The peculiar debt we owe him is the introducing Americans to an intellectual world of which almost all of them are profoundly ignorant. That the South Americans had universities, presses, poets, critics, before the United States had made more than its literary beginnings, is a fact which we all have known, vaguely, but with nothing like the vividness which the pages of this book convey. It may be that, in the course of his long poring over South American writers, and his epitomes of their books, Dr. Coester sometimes loses his sense of proportion; is betrayed into calling a poet great because his admiring fellow-countrymen did so. But as a whole he keeps his head and his poise. The immense productiveness of the Spanish-American literary genius—in this like its

Spanish prototype—necessarily makes the quantity often obscure the quality. Nature and the struggle for liberty have been the favorite themes of South American poets, and it is well known that the former is exuberant and the latter boundless; the result is a mighty flood of poetry. Before it, however, Dr. Coester keeps his bearings well. He has distinctly made a contribution to the literature of knowledge, if not to the books of power.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1914. Volume I. (Washington, the Government Printing Office, 1916, pp. 504.) From the proceedings of the meeting of the Association held at Chicago fourteen informative papers have been printed in this volume, a better representation of those presented at the sessions than has sometimes been the case. Those dealing with European history, a much larger proportion than usual by the way, are: *Fresh Light upon the History of the Earliest Assyrian Period*, by R. W. Rogers; *the Eastern Mediterranean and Early Civilization in Europe*, by J. H. Breasted; *a Political Ideal of the Emperor Hadrian*, by W. D. Gray; *the Influence of the Rise of the Ottoman Turks upon the Routes of Oriental Trade*, by A. H. Lybyer; *Some Influences of Oriental Environment in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, by Frederic Duncalf; *the Feudal Noble and the Church as reflected in the Poems of Chrestien de Troyes*, by E. H. McNeal; *the Turco-Venetian Treaty of 1540*, by T. F. Jones; *the House of Commons and Disputed Elections*, by H. R. Shipman; *Tendencies and Opportunities in Napoleonic Studies*, by G. M. Dutcher; *an Approach to the Study of Napoleon's Generalship*, by R. M. Johnston.

In the field of American history the subjects treated are: *Cabinet Meetings under President Polk*, by H. B. Learned; *Tennessee and National Political Parties, 1850-1860*, by St. George L. Sioussat; *the Genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act*, by P. O. Ray; *Asiatic Trade and the American Occupation of the Pacific Coast*, by R. G. Cleland. Accompanying the proceedings of the eleventh annual conference of historical societies are papers on the *Chicago Historical Society*, by O. L. Schmidt; *Research in State History at State Universities*, by James A. Woodburn; and *Restrictions on the Use of Historical Materials*, by L. J. Burpee. In addition to the report of the proceedings of the sixth annual conference of archivists, President C. H. Rammelkamp presents a paper on *Legislation for Archivists*, and Miss Ethel B. Virtue on *Principles of Classification for Archives*; and there is a preliminary survey of the archives of Minnesota by H. A. Kellar.

Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Material. By L. F. Rushbrook Williams, B.A., B.Litt., F.R.Hist.S., M.R.A.S., Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad. [Publications of the Department of Modern Indian History, Allahabad Univer-

sity, no. 1.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1917, pp. x, 86, \$1.00.) These lectures were published

in accordance with a condition of the tenure of the Chair of Modern Indian History in Allahabad University. They were written for audiences consisting partly of Indian students, and partly of the general public. The first three Lectures were intended to give such audiences some insight into the methods of modern historical investigation. The fourth Lecture is an attempt to apply to the solution of a particular problem the theory underlying these methods (Foreword).

It is patent that the author is concerned rather with the impression his special audience was to receive than with the adequacy of his lectures as an examination of the problems of historical method.

A consideration of the lectures in the light of the needs of the given audience suggests a few criticisms. The author's predilection for political history and official documents may be explained in part by the nature of "the material with which the student of Indian history is called upon to deal" (p. 81), but the omission, from his list of non-official sources, of newspapers and of literature, which is essential for the inner, "spiritual" history of a people, is to be regretted. The difficulties of the historian in controlling his bias and in marshalling his evidence (lecture III.) ought not to have been expounded without a setting forth of the scientific method of determining particular facts, so well known to students of Langlois and Seignobos. Lecture IV., judging by the foreword, should have been the *pièce de résistance* of the course, but it is an examination of "the relation between the influence of personality and the influence of such non-personal forces as heredity and environment, over the course taken by the world's history" (p. 72). Certainly this is a problem in which the detailed exposition of the uses and defects of the different sorts of written documents, which is the main purpose of most of the book, is of little service.

The foot-notes lack date and place of publication and usually the full name of the author. Lecture III. warns against incomplete references and improperly charges German scholars with making them (p. 67).

G. C. SELLERY.

The Drama of Savage Peoples. By Loomis Havemeyer, Ph.D., Instructor of Anthropology and Geography in the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. viii, 274, \$1.75.) This book will be welcomed by anthropologists and historians as one more attempt to discover the beginnings of an important social institution. It will be welcomed, in spite of the fact that it is only a sketch, the outlines of which the writer apparently intends to fill in at some future time. Dr. Havemeyer is scarcely correct in declaring that the investigation of the drama of savage peoples is a "new enterprise". His bibliography does not contain such important references as Mrs. Murray-Aynsley's article on "Secular and Religious Dances" (*Folklore Journal*, 1887), Mackenzie's chapters on "Dance and Drama" in his

Evolution of Literature, and Wundt's elaborate treatment of the whole subject in his *Völkerpsychologie*. The articles under "Drama" in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* have not been used. Furthermore, Ridgeway's learned and thought-provoking work, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Peoples* (Cambridge, 1915), appears to be unknown to Dr. Havemeyer, though he quotes Ridgeway's earlier book, *The Origin of Tragedy*. In view of these and other omissions, Dr. Havemeyer might have done better if he had selected some ethnographical division of the subject, such as the Polynesian drama or that of the American Indians, and had treated it exhaustively in the light of his evolutionary principles.

With these principles, however, the reviewer finds himself in entire accord. Having shown that there are practically no peoples so low in the cultural scale as to lack some form of the drama, Dr. Havemeyer then proceeds to trace three stages in its development. The drama begins as a form of language. Its purpose at first is to afford information and give expression to ideas for which speech is inadequate. In the magico-religious stage dramatic representations are employed for the purpose of multiplying plants and food animals (for instance, the Central Australian totemic ceremonies) or for communicating with supernatural beings. The final stage is reached when the magico-religious element disappears, and the drama becomes purely a form of amusement.

To the savage this latter stage is of the least importance, for nothing very definite is accomplished by it, but to the civilized man it forms the greatest height to which the drama has yet reached. In these pleasure plays of the savage we are able to get the closest connection between the drama of a low and that of a high civilization (p. 235).

The value of the book is increased by the parallels and contrasts drawn between savage drama and the drama in Japan, Java, ancient Greece, and the Middle Ages. Dr. Havemeyer might with profit have devoted even more space to this comparative survey.

HUTTON WEBSTER.

Gaius Verres: an Historical Study. By Frank Hewitt Cowles. [Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, edited by Charles Edwin Bennett and George Prentice Bristol, no. XX.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, for Cornell University, 1917, pp. 207, \$1.50.) This unpretending monograph is a real contribution to our understanding of the later Roman Republic. It undertakes to analyze and to present (to quote its preface) "in complete form, the sum total of the evidence covered by the Verrine indictment", and the author is justified in his claim that hitherto no such analysis has been available.

Gaius Verres has been long a stock figure for a gross Roman corruptionist and oppressor, just as the name of Boss Tweed is usually invoked when a standardized political malefactor must be held up for more modern reprobation. But very few even among Latin specialists read through the complete Verrine orations, which Cicero published as

a rhetorical exercise after the trial and conviction of the outrageous propraetor; and to most of us what we know of Verres comes from the summaries of his case in such standard biographies of Cicero as those by Strachan-Davidson and Forsyth.

Dr. Cowles now has placed the entire evidence against Verres in a convenient form. The ordinary student of history can make easy use of this repository of highly suggestive material for the study of Roman judicial procedure, provincial administration, fiscal management, and last but not least governmental and legal chicanery. In such a work, sound analysis is required in lieu of any daring originality of scholarship, and more than this is not attempted by the present volume. However, the treatment of Verres's claim to be an art connoisseur (which claim Dr. Cowles believes to have been considerable, despite his remarkable methods for filling his galleries) is an intelligent and in the main very convincing handling of a difficult subject. Likewise the arrangement of the chronology of the trial of Verres, as presented in the appendix, probably will be accepted as approximately final by the majority of students.

The essay proper falls into seven chapters which follow mainly the order of the orations of Cicero, and which deal respectively with the early life of Verres, his praetorship, his maladministration of justice in Sicily, his treatment of Sicilian taxation problems, his thefts of property and works of art, his crimes in connection with the pirates, and finally his return to Rome, prosecution, and exile.

A few slips in the Latin spellings have been noted, but none serious enough to decrease the value of this highly useful, if not correspondingly original monograph.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

The Geography of Strabo. With an English translation by Horace Leonard Jones, A.M., Ph.D., based in part upon the unfinished version of John R. S. Sterrett, Ph.D., LL.D. In eight volumes. Volume I. [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. xlii, 531, \$1.50.) The treatise of Strabo, as Professor Sterrett's introduction points out, is more than a mere geography—it is an historical geography and it is a philosophy of geography. He might have added that, in the loss of its Alexandrian sources, it is one of the most interesting monuments of ancient culture. It reveals not only the amount of geographical knowledge accessible to a contemporary of Cicero and Horace in the libraries of Alexandria and Rome but the intelligence which he could presuppose in his readers. The world moves and we know much that they could not know. But there is nothing in Strabo so funny as the statement by an eminent modernist authority on logic and education that "men thought the world was flat until Columbus thought it round".

This first of the projected eight volumes, containing the first two

books of the geography, is mainly concerned with introductory matter—criticism of the astronomy or the geography of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Polybius, and Posidonius, a defense of the geographical accuracy of Homer, which recalls the eloquent tirade in *Eothen*, demonstrations of the sphericity and estimates of the size of the earth, speculation on the causes of ocean currents and of the geological transformations to which sea-shells found far inland bear witness. Strabo argues that geography is a science serviceable to statesmen and generals. For these purposes his geography is superseded. It is no longer possible to “wrap” either world politics or “the church of God in Strabo’s cloak”. But his work is still indispensable to the student of history and especially to the student of the history of science and culture.

Dr. Jones’s translation is in the main trustworthy and proves him entirely competent to revise and continue the work of his teacher, Professor Sterrett. He has misapprehended two or three technical passages and sometimes fails to catch the precise force of philosophical terms that belong to the vocabulary of the liberally educated man of post-classical antiquity. But there are not enough of these lapses to impair the value of his work, and to catalogue them here would give an unfair impression of the general soundness of his scholarship.

PAUL SHOREY.

Procopius. With an English translation by H. B. Dewing. In six volumes. Volumes I., II. *History of the Wars, Books I.–IV.* [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1916, pp. xv, 582, 488, \$1.50 per volume.) It is pleasant to see the *Loeb Classical Library* giving some place to products of Byzantine literature, following in that particular the example of the famous *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. It is to be hoped that this initiative will bring to those interested in classics a better understanding of the real importance of Byzantine literature for the study of the classics, which cannot reasonably be isolated in the general development of Hellenism and have much to gain, if they are properly placed in the historical evolution of the Greek spirit and the Greek language.

It is fortunate that Procopius has been chosen as the first Byzantine writer to appear in the *Loeb Classical Library*. He is, indeed, the main source for one of the most brilliant periods in Byzantine history, that of Justinian. Of Procopius’s *History of the Wars*, Mr. Dewing, assistant professor in Princeton University, formerly professor at Robert College in Constantinople, has now published the two books of the Persian War and the two of the Vandalic War. According to the scheme of the *Loeb Library*, the first volume opens with a brief introduction, and every volume ends with a copious and very useful index. The introduction deals in a summary manner with the personality of Procopius, his life, his quality as an eye-witness of the events he describes, his writings, and their historical value and style. The ques-

tion, once so much debated, of the genuineness and authority of the *Secret History* is clearly expounded. We may perhaps regret the absence of a brief historical survey of the period covered by Procopius's writings, as that history is so little known by the public and such a chapter would have contributed much to the comprehension of the text and the more so as the explanatory foot-notes under the English translation, particularly in the first volume, are very few.

The introduction is followed by a short bibliography mentioning six works connected with Procopius. It is supposed to be a selection, and therefore I am surprised to see mentioned an old German Programm (W. Gundlach, *Quaestiones Procopianae*, Hanau, 1861), and an article in Russian (B. Pancenko, "On the *Secret History* of Procopius", *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, II., 1895), and not the general and more accessible works of Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur* (second ed., 1897), and Ch. Diehl, *Justinien et la Civilisation Byzantine au VI^e Siècle* (1901), both of which, beside their valuable articles on Procopius, contain excellent bibliographies for further study.

The text of Procopius followed by Mr. Dewing is that of Haury, published in 1905-1913 in the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*. I confess I do not see the principle which led the translator in the choice of the few critical readings, some of merely orthographic interest, he prints in the notes. I think it would have been better simply to follow Haury's text, as Mr. Dewing does, and to omit entirely the readings of the manuscripts, except in the very few cases where there was, in the interest of the translation, a substantial reason to do otherwise.

I regret that not being a specialist in English I cannot pronounce upon the qualities of Mr. Dewing's translation. But judging by what I hear from some reliable authorities, it is the result of very conscientious work and combines the two most important features in such a publication, accuracy and elegance.

P. VAN DEN VEN.

Sardinia in Ancient Times. By E. S. Bouchier, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1917, pp. 185, \$1.75.) In this, his latest synthetic essay, Mr. Bouchier again demonstrates his ability and scholarship. The skillful avoidance of controversial topics, the simplicity of style, the frequent reference to literary and epigraphic sources, which characterized his accounts of Spain and Syria, have been applied to this of Sardinia. Paucity of material which may be used in a semi-popular work of this character has led the author to include cavemen and Gregory the Great in his survey. The account follows the line of least resistance and greatest information in that it is almost wholly archaeological. "The chapter on the Prehistoric Age is little but a description of the chief classes of antiques." Legendary History is given in the words (translated) of Diodorus, Silius, Pausanias, pseudo-Aristotle, and Solinus. Geography, legend, and anthropological research

are combined to establish the dominant influence of Africa upon the island and its people. The resemblance to Spain in this matter is mentioned, while the chapters on Carthaginian and Roman republican rule bring out at least one more feature common to Spanish and Sardinian tribes: that they valiantly resisted foreign domination. Other interesting parallels are noted in the imperial period, during which the Romans exerted a marked influence upon the islanders.

The contests of Romans, Vandals, Ostrogoths, and Byzantines for control of Sardinia are given in a chapter on the Later Empire. With them are interwoven the threads of church history, the conclusion being based on the letters of Gregory the Great, "since they do something to illustrate the social and religious condition of the island in this age of transition from ancient to modern history".

Natural Products and Commerce, a section inserted for some unknown reason between two historical chapters, compares favorably with the *Britannica* article on the subject. It is even better, for Mr. Bouchier has included a proverb and a fish story, not to be found in the *Encyclopaedia*. But in the pages devoted to Carales, the Chief Cities of Sardinia, Architecture and the Arts, and Religion, the author is least satisfactory. Mr. Bouchier has essayed the difficult task of writing a technical work in a popular style. The scholar will long for more critical apparatus, the layman will be bewildered by scientific details. Still both will find much that is worth while and valuable.

J. J. V.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-Third Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1186-1187. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XXXVII.] (London, St. Catherine Press, 1915, pp. 1, 287.) The present roll contains historical material of about the same variety and in about the same quantity as its immediate predecessors, which have been noticed in previous numbers of this periodical (XVIII. 388; XX. 190; XXI. 172). The name of the editor is not specified, but the introduction is so characteristic of Mr. Round with regard to style and content, that there seems to be little doubt about his authorship. Entries upon the roll of a peculiar nature or an exceptional interest rarely escape his observation, and the introduction is consequently a fairly comprehensive guide to items of these sorts. The most important of them are the accounts for the scutage of Galloway, paid by the knights who had not gone with the king on his expedition in the previous year, and for the tallage, levied on the royal demesne and on the lands of royal tenants then in the king's hands. These the editor treats at some length, pointing out the principal additions made to our knowledge of these forms of taxation. He gives the usual extensive space to the genealogy of the families of royal ministers and leading nobles and to the history of their possessions. More briefly he notices such subjects as the itinerary of the king, the deeds of other members

of the royal family, the royal castles, the administration of the vacant bishoprics and abbacies, and the passage of prominent persons to and from England. He mentions a few aspects of legal and judicial development, but for the most part he ignores the numerous illustrations of the ordinary working of Henry's judicial and administrative machine. These constitute the most valuable contribution made by the record, but their general similarity to entries in earlier rolls probably justifies the editor's emphasis.

W. E. LUNT.

San Pedro Nolasco, Fundador de la Orden de la Merced (Siglo XIII.). Por Fray Pedro N. Pérez. (Barcelona, E. Subirana, 1915, pp. 253, 3 pesetas.) This volume adds little to our knowledge of San Pedro Nolasco. There were already several works on the Order of the Merced which left comparatively little to be gleaned concerning him, and moreover, "the intimate details and precise dates" of his actions are very few.

The facts of the saint's life as Fray Pedro sets them forth may be briefly summarized. Nolasco was of French extraction, but the names of his parents and the date of his birth are unknown. He went to Barcelona about 1208 and ten years later founded the order for the redemption of captives from the Moslems. He himself redeemed 890, and the total number rescued during the time he was at the head of the order amounted to 2718. In 1249 he resigned the generalship; he died seven years later. His advice was much sought by King James the Conqueror, whom he aided in many ways. During his lifetime his order spread widely and branches were established in Majorca, Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia, and Languedoc. After some opposition he was canonized in 1628, his name was inscribed in the Roman Martyrology in 1655, and nine years later the office for his feast was placed in the Roman Breviary for January 29.

The most important sources are the *Documento de los Sellos*, which was drawn up only four years after his death in order to set forth all the facts which were known about his life and character, and the *Memoirs* of the second head of the order, which "contain important notices concerning the life of the saint". The author has utilized these sources very fully and carefully. He argues that the order was founded in 1218, that it was at first a military order, that it was not an off-shoot from the Dominicans, and that Nolasco himself was, and remained, a lay-brother. Aside from proving these points, all of which have been subjects of controversy, his main interests are in glorifying the founder of his order, and in writing a work of edification for pious readers.

The bibliography is very incomplete and does not show the extent of the author's researches; in fact it contains only a part of the works which he has used and cited in his notes. When he writes of contemporary events not directly connected with his subject, he sometimes falls into error, notably in his brief account of the Albigensians.

D. C. M.

Privilegis i Ordinacions de les Valls Pirenenques. Editats per Ferran Valls Taberner. Volume I. *Vall d'Aran*. [Textes de Dret Català.] (Barcelona, La Casa de Caritat, 1915, pp. xxvii, 199.) The Pyrenees have long been known to history as a region of political curiosities, from the municipalities of the Basques to the "Republic" of Andorra. Between these two more widely celebrated communities are a series of less conspicuous valley settlements whose curious institutions, notably their medieval federations or *traités de lies et de passeries*, have been ably investigated by several French scholars. It has remained, however, for the present volume to present for the first time a body of carefully edited original materials upon certain Aragonese aspects of this phase of Pyrenean history.

The Vall d'Aran lies near the centre of the range and has been by far the most important of these mountain valleys, both historically and economically. Like most of them, it crosses the main axis of the ridge and has long served as a means of Franco-Spanish communication. In fact, the picture presented by these documents of the medieval intercourse—political, commercial, and pastoral—between Gascony and the Spanish kingdoms refutes once more that trite supposition regarding the "barriers" imposed by mountain ranges.

The volume comprises an elaborately annotated historical and bibliographical introduction, followed by fifty Latin and Catalan charters of the period 1265-1496, of which most of the originals are in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, in Barcelona. The documents are well chosen as to subject-matter and present data upon a wide range of topics: the imperialistic schemes of James the Conqueror (1265), which partly explain the fact that Aran is politically Spanish to-day, whereas geographically it is French; Pyrenean town government in the early fourteenth century; the administration of justice; royal taxation; the regulation of prices, coinage, and fairs; trade and pastoral migrations between Gascony and Aragon; the co-operation of Aran in the Sardinian wars and in the defense against the French (1381). The collection offers excellent opportunities to trace various Aragonese and Pyrenean institutions through a considerable period of time. An interesting illustration is the office of *procurador* or representative of the crown of Aragon in Aran, a post which apparently combined some of the democratic attributes of the Castilian Cortes deputy of the same name with the executive authority of the Aragonese *justicia*.

The bibliographical data of the introduction might well have been improved with citations of recent studies in this field by Cavaillès in the *Revue Historique* (1910), Chevalier in the *Revue des Pyrénées* (1906), and Boissonnade in the *Annales du Midi* (1905). Furthermore, the student investigator will probably feel that the space given to some of the fifteenth-century confirmations of earlier charters, which are printed elsewhere in the volume, ought to have been devoted to more valuable material. But these two minor deficiencies in no way detract from the

real value of this inaugural volume of a series which will evidently be an important contribution to Pyrenean historiography and will fully maintain the high standards of present-day Catalan scholarship.

JULIUS KLEIN.

Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville. By J. A. Lovat-Fraser, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1916, pp. x, 146, \$1.10.) In one important particular Mr. Lovat-Fraser's study of Dundas is disappointing. Dundas, as the cabinet colleague and social intimate of Pitt, must always be interesting. The story of his impeachment, moreover, when well told, as it is in Mr. Lovat-Fraser's pages, will long continue to have an interest for students of English history of the period of the last wars with France, and also for those of the working of British parliamentary institutions. But to-day the fame or notoriety of Dundas lies mainly in the fact that he was for a quarter of a century the political boss of Scotland. He began the career that made him famous in 1782, when Shelburne reappointed him as lord advocate, called him into the cabinet, and made him also treasurer of the navy, and keeper of the Scottish signet for life; and his career as boss did not end until 1806. Shelburne in 1782 bestowed on Dundas "the recommendation of all offices which should fall vacant in Scotland". This patronage was the key to the power of Dundas north of the Tweed. Entrusted with this patronage, and also with much patronage other than Scottish, which he drew to himself at Whitehall, Dundas was successful as boss to a greater degree than any of the three or four bosses of Scotland who had exercised power from the Union to 1782.

It is Dundas as a boss that makes the strongest appeal to students to-day. But Mr. Lovat-Fraser intimates that it is not at present possible to tell the complete story of Dundas, and adds "nor is that the object of this sketch".

Until the voluminous papers and documents at Melville Castle, the home of Dundas, and at Arniston in Midlothian, the home of his ancestors [he continues], are rendered accessible to research, no biography is possible. In 1887, Mr. George Omond published a history of the family of Dundas of Arniston, and stated that, as originally planned, the work included a memoir of its most distinguished member. He added, however, that it was afterwards decided to omit his letters at Arniston, and to make them, with the papers at Melville Castle, the groundwork of a separate biography of Dundas. This has never been done, and until those papers and the numerous other documents at the Record Office and elsewhere are examined or published, it would be idle to attempt a complete account of Dundas's career.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Omond's life of Dundas has not appeared. It is also unfortunate, in view of the material that is available outside Melville Castle and Arniston, that Mr. Lovat-Fraser was so easily discouraged from attempting the larger task, and preparing, as he is obviously capable of doing, a study of Dundas in the peculiar realm of

politics that he made so exclusively his own. Mr. Lovat-Fraser has written a discriminating and interesting biography of Dundas as a parliamentarian, as the holder of various offices of cabinet rank, and as a figure in social life in London and Edinburgh. But Dundas ranks with Newcastle and George III. as one of the three great political bosses of the eighteenth century; and despite Mr. Lovat-Fraser's book, we are still waiting for adequate studies of the methods and achievements of all these three bosses.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Thirty-Seven Years of Holland-American Relations, 1803 to 1840. By Peter Hoekstra. (Grand Rapids, Eerdmans-Sevensma Company, 1916, pp. 184, \$1.00.) This book opens with a general introduction in which are sketched several different lines of connection between Holland and North America. Having afforded the reader this historical background, the author devotes the remainder of his study to a thorough investigation of the relations between the United States and Holland during a specially chosen period—the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

In the years from 1803 to 1813 relations between the two countries grew out of trade and navigation. Americans reaped considerable profit until Holland, virtually annexed to France, was subjected to the restrictions of Napoleon's Continental System; thus French decrees and British Orders in Council practically ruined American trade with Holland from 1808 to 1813. When Holland had regained its independence after the overthrow of Napoleon, the United States lost no time in demanding compensation for the injuries sustained "by the unwarrantable seizures, destruction, and even confiscation" of American property in Dutch ports. These spoliation claims were dropped in 1820 when it dawned upon American diplomats that France, not Holland, was the real offender against American neutrality.

Meanwhile, the United States had decided upon the policy of partial reciprocity in its trade relations with Holland. From 1818 to 1840 commercial intercourse gave rise to the only questions at issue between the two nations, especially with reference to the discriminations practised by the Dutch government in favor of its own commercial and trading classes. After years of dispute diplomatic negotiations culminated in the conclusion of a commercial treaty which produced a more perfect reciprocity and a more friendly understanding.

Mr. Hoekstra's readable book is supplied with a good bibliography and plentiful foot-note references to hitherto unused manuscripts in American, British, and Dutch archives and to books in French, Dutch, and English. An index would have made the study complete.

J. VAN DER ZEE.

Obstacles to Peace. By S. S. McClure. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xxiii, 487, \$2.00.) Mr. McClure's book is the result of the ten months which he spent in Europe last year, during the course of which he visited Germany, Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, France, and England. With fine discretion he leaves on one side the question of conflicting territorial claims and is chiefly concerned in presenting to us the state of mind prevalent amongst the different peoples, and in describing "the extraordinary hatreds, contempts, and horrors that divide the warring nations". The mutual distrust and moral cleavage between the two sides form, in his opinion, the most serious obstacles to peace.

The author appreciates fully the fact that in attempting to bring about an amicable and permanent settlement the question of responsibility cannot be ignored; for there can be no durable peace if the factors which first disturbed it are not understood and provided against. He devotes, therefore, much of his earlier chapters to a description of international conditions immediately previous to the outbreak of the war, and this part of the book may be said to be historical in character. He gives a well-proportioned review of Germany's plans for the development of Mesopotamia and fully emphasizes the significance of her aspirations in this quarter. The author is convinced that she was determined at all hazards to keep the road clear from Hamburg to Bagdad. "The fate of Turkey", he says, "is the issue of this war". Mr. McClure also presents a summary which covers the crises of the decade that followed 1904 and appends a discussion of Anglo-German relations after 1912. From the historian's point of view this is the most important portion of his work, for he publishes the text of the proposed treaty that was to settle the terms upon which Germany and Great Britain planned to arrange the differences caused by the Bagdad Railway. The general purport of this agreement has been known and its text already printed in newspapers; but it is well that Americans should understand its significance, for it goes far to disprove the German theory of *Einkreisung* ascribed to Sir Edward Grey. It is a pity that Mr. McClure did not also publish the accompanying understanding so nearly reached by the two nations in reference to disputed questions in Africa.

In these chapters, as in his description of the crisis of 1914 and his discussion of Belgian neutrality, the author does not assume the tone of a scientific historian. But Mr. McClure has collected a large quantity of documents and excerpts from the writings of historians and publicists which will prove useful for purposes of reference. He has exercised excellent judgment in his selection and presented them in convenient form and compass. The book is primarily designed for the general public, but every teacher of recent European history will be glad to have it on his shelves.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

El Descubrimiento de América en la Historia de Europa. Por Juan B. Terán. (Buenos Aires, Coni Hermanos, 1916, pp. 196.) A student of the colonial history of Tucumán, Señor Terán has set himself the preliminary task of explaining the whole era of discovery and colonization in America by relating it to certain aspects of the previous history of Europe—feudalism, the political evolution of the Italian cities, the development of their commerce, their traffic with the East, and the reasons why Italy, though furnishing the discoverer, could not take the leading part in the work of discovery and colonization. Already in 1532 we find López de Gomara declaring that "the greatest affair since the creation of the world, apart from the incarnation and death of Him who created it, is the discovery of the Indies". For this great work it was requisite to call into action a race having a more powerful national unity than the Italian.

The design of Señor Terán is, it will be seen, analogous to that of Professor Cheyney's *European Background of American History* in Professor Hart's *American Nation* series. Señor Terán's book is not based on so much solid learning, and is written in a more rhetorical style, but has many merits; and it is instructive to see the antecedents of the great movement of American discovery and exploration as they appear to one whose interest lies not in the English settlements and in North America, but in the great southward empire into which Spain poured so mighty a stream of effort.

Proceedings of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Volume V., 1905-1912. Edited by Otis Grant Hammond, Superintendent of the Society. (Concord, 1917, pp. 443.) In this volume the society's proceedings for seven years are fully recorded and eleven papers read before it are printed. Of the latter, the most important is Mr. Hammond's careful and instructive article, of some fifty pages, on the Tories of New Hampshire. There is an entertaining address by the late Frank B. Sanborn, on Dartmouth College, its Founders and Hinderers. Three biographical articles, the first by F. P. Wells, the second by John Scales, and the third by Victor C. Sanborn, treat of Col. Israel Morey, a pioneer of the upper Connecticut Valley, of Gen. Thomas Bartlett, Revolutionary officer, and of the Rev. Stephen Bachiler, for whose vindication an interesting and in some ways substantial plea is made. Other papers relate to matters more local—the Pascataqua Bridge, the Oyster River Massacre, and Chester Fifty Years Ago.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XVIII. *Transactions*, 1915-1916. (Boston, the society, pp. xvii, 459.) In this handsome volume the longest contribution is one by Mr. Albert Matthews, on Harvard Commencement Days, 1642 to 1916, to the dating and defining of which he succeeds in devoting seventy-five pages, based on the conscientious researches made toward the edition of the early

college records which he is preparing for the society. A contribution of almost equal length, and of greater interest, is Professor Edmund B. Delabarre's paper on Early Interest in Dighton Rock. This is apparently the beginning of an elaborate investigation of the whole subject of inscriptions, the present installment giving the history of the first discovery by white settlers, of the first drawing, by John Danforth, 1680, of Cotton Mather's drawings of 1690 and 1712, drawings (as one might expect) "without a peer in misrepresentation", and of the visits made and accounts given by the various persons known to have inspected the rock in the early eighteenth century. Among the early visits recorded are those of Dean Berkeley and John Smibert. Professor Delabarre clears up the confusion about Isaac Greenwood's letters on the subject. Of these letters and of several early drawings photographic reproductions are given in the volume. Dr. A. H. Buffinton of Williams College breaks what is substantially new ground in an important field by an intelligent paper on New England and the Western Fur-trade. Two other papers of interest are those of Mr. Albert Matthews on the Solemn League and Covenant of 1774, and of Mr. Winslow Warren on the Pilgrims in Holland and America. Mr. W. C. Ford prints the diary kept by George Washington from August 1 to October 18, 1776.

Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts. Volume V., 1672-1674. (Salem, Essex Institute, 1916, pp. 501.) The records of the Essex courts and the papers illustrative of them continue to be presented after the same plan pursued in the preceding volumes, and with the same intelligence and skill in condensation and the same completeness of indexing. With some slight differences because of later date, these records, depositions, examinations, wills, inventories, continue to supply a marvellous profusion of data on life, law, and habits in colonial Massachusetts, on agriculture and trade and the development of industries, on misdemeanors and disputes, on clothing, furniture, and tools, on church life and rural thinking. Neither Salem nor any other town in the county affords any case of witchcraft in the voluminous records of these years.

Ancient Town Records. Volume I. *New Haven Town Records, 1649-1662.* Edited by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D. [New Haven Colony Historical Society.] (New Haven, the society, 1917, pp. 547.) In 1857 the first volume of the records of the colony of New Haven was printed by the state of Connecticut, and in the following year a second volume completed these records to 1665. The present volume contains the records of "a Court held at New Haven", and those of "the General Court for New Haven", later called the "town meeting". There are also included the minutes of five sessions of the "selectmen". The matter of the volume is concerned with a great variety of small things, the trifles that make the every-day life of a neighborhood. Fines

are inflicted on those careless citizens who forget their "watch", who fail to train, who have not the specified amount of powder, whose children indulge in "disorderly walking" on the Sabbath day, as well as for drunkenness, lying, and theft. Orders are issued for fence-building and repair, seats are assigned in the meeting-house, cattle branded, estates settled, claims between neighbors adjusted, all with equal attention to detail. The book is edited with Mr. Dexter's usual painstaking skill.

Chronicles of the Cape Fear River, 1660-1916. By James Sprunt. With a preface by S. A. Ashe. Second edition. (Raleigh, N. C., Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, published by the author, 1916, pp. 732, \$4.00.) As the result of many requests, this volume, which was reviewed by me in the *Review* of October, 1915, has been made available to the public in a second edition. The first edition, of 1914, was limited, and distributed by the author. This new edition marks a great improvement, especially in form of arrangement; and contains considerable new matter of permanent interest and value. These additions, amounting to exactly one hundred pages of text, are supplemented by six rare maps and a thoroughly adequate index of forty-four pages. The most important additions are "Wilmington in the Forties", eight papers by John MacLaurin which originally appeared in the local newspapers; three reports on Wilmington trade, 1815, 1843, 1872; the sketch, by Miss Rosa Pendleton Chiles, of the distinguished French scientist Alyre Raffeneau Delile, vice-consul in North Carolina (1802-1806); and an extended history of Wilmington churches. Forty-nine new subjects are dealt with; and many brief additions and emendations have been made. New excerpts, from addresses and published writings, of Catherine Albertson, J. G. deR. Hamilton, J. J. Blair, J. O. Carr, Walker Meares, J. D. Cox, Rosa Pendleton Chiles, and R. B. Slocum are included. The book's most interesting chapter remains "Blockade Running", slightly extended; and mention should be made of the brief new chapter on the "Use of Torpedoes in the Cape Fear River during the War". On the whole, it may be said that this volume constitutes a contribution, of permanent value, to the historical literature, not only of North Carolina, but also of the United States. The author acknowledges his special indebtedness to Capt. S. A. Ashe and to Miss Rosa Pendleton Chiles.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

The Virginia Committee System and the American Revolution. By James Miller Leake, Ph.D., Associate in History, Bryn Mawr College. (Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1917, pp. ix, 157, \$1.75.) This is a work of considerable importance, especially the first part. Basing his research on Dr. Jameson's article, "The Origin of the Standing-Committee System in American Legislative Bodies", the author has

made good use of the series of *Journals* of the Virginia House of Burgesses, published in recent years. Dr. Leake shows that Virginia was the first colony in America to develop a system of standing committees for the transaction of business. The committee feature of American legislative bodies is supposed to have originated in Congress in 1789. On the contrary, it came into existence in the Virginia assembly in the seventeenth century, and by the time of the Revolution was almost as fully developed as it is to-day. Congress simply borrowed the Virginia committee system, which was perfectly familiar to Madison, who had served on important committees in the Virginia legislature.

Besides the chapter on the committees of the House of Burgesses, which is really a contribution, the author discusses at length the Virginia committees of correspondence of 1759 and 1773. The committee of correspondence of 1773 is hardly analogous to the committees of the House of Burgesses, since it was really not a legislative committee at all but a revolutionary junta engaged in arranging for the coming revolt. Yet it is well to have a careful study of a movement so fraught with momentous consequences.

Perhaps Dr. Leake lays a little too much stress on the representative character of the House of Burgesses. He adopts the view, somewhat challenged by recent research, that the Revolution in Virginia moved so smoothly because there was little opposition to it. If he had extended his study of the Revolutionary committee system to the Committee of Safety and the county committees of 1774-1775, he would have modified his conclusions. In fact it was due to the perfect organization of the colony through the local committees, not to unanimity of opinion, that loyalism made no headway in Virginia. There were many Tories in Virginia, but the committees gave them no chance to raise their heads in the beginning of the Revolution and they were gradually driven from the state.

An extension of Dr. Leake's monograph is desirable. He has talent for research and has made an excellent beginning. He has it in him to write a very valuable book on the committee system in early American politics. He should study the committees in the Virginia May Convention of 1776, and, above all, Jefferson's most important committee activity in the Virginia House of Delegates in the October session of 1776, when the democratic leader began his great reforms.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

George Washington's Accounts of Expenses while Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army, 1775-1783. Reproduced in Facsimile with Annotations by John C. Fitzpatrick, Assistant Chief, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. vii, 155, \$10.00.) When Washington was chosen by the Continental Congress to be the commander-in-chief of

the armies he stated in accepting that he would make no charge for his services but would keep an exact account of his expenses, and those he doubted not the Congress would discharge. At the close of the war he made out with his own hand two copies of his expense account, transmitting one, together with vouchers, etc., to the Board of Treasury, retaining one copy himself. It is from the latter, among the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, that the present facsimile reproduction is made.

The account as rendered by Washington is made up from sundry expense books and memoranda kept by aides, stewards, housekeepers, and others, and is therefore summary in character; nevertheless it contains many items of detail that are of peculiar interest. For instance, this statement, together with the memoranda on which it is based, furnishes much new information concerning Washington's movements, as well as the character of the commander's expenditures. An interesting and historically valuable series of entries is that of payments for secret service. From 1778 this was conducted chiefly under the direction of Maj. Benjamin Tallmadge. Washington carefully concealed the names of his secret agents (the identity of some of them has been established from other sources), but he testifies in a note to the debt of obligation due them from the public.

The entries in the account are copiously and judiciously illuminated by the editor, drawing his materials chiefly from the documents which accompanied Washington's statement and from other Washington papers. Items otherwise obscure or meaningless are made clear and given a genuine interest through explanation of their purpose, analysis of their details, or other intimate touch. There are also numerous brief biographical and personal notes as well as occasional notes of some length helpfully setting forth a bit of historical background. It is fortunate that the editing of this document has fallen to the hand of Mr. Fitzpatrick, whose intimate knowledge of the Washington Papers and of the personnel surrounding the commander-in-chief eminently fits him for the task. His performance of the task deserves only commendation. The reviewer may however be permitted to suggest one probable misapprehension of the editor: on page 127 he refers to the doubtful meaning of "at Providore". If for "at" he will read "as" the meaning, it is believed, will be clear.

E. C. B.

Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society. Edited by Dunbar Rowland, LL.D., Secretary. Centenary Series, volume I. (Jackson, Miss., 1916, pp. 664.) The designation "Centenary Series" indicates the intention to commemorate, by several volumes, the one hundredth anniversary of Mississippi's admission into the Union in 1817; the relation to that event, however, is not closer than in the case of the preceding volumes of the society. Indeed, like them, it is devoted chiefly to the

history of the period of Civil War and Reconstruction. Two-thirds of the volume is occupied by a valuable paper by J. S. McNeily, entitled *From Organization to Overthrow of the Mississippi Provisional Government*, and nearly a fourth of it to an historical sketch, mingled with personal experiences, of the Walthall Brigade in the Army of Tennessee, C.S.A., 1862-1865, by E. T. Sykes, formerly adjutant general of the brigade. The remaining contents are: a list of British Land Grants in West Florida, compiled by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland; a history of Company C, Second Mississippi Regiment, in the Spanish-American War, by J. M. Robertshaw; and two articles by G. J. Leftwich, the one devoted to Col. George Strother Gaines (younger brother of Gen. Edmund P. Gaines), and other Pioneers in the Mississippi Territory, the other to the Natchez Trail and other roads in the territory.

The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan. Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History and Politics in Princeton University. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1917, pp. iv, 97, \$1.00.) This diary was decidedly worthy of publication. It discloses much regarding its author's personality, and so bears significantly on the history of our Civil War. Its lifelike pictures of real campaigning in a foreign country are calculated to impart more just ideas on that subject than our people generally entertain. The true character of our "citizen soldiery" is presented with a tinge of prejudice but essentially in colors true to the original. And much interesting information is given in reference to certain episodes of the Mexican War—particularly the march from Matamoros to Victoria and Tampico (pp. 21-50), the siege of Vera Cruz (pp. 53-73), and the battle of Cerro Gordo (pp. 79-90). In his account of this battle McClellan makes a distinctly important contribution to the history of Pillow's operations, with which he was intimately associated as engineer officer, and—abundantly supported by Engineers Tower and Stevens, Colonel Campbell (second in command), Colonel Haskell (whose regiment did the fighting), and other excellent officers—shows that in reality they were a burlesque of war. To the same extent he throws light upon Ripley's history, for one reading the latter's pages (II. 72-73) would form an essentially erroneous opinion of the affair. Light is also thrown upon the value of official statements, for whereas General Patterson's report is calculated to convey the impression that Pillow was wounded in conducting a charge with conspicuous "gallantry" "at the head" of his brigade, McClellan mentions (p. 84) that he received a shot while making himself small by squatting down with his back to the foe and thereupon ran immediately for the rear. The editor provides a brief but good introduction and a considerable number of useful notes, which mainly consist of biographical data or of illustrative excerpts from contemporary sources. It would have been well to give the Spanish for "ligna" (i. e., línea) on page 18, "Polance" (i. e., piloncillo) on

page 49, "escopette" (i. e., escopeta) on page 56, and "Santana" (i. e., Santa Anna) on page 77. One can hardly state that Santa Anna rebelled "immediately" after the coronation of Iturbide (p. 41, note). A few accents are missing, and a few misprints (e. g., "them" for then on p. 24, "Puerto" for Puente on p. 77 and "Vergera" for Vergara in the index) occur. The map is almost illegible.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

Galusha A. Grow, Father of the Homestead Law. By James T. DuBois and Gertrude S. Mathews. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xi, 305, \$1.75.) With the exception of a few fragments of a projected autobiography and the oral statements of his old age, Galusha A. Grow left behind him nothing of special use to his biographers, who have drawn their materials for this work from the *Congressional Globe*. Such values as the work may have they have obscured by vagueness of general statement and by infrequent use of supporting references and even dates. It cannot either impress the learned or enlighten the ignorant to have an elementary statement in the text supported by the simple foot-note "Shosuke Sato" (p. 52); and it shows ingenuousness to ascribe a generalization upon the wishes of the West to "Benton, *Abridgment of Debates*" (p. 57) without further specification as to the part of the sixteen tomes from which the generalization is drawn. Only the well-informed will identify the work cited (p. 63) as "Haney, *Railroad Grants*". The text is adorned with frequent physiological and theatrical metaphors, and "terrain", "folkland", and "commonage", used as synonymous for the public domain, match the vivid but unusual "politicianly", "rancored", "flavorful", and "examplimg". Constant effort has been made to freshen up the style lest, perhaps, the unromantic solidity of the subject deaden it. The reviewer in search for good is driven to hunt for lucidity of arrangement or grasp of problem to offset the vagaries of treatment.

In the scarcity of books dealing with the public lands this one will have some value. It traces the public domain as an issue in politics through the dozen years between 1850, when Grow secured David Wilmot's seat in the House, and 1862. The preliminary sketch is based not upon a study of the sources on the public lands but upon the historical references gleaned from the speeches of these dozen years. A congressman at twenty-six and a practical frontiersman, Grow entered public life with a vision of free homesteads, though not himself experienced in the existing land law. The free-land movement was in 1850 too old and too much a part of the frontier for any convert like Grow to have done much to deflect its course. It was a convenient club for Northern congressmen out for Southern heads, but had no "parent" such as the agricultural college land grant had in Justin Morrill. It was Grow's consistent medium for keeping himself in the parliamentary front.

The sources are not produced, beyond Grow's formal words, to indicate how far he shaped the fight or why, indeed, he secured the speakership in 1861. His defeat for re-election in 1862 is laid to the grudge of Simon Cameron, without a show of proof although the fact is probable enough. His re-entry as a congressman-at-large for three terms in his old age is passed over with few words. These terms, and his declining years as a pensioner upon Mr. Carnegie's broad humanity, added no new interests to his life.

As a life of Grow this book will hardly justify itself, for its basis is too slight; but as a sketch of a portion of the history of the public domain it will have a use.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Fight for the Republic: a Narrative of the more Noteworthy Events in the War of Secession, presenting the Great Contest in its Dramatic Aspects. By Rossiter Johnson. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. xii, 404, \$1.75.) This book has been written before and by the same author. In 1910 the author published *A History of the War of Secession*, the military chapters of which are now reprinted under a separate title. The original volume, while not a profound work, is still an interesting, useful, and well-rounded study, dealing not only with the military side of the struggle but also with political contests and policies, foreign affairs, and conditions in general in the North during the war. The present volume excludes practically everything except military history, and on this side presents little that is not found in the former volume. Much of the meagre new material is purely illustrative, to add dramatic touches. A large percentage of the sentences are reproduced with no change at all, many with the change of but a word or clause. Students of the war period will find nothing new in *The Fight for the Republic*, while for those who are taking up the subject for the first time the book is not to be recommended because it is too one-sided. Moreover, it is too general and too purely narrative for the professional military historian. Finally, it is not annotated and contains no bibliography, though it is provided with an excellent set of maps which the original volume lacks.

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Sixty-Fourth Annual Meeting held October 19, 1916. (Madison, the society, 1917, pp. 363.) A fourth of this volume is occupied by annual reports and similar material. Of the historical papers the most notable is the address by Capt. Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., on President Lincoln as War Statesman, a remarkably thoughtful, discriminating, and incisive paper. Professor Joseph B. Thoburn of Oklahoma presents *New Light on the Career of Capt. Nathaniel Pryor*, but there is additional light to be obtained from Washington archives. Father Chrysostom Verwyst's *Reminiscences of a Pioneer Missionary* belong to the best

class of such narratives; their author came to America from the Netherlands in 1848 and went to Wisconsin in 1855. Albert O. Barton, editor in Madison, recounts the Beginnings of the Norwegian Press in America. William C. Cochran, clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, sets forth "The Dream of a Northwestern Confederacy", to wit, that entertained by Southern leaders at the beginning of the Civil War, and during its first two years. The Watertown Railway Bond Fight (1857-1895) is described by Dr. William F. Whyte. Mr. Newton H. Culver presents a sketch of his commander in the Civil War, Brevet-Major Isaac N. Earl: a noted Scout of the Department of the Gulf.

Records of the Columbia Historical Society. Volume XX. (Washington, 1917, pp. 325). In this volume, consisting of papers read before the Columbia Historical Society, the article of most interest to other than local readers is Mrs. Harriot Stoddert Turner's memoir of Benjamin Stoddert of Georgetown, first secretary of the navy, who immediately upon his appointment by President Adams in 1798 proceeded to create the new American navy. Another contribution of general interest is that in which Miss Marian Graham Bell reprints from the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society Dr. William Thornton's essay of 1803, "Teaching the Deaf or Surd, and consequently Dumb, to Speak". Mr. Willis L. Moore, formerly chief of the Weather Bureau, gives an historical account of the beginnings of its work. Mr. P. Lee Phillips recounts the story of Benjamin Banneker, the negro astronomer, and prints from one of his almanacs his plea and plan for universal peace. Articles of more local interest are those of Mr. A. C. Clark on Walter Lenox, thirteenth mayor of Washington (1850-1852), and of Mr. W. V. Z. Cox on Matthew Gault Emery, the last mayor (1870-1871); that of Mr. T. W. Noyes on the Presidents and the National Capital; Mr. W. A. Gordon's Recollections of a Boyhood in Georgetown; and a paper on the late Henry A. Willard, proprietor of the Willard Hotel, by his son Mr. H. K. Willard.

Mine Taxation in the United States. By Lewis Emanuel Young, M.E., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Business Organization in the University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. V., no. 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1916, pp. 275, \$1.50.) This study is of interest primarily to mining engineers, to economists in general, and to specialists in taxation; but, since it is, in the author's words, "essentially an historical statement and comparison of methods employed in assessing and taxing mining properties", considerable material is presented in it not easily available elsewhere for historians.

In the introduction is a résumé of state and national policies in respect to sovereignty and mineral rights, which includes a sketch of

the history of the leasing of lead mines and salt springs. In summary of the national policy as to titles the author concludes that

There has evidently been nothing in the history of the development of the mining customs or of the mining laws of the United States to warrant any assumption that the mining industry should be taxed upon a different basis from other industries operating upon property secured without reservation by complying with Acts of Congress.

With the exception of New York, the states also have allowed title to minerals to pass with the surface. The author rightly emphasizes the peculiar nature of the mining dividend as representing "both a dividend and an annuity to reimburse the stockholder for the sum he has invested in his stock". A suggestive review of the mining history of the United States is condensed into a few paragraphs, and to it is appended a short bibliography.

Chapter II., on Federal Taxation of Mines, calls attention to the fact that prior to the income tax of 1861 the only revenue derived by the national government from mines was through lease or sale of land. In the main, taxation since has been levied through income and corporation taxes.

Much information is compressed into chapter III., which deals with the History of Mine Taxation in the States. The states selected as typical or of special importance are Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. The great diversities in methods and proportions of taxation are pointed out, and recent tendencies to more systematic procedure are traced.

From the point of view of an historian the book is a compilation setting forth data of value in clear but dry style. It lacks, however, interpretation of facts, historical background, the "human interest" element. By the use of a wider range of sources and attention to interpretation and background, the historical parts might well be expanded into a volume which would be a distinctive contribution to our mining history.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

Review of Historical Publications relating to Canada. Edited by George M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. Stewart Wallace, of the University of Toronto. Volume XXI. *Publications of the Year 1916.* (Toronto, University Press, 1917, pp. xi, 192.) Few nations—none that the present writer can now recollect—have general annual surveys of their historical literature so excellent, in completeness of enumeration, fullness of information, and soundness of judgment, as this with which Professor Wrong and his associates annually supply the Dominion of Canada. In view of the uniformity of plan, the reviewer of the twenty-first volume of such a series can have little to say, beyond urging his-

torical students in the United States to make diligent use of these volumes to overcome the barriers which copyright and customs (and custom) have interposed between their own minds and Canadian historical literature. For our own part, our chief concern in opening a fresh volume in this series is to learn what important books we have failed to see or hear of. In the case of 1916, the number is less than usual. The chief such books to be now signalized are the *Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher, Premier Évêque de St. Boniface* (St. Boniface, Société Historique, *Bulletin*, vol. III., 1913, pp. 286), the *Vie de Mgr. Langevin* [archbishop], by Father A. G. Morice, O. M. I. (St. Boniface, 1916, pp. xvii, 374), both important for the history of the Canadian West; and a seventh of the Abbé Auguste Gosselin's learned and valuable books on the history of the Catholic Church in Canada, *L'Église du Canada après la Conquête*, I., 1760-1775 (Quebec, 1916, pp. xii, 432). The concluding volumes in the captivating series of *Chronicles of Canada* also fall within the survey.

Historia del Descubrimiento de Tucumán. Por Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, Consejero de la Universidad de Tucumán. (Buenos Aires, Coni Hermanos, 1916, pp. 312.) The region of Tucumán, in northwestern Argentina, was discovered by an expedition which set out from Peru in 1542 under Diego de Rojas and Felipe Gutiérrez, companions of Pizarro, and returned in 1545, after striking vicissitudes, under Nicolás de Heredia. The contemporary original sources for its history are practically four, some of which have only in recent times become available—the *Quinquenarios* of Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (1904-1905), Cieza de León (1553, 1880, 1909), the *Historia del Perú* of Diego Fernández "el Palentino" (1571), and Ruy Díaz de Guzmán (1835). Basing his work on the careful and critical study of these primary authorities, Señor Freyre adds to his previous writings on the history of Tucumán this excellent account of the famous expedition. Distinctly of the solid and critical school, yet wishing to appeal to a general public, he essays to meet the difficulties inherent in a twofold aim by devoting the first half of his book to chapters of narrative, the second to critical dissertations. The narrative is written in an animated and attractive style, yet with sobriety. The critical investigations—of sources, itineraries, native tribes, archaeology—are presented clearly and with scholarly thoroughness.

COMMUNICATION

THE "HISPANIC-AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW".

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR:

Sir:

JUST a year ago, there appeared in the *American Historical Review* a communication from Drs. W. S. Robertson and C. E. Chapman broaching the advisability of founding a quarterly publication to deal with the history of the New World states that have sprung from the efforts of Spain and Portugal in colonization.

In the furtherance of the project, a meeting was held during the convention week at Cincinnati, at which steps were taken to found such a publication. A Committee on Organization was appointed with instructions to take the necessary steps toward the proposed foundation.

The duties imposed on the committee included among others the raising of a guarantee fund of at least \$10,000 (since it could not be hoped that the Review would be self-supporting for several years at least), and the preparation of the first number of the Review.

The committee is now able to announce that sufficient funds have been gathered to ensure the inauguration of the publication (although the fund is still some thousands short of the figure named in the instructions) and the first number of the Review is expected to appear by February, 1918, at the latest.

In view of the fact that the sum of \$10,000 has not yet been raised in its entirety, it is suggested that members of the American Historical Association who desire to do so may make pledges or cash contributions to the project through the undersigned, or through Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who has consented to act as trustee of the guarantee fund; and it is hoped that there will be a generous response to this suggestion. It is also suggested that some may wish to contribute a certain sum each year for three more years.

It is expected that the subscription price of the Review will be three dollars per annum. Subscriptions are requested. They should be sent to the undersigned immediately.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON,
Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Announcement has already been made in this journal that the thirty-third annual meeting of the Association will be held in Philadelphia on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, December 27-29, and that the headquarters of the convention and of the bureau of registration will be the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The following is a summary of the programme. *Thursday*, 10 A. M., general session, American history; papers by Professors Turner, McLaughlin, and Jameson. 2.30 P. M., conferences: archivists, ancient history (joint session with the American Archaeological Institute), English medieval history. 6.30 P. M., group dinners, to be arranged for. 8.15 P. M., presidential address by Mr. W. C. Ford. 9.45 P. M., reception by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Friday* (at the University of Pennsylvania), 10 A. M., conferences: church history and medieval history (joint conference with American Society of Church History), Mississippi Valley Historical Society, military history. 1.00 P. M., luncheon. 2.30 P. M., general session, modern European history, especially recent Russian history. Supper at the university. 8.15 P. M., general session; papers by Professors Dunning and J. H. Robinson. 9.45 P. M., smoker. *Saturday*, 10 A. M., conferences: historical societies, history teachers (and History Teachers' Association of the Middle States and Maryland), Far East. 2.30 P. M., business meeting. 8.15 P. M., joint meeting with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, etc.

The usual fall meeting of the Executive Council will be held in New York on November 30 and December 1.

The Committee on Nominations asks that members will promptly fill out and return the informal ballots which have been distributed, so that the committee may have ample time to prepare its report, which, in accordance with the by-laws, must be presented to the Association not later than December 7.

The Finance Committee of the Executive Council, at a meeting held in Washington in July, decided, in view of present circumstances, to suspend the effort inaugurated in January to increase the invested funds of the Association from \$25,000 to \$50,000. It should be emphasized however that the movement has not been abandoned, but only postponed until a more favorable time. Pledges thus far made aggregate \$3,140, of which amount \$785 has been paid in.

The Finance Committee has also been forced to the conclusion that the publication of a *Quarterly Bulletin* cannot be inaugurated this year. The condition of the Association's treasury, with the heavy drain made upon it by the completion of the *General Index*, has been such that, even with the aid of the amount generously pledged by members at the Cincinnati meeting, it has been impossible to make such an expenditure as the publication of the *Bulletin* would have called for. The committee hopes and expects however that the *Bulletin* may become a reality in 1918.

Writings on American History, 1915, compiled by Miss Grace G. Griffin, the annual bibliography of books and articles on United States and Canadian history, supported by the American Historical Association and other societies and individuals, has just been published by the Yale University Press in a volume of 194 pages. This is the tenth volume in the series, the value of which to historical investigators obviously increases with added years. It is hoped that all members of the Association who can do so will promote the purchase and circulation of the volume.

The Winsor Prize Essay of 1916, *Connecticut in Transition, 1775-1818*, by Richard J. Purcell, is on its way through the press and will be published early in the winter.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

The board has been enabled by the public spirit of various donors to offer prizes to the public school teachers in each of fourteen different states for the best essay, primarily historical in character, on the subject: Why the United States is at War. In each state a first prize of \$75 and additional prizes of \$30, \$20, \$15, \$10 are offered to teachers in public high schools, a first prize of \$75, a second of \$25, and five third prizes of \$10 each to teachers in public elementary schools, the desire being expressed that the essays shall be intelligible and interesting to pupils in the class of schools in which the writer is teaching. Circulars respecting the conditions of the prizes may be obtained from the secretary of the board, Mr. W. G. Leland, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The competition in Illinois, New Hampshire, and Virginia is closed on November 15. In the other states so far organized it is closed on January 1. It is believed that the competitions will do much to stimulate in the younger part of the population an intelligent interest in the present crisis.

Further educational work of importance has been done in connection with the Bureau of Education and with the *History Teachers' Magazine*. Four committees under the general chairmanship of Professor E. B. Greene have been working upon the problems which arise in connection with the adjustment of history teaching to the new conditions caused by the war. The committees, acting respectively for the four

fields of ancient history, medieval and modern history of Europe, English history, and American history, will prepare for the *Magazine* a series of articles in each of these fields, running *pari passu* with the usual school curricula, and making suggestions for the treatment of the successive periods in the new perspective which the war has brought into existence. The September number contains four admirable articles, by Professors J. H. Breasted, D. C. Munro, L. M. Larson, and E. B. Greene respectively, introductory to these series, and explaining in general terms the grounds of new interest in history and of new distribution of emphasis in its treatment.

Professor Samuel B. Harding of Indiana has prepared for the board a syllabus for lectures or reading courses on the causes of the war. Other work has been done in collaboration with the Committee on Public Information, to whose *War Information* series a select bibliography of the war will be contributed, as well as a pamphlet by Mr. Leland on the collecting of material respecting the war, and its treatment by libraries and historical societies. Efforts have been made to incite individual historians to speak and write on the issues of the war. In the former respect some useful results have been produced in summer schools; in the latter a definite arrangement has been made with one of the leading magazines for the supply of historical articles adapted to inform the public in matters bearing upon the war.

Other historical scholars who have assisted the Board for longer or shorter periods in Washington are: Messrs. E. E. Brown, E. S. Corwin, C. E. Gould, D. C. Munro, W. Notestein, C. O. Paullin, F. L. Paxson, J. G. Randall, and L. F. Stock, and Misses Louise F. Brown, F. G. Davenport, Harriet Dilla, and Elizabeth Donnan.

(See also under *America: Items arranged in Chronological Order.*)

PERSONAL

William A. Mowry died at Hyde Park, Mass., on May 22, at the age of eighty-seven. An experienced and successful schoolmaster, he wrote a useful series of text-books of American history, and more detailed studies of *Marcus Whitman and Early Oregon* (1901) and *The Territorial Growth of the United States* (1902).

Hon. George L. Rives, assistant secretary of state from 1887 to 1890, and for many years prominent in the conduct of Columbia University and other important institutions in New York city, died on August 18, at the age of sixty-eight. An excellent historical scholar, he had published (1913) *The United States and Mexico, 1821-1848*.

Dr. Marion D. Learned, professor of German in the University of Pennsylvania, editor of the *German-American Annals*, and secretary of the German American Historical Society, died at Philadelphia on August 2, at the age of sixty. An enthusiastic and tireless worker in the field

of German-American history, he had published a valuable *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* (1908), and had laid a solid foundation for all future studies of his subject by the *Guide to the Manuscript Sources of American History in the German State Archives* (1912) which he prepared for the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He was a man of singularly winning character, greatly beloved by many friends.

Dr. Jesse B. Carter, director of the American School of Classical Studies at Rome from 1907 to 1912, and of the American Academy at Rome since that time, died at Bologna on July 22, at the age of forty-five. His death was caused by sunstroke, encountered while returning from the Italian front on Red Cross work. He was the author of historical books on *The Religion of Numa* (1906), and on *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome* (1911).

Professor Henry Augustus Sill of Cornell University died August 12, at the age of thirty-nine. After long studies at Halle, he became professor of ancient history at Ithaca in 1902. Well trained in his subject, and skillful and attractive in its presentation, he was also a man of wide interests, political and literary, and one of much cultivation and charm.

Dr. Theodore F. Collier, assistant professor in Brown University, has been made professor of European history. Dr. L. C. Shippee of the same institution has been called to the University of Minnesota as assistant professor of history.

Dr. Alfred Henry Sweet will be acting professor of English history at Cornell University during the present year, taking the place of Professor Lunt, whose transfer to Haverford College we have already chronicled.

Professor Walter L. Fleming of the Louisiana State University has become professor of history in Vanderbilt University, in succession to Professor Sioussat.

Dr. Wilmer C. Harris has been promoted to an assistant professorship in history at the Ohio State University.

Professor Guy S. Ford of the University of Minnesota has been stationed in Washington since June, associated with the Committee on Public Information as chief of the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation. His leave of absence will continue through the present academic year. Dr. A. C. Krey has been promoted to the grade of associate professor of history. Professor Wallace Notestein has been given leave of absence for a half-year, to continue in historical work at Washington for the benefit of the Committee on Public Information. His work at Minneapolis is taken by Dr. A. H. Basye of Dartmouth College.

Professor Francis W. Shepardson, after twenty-six years of service in the historical department of the University of Chicago, has resigned

his chair to become director of the Department of Registration and Education of the state of Illinois.

Among those historical teachers known to us to have entered the military service of the country since the opening of the war are Professors (or Doctors) J. H. C. Allison (ambulance service), H. C. Bell of Bowdoin College (first lieutenant in the Intelligence Department), Hiram Bingham (major in the Aviation Service), A. C. Coolidge (major, in Red Cross work), O. M. Dickerson of the Minnesota Normal School (captain of infantry), R. H. Gabriel, Perrin Galpin (second lieutenant, field artillery), R. H. George (captain), A. E. Harvey of Chicago and T. C. Pease of Illinois (Reserve Officers' Training Corps at Fort Sheridan), R. B. Merriman, L. B. Packard (first lieutenant), W. E. Stevens (second lieutenant, intelligence department), and T. C. Van Cleve (first lieutenant, infantry).

GENERAL

In *The Measure of Civilization*, by Mr. Guy M. Walker (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company), the author develops the doctrine that civilization in all places and at all periods of history is measurable by the excellence of the system of transportation of the place or time. This idea he illustrates by a rapid survey of ancient and modern history.

Professor William Trimble of the North Dakota Agricultural College has printed, in a modest pamphlet of 47 pages (Fargo, College Book Store), an *Introductory Manual for the Study and Reading of Agrarian History*, in which references and suggestions are given respecting the history of ancient, medieval, and modern agriculture and especially of that of the United States.

Professor William Cunningham of Cambridge two years ago delivered in the London School of Economics lectures which are now published (Cambridge University Press) under the title *The Progress of Capitalism*. To students of economic history the volume offers useful material.

The first treatise on its subject, and an important contribution both to the history of numismatics and to the early history of arithmetic, is F. P. Barnard's *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board* (pp. 358, demy quarto, with many illustrations), published by the Clarendon Press.

H. A. Maddox is the author of an interesting little volume on *Paper, its History, Sources, and Manufacture* (London, Pitman, 1917, pp. 167).

Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, secretary of the Hispanic Society of America, has added to his notable series of scholarly contributions to the history of cartography a volume of *Facsimiles of Portolan Charts belonging to the Hispanic Society of America* (Putnam), reproducing sixteen representative portolan charts from the society's large manu-

script collection, four of them in colors. The introduction presents an excellent study of this class of mariners' charts in their general aspect.

The July number of the *Military Historian and Economist* has two historical articles, one the initial article of a series on Pope's Campaign in Virginia, by one of the editors, Professor R. M. Johnston, the other an account, also to be continued, of the Visayan Campaigns of the American Army, by Professor H. V. Bronson. The usual installment of the Memoirs of Gen. D. S. Stanley is presented.

In *Modern Currency Reforms* Professor E. W. Kemmerer presents a valuable historical study of changes in the currency standard in India, Porto Rico, the Straits Settlements, the Philippines, and Mexico.

Mr. W. M. Acworth is the author of a helpful government report presented to the Joint Committee of Congress on Interstate Commerce entitled *Historical Sketch of Government Ownership of Railroads in Foreign Countries* (pp. 63).

The July number of the *Catholic Historical Review* contains four highly meritorious historical articles. The first, by Professor John F. O'Hara of the University of Notre Dame, presents the history of Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca, first President of the Council of the Indies (1493-1523); in the second Bishop Corrigan completes his Chronology of the American Hierarchy by adding the appropriate data respecting the provinces of Chicago, St. Paul, and Dubuque, and the Ruthenian-Greek diocese; in the third, Father Charles L. Souvay of Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, treats the episode of Bishop Rosati's Elevation to the See of St. Louis (1827); in the fourth, Rev. Dr. Edwin V. O'Hara of the cathedral in Portland treats briefly of the Catholic Pioneers of the Oregon Country. There is also a biographical sketch of Vicar-General Moseitzh (1797-1863) of Pittsburgh, and, for documents, a reproduction of the pieces respecting the rise and fall of the Church in Greenland which J. C. Heywood's *Documenta Selecta* presented in photographic facsimile in 1893 in an edition of only twenty-five copies.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Phillips, *National Federations and World Federation* (Edinburgh Review, July).

ANCIENT HISTORY

M. D. Sidersky has contributed to the solution of several problems in the chronology of the Ancient East in his *Étude sur la Chronologie Assyro-Babylonienne* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1916, pp. 95), which is an offprint from the thirteenth volume of the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

With *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* by A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, the Metropolitan Museum begins a series of *Publications* of the Egyptian Expedition, to be edited by Albert M. Lythgoe.

The concluding volume, T-Z with indexes, of Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines d'après les Textes et les Monuments* (Paris, Hachette, 1917) has recently appeared.

An illuminating analysis of Greek society, especially good on the side of Greek political thought, is provided for the student by Mr. C. Delsile in *Greek Ideals: a Study of Social Life* (London, Bell and Sons).

Mr. R. H. Lacey's Princeton dissertation on *The Equestrian Officials of Trajan and Hadrian: their Careers, with some Notes on Hadrian's Reforms* (Princeton University Press, 1917, pp. 87), prepared as a contribution to the understanding of the administrative reforms of these two emperors, presents under the name of each official who was of the *equites* all the data known regarding his history, discusses Hadrian's reforms respecting the *equites*, and adds many notes and two indexes.

The administrative and public life of Byzantine Egypt is illustrated by the three volumes of the *Catalogue des Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine*, prepared by the late Jean Maspero. He had finished the manuscript of the third volume before he fell in battle in February, 1915, but the work was carried out by his father, Sir Gaston Maspero, and by M. Bernard Haussoullier.

St. Severinus and the Closing Years of the Province of Noricum, by C. C. Mierow, is a *Colorado College Publication* (Language Series, vol. II., no. 33).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Piroutet, *Questions relatives à l'Age du Bronze* (*L'Anthropologie*, January); P. Cruveilhier, *La Monogamie et le Concubinat dans le Code Hammourabi: les Contrats de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne et l'Histoire Patriarcale* (*Revue Biblique*, January); A. T. Olmstead, *The Political Development of Early Babylonia* (*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, July); R. Weill, *La Fin du Moyen Empire Égyptien, Compléments*, I. (*Journal Asiatique*, January); W. C. Wood, *The Religion of Canaan* (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, March-June); J. Touzard, *L'Ame Juive au Temps des Perses*, II. (*Revue Biblique*, January); M. Sprengling, *The Aramaic Papyri of Elephantine in English*, I. (*American Journal of Theology*, July); G. Glotz, *L'Histoire de Délos d'après les Frix d'une Denrée* (*Revue des Études Grecques*, July, 1916); Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S. J., *The Diadochi and the Rise of King-Worship* (*English Historical Review*, July); L. O. T. Tudeer, *On the Origin of the Maps attached to Ptolemy's Geography* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXVII. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Dr. Charles F. Nolloth has, in *The Rise of the Christian Religion: a Study in Origins* (Macmillan) confined himself to the first century, which he interprets with much knowledge and insight.

The Rev. O. R. Vassall-Phillips has translated into English and supplied with critical notes *The Work of St. Optatus, Bishop of Milevis, against the Donatists, with Appendix* (Longmans).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The fourth volume of Professor Fernand Mourret's *Histoire Générale de l'Église* bears the inexplicable subtitle *Le Chrétienté* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916, pp. 610) and covers the period of the rivalry of the Papacy and the Empire from the coronation of Otto I., 962, to the elevation of Pope Boniface VIII., 1294. Like the other volumes this is based on secondary works, but there is a failure to use the German works, which is peculiarly indefensible for this period.

Reverend C. J. Kirkfleet is the author of a *History of St. Norbert, Founder of the Norbertine, Premonstratensian Order, Apostle of the Blessed Sacrament, Archbishop of Magdeburg* (St. Louis, Herder, 1916, pp. xx, 364).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Duchesne, *Les Schismes Romains au VI^e Siècle* (Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, June, 1915); L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne*, II. *Les "Petites Annales"* (Revue Historique, July); C. W. P. Orton, *Italy and Provence, 900-950* (English Historical Review, July); R. Ristelhueber, *Les Croisés au Liban* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); E. Gorra, *Dante e Clemente V.* (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXIX. 2); Canon E. Vacandard, *The Attempt at Union between Greeks and Latins at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438-1439* (Constructive Quarterly, June).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Beginnings of Modern Europe, by Professor Ephraim Emerton of Harvard University, to be published this fall by Ginn and Company, continues through the period of transition from medieval to modern history the author's well-known previous volumes entitled *An Introduction to the Middle Ages* and *Medieval Europe*.

The youthful career of the founder of the Society of Jesus is set forth in the first volume of S. Pey-Ordeix's *Historia Crítica de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid, Marzo, 1916, pp. 320).

In a book to be published by John Murray this autumn, *Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace and their Teaching*, the Right Hon. Sir W. G. F. Phillimore, late lord justice of appeal, essays to supply materials for guidance in settling the terms of the future peace, drawn from an analysis and criticism of the more important treaties of peace of the last three centuries and of their results. Also replete with historical knowledge is Sir Ernest Satow's *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* (London and New York, Longmans, two vols., pp. 408, 405).

Venceslas Gasiarowski has edited an illustrated folio volume by various collaborators on *La France et la Pologne à travers les Siècles* (Paris, Levé, 1917, pp. 76). A monograph on *Une Mission Diplomatique en Pologne au XVII^e Siècle: Pierre de Bonzi à Varsovie, 1665-1668* (Paris, Champion, 1916, pp. 62) is by Anne Marie Gasztowtt.

An essay by Charles Flachaire deals with *La Dévotion à la Vierge dans la Littérature Catholique au Commencement du XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Leroux, 1916, pp. 174).

The latest volume of essays by Dr. Cabanès relates mainly to affairs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and takes its title, *Une Allemande à la Cour de France* (Paris, Michel, 1916, pp. 406), from the leading essay, on Madame Palatine.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication, the second volume, 1821-1830, of the late Professor William Smart's *The Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century*.

Dr. Paul Gautier has edited the articles of Edgar Quinet on Germany with the necessary introduction and notes, with the title "*Allemagne au-dessus de Tout*": *un Prophète, Edgar Quinet* (Paris, Plon, 1917). In like manner various scattered articles by Fustel de Coulanges in the seventies have been gathered into a volume entitled, with happy precision, *Questions Contemporaines* (Paris, Hachette, 1916).

Lt.-Col. Lucien H. Holt and Capt. Alexander W. Chilton, professor of history and instructor in history at the United States Military Academy, West Point, have prepared a text-book of European history, *European History, 1862-1914*, which will shortly be published by the Macmillan Company and which deals chiefly with international relations and military history in the period named.

South African history has received a valuable contribution in two substantial volumes published by the Linschoten Society, *Reizen in Zuid Afrika in de Hollandse Tijd*, edited by Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1916).

A supplementary volume has been added by Dr. G. M. Theal to his *History of South Africa*, carrying the story down to 1881. The volume is soon to be published by Messrs. Allen and Unwin.

A Soldier's Memories in Peace and War, by Maj.-Gen. Sir George Younghusband (New York, E. P. Dutton), covers service in Afghanistan, India, Burma, Egypt, and South Africa, with some matter relating to America and the Philippines.

In *Pages d'Avant-Guerre: l'Impérialisme Britannique et le Rapprochement Franco-Anglais, 1900-1905* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), Jean Carrère gives special attention to the relations of Edward VII. and of the British statesmen to what he calls the imperialistic crisis. Franco-German relations are surveyed by J. Turquan and J. Dauriac in *Les Provocations Allemandes, 1871 à 1914* (Paris, Tallandier, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Drei, *Per la Storia del Concilio di Trento: Lettere Inedite del Segretario Camillo Olivio, 1562* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1916, I. 2); E. Driault, *Les Napoléons et l'Alliance Latine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); P. Marmottan, *Chateaubriand, Madame Bacciochi, et Napoléon* (Revue de Paris, June 15); Commandant Weil, *Marie-Louise et le Roi de Rome, Schoenbrunn-Vienne, 1814-1815* (ibid., July 1); E. Lenient, *La Solution des Énigmes de Waterloo: Réponse au Colonel Grouard* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); J. S. Nicholson, *Trade after the Napoleonic War* (Scottish Historical Review, July); L. Pingaud, *Un Diplomate Russe il y a Cent Ans en Italie: le Prince Kosloffsky* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); C. Barbagallo, *Les Responsabilités Politiques de la Guerre Franco-Prussienne de 1870-1871* (Revue des Nations Latines, March, April, June); E. Lavissee and C. Pfister, *The Question of Alsace-Lorraine* (Fortnightly Review, July); E. Daudet, *Le Mariage de Constantin de Grèce* (Revue Hebdomadaire, June 23); S. Bodin, *L'Avant-Guerre Allemande en Russie* (ibid., June 9); A. Mousset, *Vingt Ans de Relations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Espagne* (Revue des Nations Latines, June).

THE GREAT WAR

The June *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains a list of books and pamphlets possessed by the library, on the diplomatic history of the European war, in which nearly three hundred official publications are listed and a lesser number of unofficial publications. Strangely, the collection of documents most useful to American students, Dr. James Brown Scott's, is apparently omitted. There is also a list of the library's recent accessions on the war, like those which have appeared in previous numbers—lists of such fullness as to be well worth following by bibliographers and buyers.

The June *Bulletin* of the Indiana State Library is a selected bibliography of the war. The brief lists of books and magazine articles are topically arranged, covering most of the principal aspects of the war.

La Grande Guerre, Iconographie, Bibliographie, Documents Divers, of which the first volume on iconography has already been noted, has now reached its second volume, which, with the third and fourth announced for early publication, contains a *Catalogue Raisonné des Ouvrages Français et Étrangers, Brochures, Publications Fasciculaires, Périodiques, Articles de Revues, Compositions Musicales, Cartes Géographiques et Affiches-texte, du 1^{er} Août 1914 au 15 Mars 1916* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1917). The fourth volume will contain an index of volumes II.-IV., and the fifth volume will be a *Répertoire Méthodique de la Presse Quotidienne*. Jean Vic has prepared for publication in the early autumn *La Littérature de Guerre, Manuel Méthodique et Critique des Publications de Langue Française, Août 1914-Août 1916* (Paris,

Payot, 1917, pp. 750). The book will contain a selected list of about two thousand titles of books and pamphlets, of which twenty per cent. were published outside France, and a list of about fifteen hundred articles, not reprinted in book form, selected from twenty-five or thirty leading French and Swiss reviews. Some titles of publications in 1911-1914 are included.

Dr. Georges Ferrand has issued a second edition of *Des Requisitions en Matière de Droit International Public, Étude d'Administration Militaire et de Droit des Gens* (Paris, Pedone, 1917). The subject is also treated in the law thesis, *Les Requisitions Militaires* (Paris, Rousseau, 1915, pp. 268), by R. Rucklin. A treatise, *De la Distinction des Combattants et Non-combattants comme Base du Droit de Guerre* (Paris, Pedone, 1917), is by Dr. Annette Mailler. A discussion of *Le Devoir des Neutres* by the Brazilian Ruy Barbosa is available in a French translation (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. 96).

Mr. T. Lothrop Stoddard's *Present-Day Europe: its National States of Mind* (New York, Century Company) deals with the war from the point of view indicated in its title, and with intelligence and clearness.

Continuing his history of the war from the earlier volume *De Liège à la Marne*, Pierre Dauzet has written *La Bataille de Flandres, 16 Octobre-15 Novembre 1914* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1917, pp. 132). J. Mesnil has furnished the French translation of the third volume on the war by L. Barzini, *La Guerre Moderne sur Terre, dans les Airs, et sous les Eaux* (Paris, Payot, 1917), which is notable for its accounts of various war machines and their uses. J. Reinach's ninth volume of *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1917) continues the account for 1916. P. Ginisty and Capt. M. Gagneur have issued the first volume of an *Histoire de la Guerre par les Combattants* (Paris, Garnier, 1917, pp. 564) which furnishes an account of the first year of the war by means of selected personal narratives arranged in chronological order. P. H. Courrière is publishing, in parts, an *Histoire Héroïque de la Grande Guerre* (Paris "Éditions et Librairie", 1917, 10 parts of 64 pp. each), in which he follows a somewhat similar procedure but makes a special point of introducing individual names, claiming to mention some 20,000 persons. A serial history of the war in Spanish, *La Guerra Europea, 1914-1915* (Barcelona, Maucci, 1917, vol. III.-IV., pp. 639), is by G. Calvo and J. Brissa. The work is illustrated and includes political and social as well as military affairs.

The Retreat from Mons, "by a Member of the British General Staff, from official records", with a preface by Field-Marshal Lord French (Houghton Mifflin) is a small volume in a series of similar booklets which the British government is publishing for the public information, and is an excellent military-history narrative and exposition. The much larger book on *The Marne Campaign*, by Major F. E. Whitton

(same publishers), is one of a series on *Campaigns and their Lessons*, edited by Major-Gen. C. E. Callwell, and is also of high excellence.

On the battles around Verdun, Capitaine H. Bordeaux has written *Les Derniers Jours du Fort de Vaux, 9 Mars-7 Juin 1916* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. 314) and *La Chanson de Vaux-Douaumont: les Captifs Délivrés, Douaumont-Vaux, 20 Octobre-3 Novembre 1916* (*ibid.*, 1917). The first of these books has already passed through many editions and is now available in an English translation by P. V. Cohn (Paris, Nelson, 1917). C. H. d'Estre has published *L'Énigme de Verdun: Essai sur les Causes et la Genèse de la Bataille* (Paris, Chapelot, 1916, pp. 72); Lieutenant A. Dollé, *La Côte de 304 et Souvenirs d'un Officier de Zouaves* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917); Lucien Jonas, military painter connected with the Musée de l'Armée and special representative of *L'Illustration*, has devoted his third portfolio of war scenes to *Verdun* (Paris, Dorbon, 1917). Henry Dugard's lively volume has been published in English translation under the title *The Battle of Verdun* (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company).

The following volumes on other campaigns on the western front may be noted: H. Malo, *Le Drame des Flandres: un An de Guerre, 1^{er} Août 1914-1^{er} Août 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. 318); Paul de Saint-Maurice, *La Ville Envahie* (*ibid.*, pp. 109), an account of the fate of Lille; and J. Poirier, *Rcims, 1^{er} Août-31 Décembre 1914* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

The Indian Corps in Flanders, by Lieut.-Col. J. W. B. Merewether and Capt. the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Smith, published by John Murray, under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, has been compiled with the assistance of the official records and the narratives and diaries of officers of the corps, as well as with the aid of its commander, Gen. Sir James Willcocks.

Twenty-two Months under Fire, by Brig.-Gen. Henry Page Croft, is the record of a member of Parliament who served as major in a territorial unit, which was early in action, especially at Ypres, and who commanded his battalion for thirteen months, during much heavy fighting.

Among the personal narratives whose popularity has been proven by the demand for successive editions are A. Bertrand, *La Victoire de Lorraine, 24 Août-12 Septembre, Carnet d'un Officier de Dragons* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 219), and P. Duval-Arnould, *Crapouillots, Feuilles d'un Carnet de Guerre* (Paris, Plon, 1916, pp. xiii, 284). Chapters of A. Erlande's *En Campagne avec la Légion Étrangère* (Paris, Payot, 1917) first attracted attention in the *Revue de Paris*. General Bon has written *Un Combattant de la Grande Guerre: Causeries et Souvenirs* (Paris, Floury, 1917). Still other personal narratives are H. René, *Jours de Gloire, Jours de Misère, Histoire d'un Bataillon*,

Alsace, Lorraine, Marne, Ypres, Artois, Verdun, 1914-1916 (Paris, Perrin, 1917); E. Pie, *Dans la Tranchée: des Vosges en Picardie, Tableaux du Front* (*ibid.*); A. Toulemon, *Mobilisés, Scènes et Récits de la Guerre* (*ibid.*); Capitaine A. Pavie, *Mes Troupiers, Artois, Argonne, Verdun, 1914-1916* (Paris, Marne, 1917); J. Mazé, *Le Carnet de Campagne du Sergent Lefèvre, 1914-1916* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 316); Lieutenant E. R. (Capitaine Tuffrau), *Carnet d'un Combattant* (Paris, Payot, 1917); and P. Patté, *Le Cran, avec un Préface du Général Niox* (*ibid.*).

The World at War (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 272) is the title of a collection of interesting articles by Georg Brandes, translated by Catherine D. Groth. The rights of small nations and neutral nations, and their claim to an independent point of view, are defended with vehement earnestness.

The still anonymous German author of the remarkable volume *J'Accuse* (1915), which so vigorously arraigned the ideas of the Pan-Germans and the acts of the German government as responsible for the war, has now issued the first of three volumes entitled *Das Verbrechen* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 500). The work appears in German and a French edition will follow promptly, and it is to be hoped that an English translation will also be forthcoming. The author has been collecting further information during the past two years which he here sets forth in additional confirmation of his original indictment, so that the new work promises to be the most authoritative, detailed, and convincing exposition of the guilt of the Central Powers. The German government has punished the publisher of *J'Accuse*, Payot, whose home office is at Lausanne, Switzerland, by excluding all his publications.

The English translation of the clever work of André Chéradame, *The Pangerman Plot unmasked: Berlin's Formidable Peace-Trap of "The Drawn War"* (Scribner, 1917, pp. xxxi, 235) has unfortunately not been brought up to date by alterations or additions, especially to take notice of such a work as Naumann's *Central Europe*. Chéradame, whose work appeared in French early in 1916, had travelled and studied conditions in the Central Monarchies as well as familiarized himself with the German writings on national aims and Weltpolitik.

Longmans, Green, and Company publish, in English translation, Professor Louis Renault's legal pamphlet prepared for the French Committee for the Advancement of International Law, entitled *First Violations of International Law by Germany: Luxembourg and Belgium* (pp. 78).

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a pamphlet of documents concerning *Les Prisonniers Allemands au Maroc, la Campagne de Diffamation Allemande, le Jugement porté par les Neutres, le Témoignage des Prisonniers Allemands* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

Three narratives of experiences in the hospital services on the western front have appeared almost simultaneously: Dr. L. Chauveau, *Derrière la Bataille* (Paris, Payot, 1917); J. M. Bourceret, *Sur les Routes du Front de Meuse, Souvenirs d'un Infirmier-Major* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and A. Bessières, *Le Train Rouge, Deux Ans en Train Sanitaire* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1917, pp. 288).

More or less of the records of personal experiences in the war are transcribed in the following biographical volumes: P. Pacary, *Un Compagnon de Péguy, Joseph Lotte, 1875-1914, Pages Choisies et Notice Biographique* (Paris, Gabalda, 1916); Comte Guy de Robien, *L'Idéal Français dans un Coeur Breton: l'Héroïque Commandant de Robien* (Paris, Plon, 1917, pp. 480); L. Tavernier, *Joseph Tavernier, Sergent au 94^e, et Paul Tavernier, Caporal au 205^e, à la Mémoire de Mes Fils, Morts pour la France, Portraits, Notices, Lettres de Guerre, Septembre 1914-Octobre 1915* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 145); E. Baumann, *L'Abbé Chevo-leau, Caporal au 90^e d'Infanterie* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and G. Duhamel, *Vie des Martyres, 1914-1916* (Paris, *Mercur* de France, 1917).

Several volumes of observation, comment, or discussion of the war by non-combatants offer matter of diverse interest and value: such are René Bazin's *Récits du Temps de la Guerre* (Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1915, pp. 300) and *Aujourd'hui et Demain: Pensées du Temps de la Guerre* (*ibid.*, 1916, pp. 384); Ernest Daudet's *Mes Chroniques de 1915 et 1916: Pages d'Histoire en Marge de la Guerre* (Paris, Attinger, 1917); the *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Nancy, Nancy Sauvée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) by R. Mercier, editor of *L'Est Républicain* of Nancy; *Autour de la Guerre Actuelle: Essai de Psychologie Militaire* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917, pp. 320) by Émile Mayer (Lt.-Col. E. Manceau); and *La Guerre et le Progrès* (Paris, Payot, 1917) by J. Sageret.

Six Months on the Italian Front, by Julius M. Price (New York, E. P. Dutton), is a record of months in 1915-1916 by the war-artist correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*.

A volume which promises to be of interest, announced for early publication by Mr. John Murray, is *Inside Constantinople: a Diplomat's Diary during the Dardanelles Expedition, April to September, 1916*, by Lewis Einstein. Another phase of this expedition is set forth in *The Immortal Gamble and the Part played in it by H. M. S. Cornwallis*, by A. T. Stewart, acting commander R. N., and the Rev. C. J. E. Peshall, chaplain R. N. (A. and C. Black).

Capitaine Canudo's *Combats d'Orient, Dardanelles, Salonique, 1915-1916* (Paris, Hachette, 1917) has been added to the collection of *Mémoires et Récits de Guerre*.

Miss M. I. Newbigin's *Geographical Aspects of Balkan Problems in their Relation to the Great European War* (Putnam, 1915, pp. ix, 243)

is a distinctly useful presentation of certain geographical and linguistic considerations in the problems of nationalities in Europe. Israel Zangwill's *The Principle of Nationalities* (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 116) is a scathing critique of the discussions of nationality by Rose, Muir, and Toynbee.

A little volume entitled *England's Financial Supremacy* (London, Macmillan, 1917, pp. xv, 106) contains a translation of a series of articles contributed by a leading German financial authority to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in November, 1915, under the titles, "Die Englische Finanzvormacht", "England's Falsche Rechnung", and "Deutschland und die Erbschaft der City".

The brilliant French publicist Charles Maurras, in *Le Pape, la Guerre, et la Paix* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917, pp. 288), has given an account of the politico-religious developments since August, 1914, with the double purpose of setting in what he considers the correct light the behavior of both France and the Church.

English translations have appeared of several books respecting the war of which the French editions have already been noted in these pages, among them M. André Chevrillon's *England and the War* (Doubleday, Page), Professor Henri Hauser's *Germany's Commercial Grip on the World* (Scribners), and Kapitän-leutnant von Mücke's *The Ayesha* (Boston, Ritter and Company; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII. 441).

A commencement address by Professor Charles M. Andrews on "Some Constructive Aspects of the War" has been printed as the May number of the *Meredith College Quarterly Bulletin*. It contains many interesting and instructive thoughts, from the workings of an historical mind upon recent events.

Women War Workers (New York, T. Y. Crowell) is an interesting volume consisting of accounts, contributed by representative workers, of the work done by the women of Great Britain in the more important branches of war employment. It is edited by Gilbert Stone.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Docteurs X . . . et Y . . ., *Comment on Fait l'Opinion dans la France Envahie* (Revue de Paris, June 15); L. de Brunier, *Souvenirs de Noyon, 1914-1915* (*ibid.*, July 1, 15); G. Lefèvre-Pontalis, *Un Crime Allemand: la Destruction de Coucy* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); A. Chevrillon, *Visites au Front: sur le Front Anglais, Juin 1916*, I. (*ibid.*, July 1); XXX., *La Bataille de l'Aisne et de Champagne, 16 Avril-16 Mai 1917* (Revue de Paris, July 1); A. Soulange-Bodin, *Allemagne et Suisse* (*ibid.*, June 15); E. L. Malvano, *Dans le Cadore: Impressions de Guerre* (Revue des Nations Latines, June); P. Khorat, *Propos d'un Combattant: la Guerre en Macédoine* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); A. Gérard, *L'Extrême Orient pendant la Guerre, 1914-1917* (*ibid.*, July 1); P. Cloarec, *La*

Guerre Sous-marine (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June); C. H. Cunningham, *Spain and the War* (American Political Science Review, August).

(See also under *America: Items arranged in Chronological Order.*)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Seventeenth Report* of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, a thin pamphlet, was published in 1907. The *Eighteenth Report* (1917) is a substantial volume of 402 pages containing full descriptions of the volumes published in the last ten years: the reports on Lord Middleton's manuscripts and those of the Bishop of London, the diocese of Gloucester, Lord Essex, and many others and some towns, and the volumes known as Cecil MSS. XII., XIII., Marquess of Bath III., Stuart MSS. IV., V., VI., Stopford-Sackville MSS. II., American MSS. (Royal Institution) III., IV., Fortescue MSS. VI., VII., VIII., Ormonde MSS. V., VI., VII., Denbigh MSS. V., Various Collections V., VI., VII., VIII. One appendix lists in various orders of arrangement the reports made by the commission since its foundation in 1867. Another, prepared by Dr. Frances G. Davenport of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, lists with great care all the materials for English diplomatic history, 1509-1783, calendared in any of the commission's reports or indicated in the catalogue of manuscripts at the British Museum.

History, the quarterly journal of the Historical Association, presents in its July number an article by Mrs. J. R. Green on Irish National Tradition, one by Mr. H. M. Beatty on the History of Education, and one by Miss M. A. Howard, head-mistress of a school in Dulwich, on Some Problems of History Teaching in Girls' Secondary Day Schools.

The thesis developed in the first volume of the *Imperial Studies Series*, by Mr. A. P. Newton, *The Old Empire and the New*, is the historical continuity of the British Empire. The volume contains an introduction by Sir Charles Lucas.

The Glastonbury Antiquarian Society has published the second volume (pp. 353-724) of *The Glastonbury Lake Village* by Arthur Bullied and Harold St. G. Gray, containing a full description of the excavations and of the relics discovered, 1892-1907, with chapters on the human and animal remains by Dr. W. Boyd Dawkins and Wilfrid Jackson, on bird bones by C. W. Andrews, and on plants by Clement Reid.

In the collection of *Notes and Documents relative to Westminster Abbey*, E. H. Pearce has published *The Monks of Westminster, a Register of Brethren of the Convent from the Time of the Confessor to the Dissolution, with Lists of Obedientiaries and Introduction* (Cambridge, University Press, 1916, pp. 246).

Professor A. E. Little's Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in 1916 have been published as *Studies in English Franciscan History* (London, Longmans).

The first volume of a valuable *History of the Cutlers' Company of London and of the Minor Cutlery Crafts, with Biographical Notices of Early London Cutlers*, by Charles Welch, formerly master of that society, has been privately printed by the company. This volume extends to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Professor C. Bémont has edited with introduction, notes, and a French translation, a fragment of an anonymous Latin chronicle on *Le Premier Divorce de Henri VIII. et le Schisme d'Angleterre* (Paris, Champion, 1917, pp. 160) which is issued as the 221st number of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*.

The Canterbury and York Society has lately published the fifth part of Archbishop Matthew Parker's Register for the diocese of Canterbury.

A careful and well-documented piece of work is presented by Mr. Horace Bleackley in the *Life of John Wilkes* published by Mr. John Lane.

Constitutional government in the reigns of George III., George IV., William III., and Victoria is the subject of Mr. J. A. Farrer in *The Monarchy in Politics*, soon to be published by T. Fisher Unwin.

Nelson's Last Diary, which extends from September 13 to October 21, 1805, has recently appeared with an introduction and notes by Mr. Gilbert Hudson (London, Elkins Mathews). Its publication shows that the extracts from it which have been used by various biographers of Nelson have contained most of the matter of real importance found in the complete journal.

Volume VIII. of Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, covering the years 1811 and 1812, has recently been issued by the Macmillan Company. The volume is accompanied by a small volume of maps and charts illustrating its subject-matter.

The publication of the first volume of the *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company*, dated July 28, 1812, with notes and introduction (350 pp.) by Archdeacon Firminger, places in the hands of students much material on the development of the civil administration in British India. The volume is published by Messrs. R. Cambray and Company of Calcutta.

Mr. Noel Williams is preparing a biography of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, based on his correspondence with the Admiralty. The volume will be published by Messrs. Hutchinson.

The first volume of *Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton*, edited by the Rev. John N. Figgis and Reginald V. Laurence, is shortly to appear from the press of Messrs. Longman. This volume will contain Lord Acton's correspondence with Lady Blennerhassett, Gladstone, and others.

The Life of Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., F.R.S., by Admiral Sir Albert H. Markham, to be issued during the autumn by John Murray, casts light on the history of polar explorations during sixty years, on Peru and its archaeology, on the Abyssinian war, and on a singularly interesting personal character.

Miss A. E. Metcalfe's *Woman's Effort: a Chronicle of British Women's Fifty Years' Struggle for Citizenship* (Longmans, pp. 350) is mainly devoted to a circumstantial and apparently unprejudiced account of the movement of the militants, during the last decade of the period named.

Professor W. MacNeile Dixon of the University of Glasgow, who has succeeded Sir Gilbert Parker in the conduct of a portion of the "publicity service" of the British government, presents in a little illustrated volume of 95 pages *The British Navy at War* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company), a useful summary of actions and achievements.

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives and Library*, I., Elizabeth, 1558-1571, ed. J. M. Rigg; *Historical Records of Australia: series I, Governors' Despatches to and from England*, vol. IX., January, 1816-December, 1818, ed. Frederick Watson (Sydney, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament).

Other documentary publications: *The Lincoln Record Society*, vol. IV., *Parish Registers of Grantham*, 1562-1632, ed. C. W. Foster; vol. V., *Parish Registers of Alford and Rigsby*, 1538-1680, ed. R. C. Duding; vol. VIII., *The Visitation of the County of Lincoln*, 1660, ed. Everard Green (Horncastle, W. K. Morton and Sons).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Jenks, *The Englishman and his Law* (Hibbert Journal, July); Sir Martin Conway, *The Arts in Early England* (Quarterly Review, July); A. P. Newton, *The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors* (English Historical Review, July); C. H. Firth, *England and Austria in 1657* (*ibid.*); W. Cunningham, *The Political Philosophy of the Marquis of Montrose* (Scottish Historical Review, July); A. L. Cross, *The English Law Courts at the Close of the Revolution of 1688* (Michigan Law Review, May); G. Jèze, *L'Exécutif en Temps de Guerre: les Pleins Pouvoirs*, I., Grande Bretagne (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, January); C. H. Oldham, *Industrial Ireland under Free*

Trade (Economic Journal, June); E. R. Turner, *Opposition to Home Rule* (American Political Science Review, August).

FRANCE

The Library and Bureau of Historical Works of the City of Paris has been transformed into the Institut d'Histoire, de Géographie, et d'Économie Urbaines de Paris by a proclamation of the prefect of the Seine dated February 9, 1917. The proclamation, which sets forth the bases of the new organization, was published in the *Bulletin Municipal Officiel de la Ville de Paris* of February 24, 1917, and reprinted in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* of November-December, 1916.

As successor to the late Abbé J. H. Albanès in the editorship of the collection, *Gallia Christiana Novissima, Histoire des Archevêchés, Evêchés, et Abbayes de France*, Abbé Ulysse Chevalier has brought out the sixth volume, *Orange: Evêques, Prévôts* (Valence, Imp. Valentinoise, 1916, pp. xix, 127). The *Cartulaire de Saint-Cyr de Nevers* (Paris, Champion, 1917) has been edited by René de Lespinasse. Abbé Marie Rannaud is the author of *Histoire de Sixt, Abbaye, Paroisse, Commune, 1135-1914* (Annecy, Abry, 1916, pp. 676); and J. Rouquette of *La Réforme à Maguelone au XIII^e Siècle* (Montpellier, Valat, 1915, pp. 115).

J. Dupont has added to the literature on the Maid of Orleans, *Jeanne d'Arc, d'après ses propres Déclarations, les Dépôts Juridiques des Témoins de sa Vie, les Écrits de ses Contemporains* (Paris, Gigord, 1916, pp. xvi, 296).

The latest products of the cult of Bossuet are Louis Dimier's biographical account, *Bossuet* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1916, pp. vi, 306); and the third volume, 1659-1661, of C. Urbain and E. Levesque's extended revision of Abbé Lebarq's critical edition of the *Oeuvres Oratoires de Bossuet* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

An interesting and careful study of a local professional guild is *Les Maîtres Apothicaires de Nancy au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. viii, 237) by Émile Monal. The volume contains the constitution and rules of the corporation, a list of the apothecaries with biographical sketches of typical personages, and a descriptive list of drugs and medicaments.

Robert Dubois-Cornuau has selected for biographical attention a figure but little less picturesque and important than his contemporary John Law, *Paris de Monmartel (Jean), Banquier de la Cour, Receveur des Rentes de la Ville de Paris, 1690-1766: ses Hôtels, ses Châteaux* (Paris, Meynial, 1917, pp. 380).

La Déportation Révolutionnaire du Clergé Français (Paris, Gabalda, 1916, pp. 412, 362) is the deceptive title selected by A. C. Sabatié for a

work to which he adds a further ironical title, *La Justice pendant la Révolution*. The first volume deals with the fortunes of the clergy who went into exile after the law of August 26, 1792, while the second volume recites the misfortunes of those who were guillotined, imprisoned, or transported under the harsher régimes of the Convention and the Directory. A study of *Les Actes des Prêtres Inscrits au Diocèse de Saint-Brieuc Guillotinés en 1794, d'après les Documents Originaux* (Saint-Brieuc, Prud'homme, 1916, pp. xliii, 298) is by A. Lemasson. Another local study of the Revolution is Abbé A. Gros's *La Maurienne pendant la Révolution* (Chambéry, Imp. Générale Savoisiennne, 1915, pp. 600), which forms the third volume of the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie*.

Historical as well as political and legal significance attaches to the theses of M. Guy, *La Décentralisation Administrative, Hier. . . . Aujourd'hui . . . Demain* (Paris, Driay-Cahen, 1916, pp. 162); and of T. Petit, *La Représentation Proportionnelle devant les Chambres Françaises, Étude d'Histoire Parlementaire et Législative* (Paris, Tenin, 1915, pp. 292).

Province by province, G. Alphaud has shown how bravely and efficiently France has met the demands of the war, in *La France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1917* (Paris, Hachette, 1917). In other fields may be noted *La France Agricole et la Guerre* (Paris, Baillière, 1916, pp. 302) by Dr. C. Chauveau; *Le Palais et la Justice pendant la Guerre* (vol. I., August 4, 1914-August 1, 1916, Paris, Tenin, 1916), by E. Troimaux; and *L'Ame de la Patrie: Essai sur la Formation Historique de Notre Idéal National* (Paris, Perrin, 1917) by A. Rey.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Mathorez, *Les Éléments de Population Orientale en France: Sarrasins, Maures, et Morisques en France du XIV^e au XVIII^e Siècles* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April); M. Sepet, *Observations Critiques sur l'Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc: la Lettre de Perceval de Boulainvilliers* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, November); L. Misermont, *Relation de l'Esclavage des Sieurs de Fercourt et Regnard en 1678, écrite par M. de Fercourt* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, April); J. Letaconnoux, *Les Grands Chemins de Bretagne: Essai sur la Résistance Provinciale à la Centralisation Administrative au XVIII^e Siècle* (*Revue du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, January); A. Mathiez, *Les Subsistances pendant la Révolution*, II., *Un Essai de Taxation Populaire au Printemps de 1792* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, May); *id.*, *Babeuf et Robespierre* (*ibid.*); A. Mathiez, *Un Essai de Réglementation pendant la Première Invasion, Septembre-Décembre 1792* (*Revue Historique*, July); M. Dommanget, *La Déchristianisation à Beauvais*, V., *La Fête et le Culte de la Raison* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, May); C. Lefebvre, *Le Droit Successoral pendant la Révolution* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, June); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand et l'Expédition d'Égypte*, I. (*ibid.*);

C. Géniaux, *La Kabylie, 1871-1917* (Revue de Paris, July 15); H. Lorin, *Ce que les Colonies ont faits pour la France* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: J. Luchaire and J. Alazard, *Histoire d'Italie, Période Moderne*, I. (Revue Historique, July).

In celebration of the ninetieth birthday of Signor Pasquale Villari, the most esteemed of Italian historians (October 3), Professor Giovanni Bonacci has prepared an anthology of the best passages from that master's chief works, *Pasquale Villari: l'Italia e la Civiltà* (Milan, Hoepli), so composed as to present an orderly conspectus of Villari's thoughts on the history of Italian civilization from Roman times to the present days of warfare for historic Italian aspirations. A "profile" or characterization of the venerable historian, by Professor Ermenegildo Pistelli of Florence, is prefixed to the work.

A commission appointed for the purpose some time ago by the Accademia dei Lincei, and presided over by Professor Luigi Luzzatti, will shortly begin the publication of a great collection of acts of Italian constitutional assemblies, from the Middle Ages down. The work will be organized in three grand divisions, of which the first will be devoted to the acts of general and provincial estates (such as the parliaments of Sicily, of Naples, of the States of the Church, of the patriarchate of Aquileia and the county of Gorizia, the estates of Sardinia and Piedmont), the second to the proceedings of modern parliaments (Italian republics 1797-1804, Sicily 1812-1815, Naples 1820-1821), the third to the parliaments and grand councils of Italian communes. A bulletin, of which no. 1 has appeared (Bologna, Zanichelli), will present news of the commission and preparatory dissertations.

An Alpine district furnishes to A. Tallone his subject, *Tommaso I., Marchese di Saluzzo, 1244-1296, Monografia Storica con Appendice di Documenti Inediti* (Casale Monferrato, Tip. Coop. Bellatore e Bosco, 1916, pp. viii, 462). The volume is a number of the *Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina*.

G. Dalla Santa has gleaned materials from the letters of three Conatarini brothers between 1392 and 1408 for *Uomini e Fatti dell' Ultimo Trecento e del Primo Quattrocento* (Venice, R. Deputazione di Storia Veneta, 1916, pp. 105).

Pie X. et Rome, Notes et Souvenirs, 1903-1914 (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917, pp. 320) is by Camille Belleaigue.

In the sixth national congress of the Spanish Association for the Advancement of the Sciences, held with brilliant success at Seville May 2-7, the historical section was presided over by Don Rafael Altamira, who spoke eloquently of the increase of interest in Spanish and Spanish-

American history, manifested by many writers in the United States, and described their varied publications. The United States was represented by Miss Irene A. Wright, who read a paper on Don Juan de Texeda, governor of Cuba 1589-1593.

The guide to the Spanish archives which is being published as supplements to the *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos* is brought, in the May-June number of that periodical, to the conclusion of its treatment of the Archivo Historico Nacional at Madrid.

Francisco Codera has published a second series of *Estudios Críticos de Historia Arabe Española* (Madrid, Maestre, 1917, pp. 354), which is the eighth volume of the *Colección de Estudios Arabes*.

The Benedictines of Silos are preparing for publication, in their *Fuentes para la Historia de Castilla*, the early documents of the Benedictines of San Salvador de Oña in the province of Burgos, documents of much value and antiquity, extending from the year 822.

One of the decisive battles in the struggle for the Christian recovery of Spain from the Moors is the subject of A. Huici's *Estudio sobre la Campaña de las Navas de Tolosa* (Valencia, Vives Mora, 1916, pp. 196).

An endeavor is being made to raise a fund for restoring the monastery of La Rabida, celebrated in the history of Columbus, to something of its former state. Funds may be sent to Mrs. Bernhard Whishaw, Niebla, Spain.

Under the copyright of the Hispanic Society of America Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have published an intelligent, fully illustrated volume on the *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century: a General View of the Plateresque and Herrera Styles*, by Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley, based on personal study of the monuments of a very impressive architectural development.

Father J. Zarco Cuevas is the editor of the first volume of *Documentos para la Historia del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, which contains the *Memorias de Fray Antonio de Villacastín, Monje Jerónimo de dicho Monasterio* (Madrid, Imp. Helénica, 1916, pp. xvi, 102), dealing with the times of Philip II. Father M. F. Miguélez has edited the first volume, dealing with historical narrative, of a *Catálogo de los Códices Españoles de la Biblioteca de El Escorial* (*ibid.*, 1917, pp. xlix, 364), which cites various items relating to America.

The volume of *Estudios de Historia Aragonesa, Siglos XVI. y XVII.* (Saragossa, Ediciones Aragonesas, 1916, pp. 319), by A. Giménez Soler, deals with the readjustments in Aragon in the reign of Philip II. and their causes and effects.

The *Historia de los Ejércitos Gallegos durante la Guerra de la Independencia* (Santiago, Tip. del Eco Franciscano, 1916, pp. viii, 255) is the work of F. Estrada Catoyra.

J. del Nido y Segalera is the author of an *Historia Política y Parlamentaria de S. A. Don Baldomero Fernández Espartero* (Madrid, Imp. de Ramona Velasco, 1916, pp. 833).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Dorez, *Nouvelles Recherches sur Michel-Ange et son Entourage*, I. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, November); G. Pardi, *Disegno della Storia Demografica di Firenze* [concl.] (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1916, I. 2); Antonio de Herrera, *Elogio de Vaca de Castro* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, January-June).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Rev. Edwin J. Auweiler, O.F.M., has taken for the subject of his doctoral work at the Catholic University of America the Chronicle of Friar Jordan of Giano, chief source for the earliest chapters in the history of the Franciscans in Germany. In spite of the excellence of Boehmer's edition of 1908, there is room for a good edition appealing to the general reader, accompanied by a translation into English. Father Auweiler prints as his dissertation (Washington, 1917, pp. 64) the introduction, apparatus criticus, and bibliography to his proposed edition, of which the Latin text and English translation will follow later.

Volume VI. of Professor Hartman Grisar's *Luther*, translated by E. M. Lamond and edited by Luigi Cappadelta, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Kegan Paul.

Dr. Thomas F. A. Smith's *The Soul of Germany: a Twelve Years' Study of the People from Within* (New York, George H. Doran Company) is an attempt, by one who spent the dozen years preceding the war as student and as lecturer in the University of Erlangen, to depict the development of the German character and its relation to the historical evolution of the country.

The German Road to the East (New York, Doran, 1917, pp. 340), by Evans Lewin, furnishes an account of the "Drang nach Osten" and of Teutonic aims in the Near and Middle East.

The law thesis of B. Couget deals with *Les Colonies Allemandes avant et pendant la Guerre, 1914-1917* (Toulouse, Rivière, 1917, pp. 174).

The recent Austro-Hungarian Red Book presents diplomatic correspondence of the period from July 22, 1914, to August 27, 1916, including especially that of Count Czernin, who during that period represented Austro-Hungary at Bucharest.

Gottfried Beck claims to give information derived from an agent of the Austro-Hungarian secret service in *Ungarns Rolle im Weltkrieg: eine Historisch-Politische Studie nebst Enthüllungen über den Oester-*

reichisch-Ungarischen Geheimdienst und die Sarajewoer Verschwörung auf Grund von Persönlichen Erlebnissen des Kroaten Rud. Bartulitch (Lausanne and Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 246).

J. Escher and P. Schweizer have edited an *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich, 1319-1325* (Zürich, Beer, 1916, pp. ii, 409).

A biographical account of *Le Bienheureux Nicolas de Flüe, Patron de la Confédération Helvétique, 1417-1487* (Fribourg, Imp. de l'Oeuvre de Saint-Paul, 1916, pp. iv, 112) has been written by Alfonso Codaghengo.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commandant Weil, *La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric d'après sa Correspondance*, V. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 1); H. Welschinger, *Le Prince de Bülow et la Politique Allemande* (Revue Deux Mondes, May 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Danish narrative of J. Jörgensen on the invasion of Belgium has been translated by Jacques Coussange as *Dans l'Extrême Belgique* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917, pp. 215). *La Belgique sous les Armes, sous la Botte, en Exil* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), by L. Piérard, adds to an account of the German conquest briefer sections on the conditions under German military domination, and on the Belgians in exile.

The German Fury in Belgium, by L. Mokveld, translated from the Dutch (New York, George H. Doran Company), relates the experiences of one who was correspondent in Belgium, during the German invasion, of the Dutch newspaper *De Tijd*, and who narrates with calmness what he saw of the conduct of the invaders as they swept through the country.

Jean Massart has written a volume on the interesting subject of *La Presse Clandestine dans la Belgique Occupée* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xi, 319), which is on sale for the profit of the relief enterprises.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

In our review of Gade's *Charles the Twelfth* (XXII. 705) the statement is made that the qualities of the book "suggest the historical novelist rather than the orthodox historical biographer". It is proper to state that in reality the work is a piece of fiction, Colonel Klingspor being a fictitious character.

The correspondence of Alexander I. and his sister Catherine, edited by the Grand Duke Nicholas and translated by Henry Havelock, has now been published by Messrs. Jarrolds. Its chief interest is in the light it casts on Alexander's character.

Madame Olga Novikoff's *Russian Memories* (New York, E. P. Dutton) is a record of important and interesting relations in the eighties

and nineties by one who has long had much fame and a useful position as a worker in England for *rapprochement* between that country and her own.

In *Histoire de la Révolution Russe* by "S. R." (Berger-Levrault), the story of modern Russia down to May of the present year is related briefly but with clearness and understanding. Mr. I. D. Levine, foreign news editor of the *New York Tribune*, is also the author of a volume on recent Russian history (Harper and Brothers).

The John Lane Company has published, under the title *The Rebirth of Russia*, an account of the Russian Revolution by Mr. Isaac F. Marcossou, who arrived in Petrograd during the days of its inception.

Gregor Alexinsky has supplemented his volumes on *Modern Russia* (1914) and on *Russia and the Great War* (1915) with *Russia and Europe* (New York, Scribner, 1917, pp. 352), which describes the material bonds between Russia and Europe, the position of Russia in European wars and the influence of Western ideas upon the government and literature of Russia.

Some account of the antecedents of the recent revolution in Russia will be found in *Comment est née la Révolution Russe* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1917), by Jacques Bainville.

Two correspondents of the *Viedomosti* of Moscow, A. Belevsky and B. Voronoff, have given an account of activities of the zemstvos and municipalities and of the unofficial or quasi-official organizations in their efforts to aid in the conduct of the war, especially before the Revolution, in *Les Organisations Publiques Russes et leur Rôle pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

The Polish Review, a quarterly edited by J. H. Harley (London, Allen and Unwin, 8s. per annum) made its initial appearance in January. Unlike many periodicals which have sprung into existence during the present war, this one appears in the substantial format of the standard British reviews, while the contents of the first two numbers indicate a solidity of character beyond that of a mere organ of propaganda. Though many of the articles are of interest to the student of history, naturally only a limited number are primarily historical in character.

Poland's Case for Independence (Dodd, Mead, and Company) is a collection of essays by various authors, some of which are of considerable merit, treating such subjects as the Population of the Polish Commonwealth, Poland as an Independent Economic Unit, and Poland's Struggle for Independence. Mr. Edward H. Lewinski's *Political History of Poland*, published by the Polish Book Importing Company, deals, as its title indicates, more exclusively with Polish history.

Mr. Chedomille Mijatovich, who for years has been closely connected with the Serbian government, in *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* reports with detail and with apparent candor the events of his official life.

In *Les Bulgares peints par eux-mêmes, Documents et Commentaires* (Paris, Payot, 1917), Victor Kuhne has compiled from official and other public utterances or writings of statesmen, and from the writings of journalists and publicists Bulgarian expressions of policies or aims regarding the fate of Constantinople, relations with Serbia, the questions of the Yougoslavs and of the Balkans, and the European situation. The same author, who as a Swiss claims to write with impartiality, has also issued *Ceux dont on Ignore le Martyre: les Yougoslaves et la Guerre* (Geneva, Kundig, 1917, pp. 299), which is a survey of the development since 1903, with special reference to the Austrian trials of alleged Serbian offenders since 1909.

An *Histoire Moderne des Arméniens depuis la Chute du Royaume jusqu'à nos Jours, 1375-1916* (Paris, Gamber, 1917, pp. viii, 176) is a convenient summary of events by K. L. Basmadian.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Bienstock, *Les Premiers Jours de la Révolution et les Derniers Jours de la Cour de Russie* (*Mercure de France*, June 1); A. Gauvain, *La Révolution Russe et la Démocratie* (*Revue de Paris*, May 1); E. Romer, *Poland, the Land and the State, the Physical Basis of Poland's History* (*Geographical Review*, July); L. Leger, *La Bataille de Kosovo et la Chute de l'Empire Serbe* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, November); S. P. Duggan, *Balkan Diplomacy*, II. (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); P. P. de Sokolovitch, *Les Rapports Serbo-Roumains, Passé-Présent-Avenir* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, June); *id.*, *Le Mirage Bulgare et la Guerre Européenne*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXI. 1); A. Gauvain, *La Question Grecque* (*Revue de Paris*, June 1, July 1, 15).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

China: her History, Diplomacy, and Commerce from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, by E. H. Parker, professor of Chinese in the Victoria University at Manchester, was first published in 1901. A thoroughly revised edition of this standard work, with three additional chapters extending to the present time, is nearly ready for publication by John Murray.

Mr. W. J. Clennell, of the British consular service, has in *The Historical Development of Religion in China* (London, T. Fisher Unwin) achieved a readable and sympathetic presentation of his subject-matter, making no pretension to original research.

The detailed scientific report of Sir Aurel Stein's Second Central Asian Expedition (1906-1908) is to be published under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, in four quarto volumes. Partial reports concerning the Third Expedition (1913-1916) show that it revealed antiquities of great interest, especially a wonderful variety of silk and other fabrics, and records on wood and paper, found at the early Chinese and indigenous burial grounds near the ruined city of Lou-Lan in Eastern Turkestan.

A reprint which makes available a wealth of information on the history and customs of Rajputana is that of Colonel Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, first published between 1829 and 1832, now brought out in two volumes by Messrs. Dutton.

Les Origines de Mahé de Malabar (Paris, Champion, 1917, pp. xvi, 319) is a reprint from the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises* of an account of the establishment of one of the important French posts in India, by Alfred Martineau, the present governor of French India.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wen-Sze King, *The Lease Conventions between China and the Foreign Powers: an Interpretation* (Chinese Social and Political Science Review, December); M. Besson, *L'Expansion Japonaise dans le Monde* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, June).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The first volume of Dr. Frances G. Davenport's *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies*, extending through 1648, awaits, before publication by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, only the setting up and printing of the index. Mr. Leland and Mr. Stock of the Department of Historical Research have been occupied throughout the past three months with work for the National Board for Historical Service, of which the former is secretary. The Department hopes to send to the printer before long the first two volumes of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Delegates to the Continental Congress*.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: additional papers of Nicholas P. Trist, 1810-1867; miscellaneous drafts, memoranda, journals, and notes of Joel R. Poinsett on South American countries and his visits to them; photostat prints of 52 broadsides, 1693-1861, and of Jefferson's expense books, 1783-1790, in the Massachusetts Historical Society; account books of a merchant of Goochland Court House, Va., 1833-1876; miscellaneous letters to Israel Washburn, 1854-1885; the Andrew Jackson Donelson Papers; letters and orders to and from Leonidas Polk, 1861-1864; photostat copies of volume I. of the papers of Daniel Claus, 1716-1777, from the original in the Public Archives of Canada; miscellaneous legal

papers, drafts, letters, etc., of Alexander Hamilton (about 150 pieces); account and vouchers of the expenses of the Florida revolution of 1810, together with the minutes of the revolutionary constitutional convention and proceedings of the revolutionary legislature; a memorandum book of Thomas Jefferson, legal and household matters, 1768-1770; the J. C. Bancroft Davis Papers, 1851-1902; the day-book and ledger of Attorney-General Charles Lee, 1800-1815; a diary of Thomas Worthington, 1809-1810; and, on deposit, a small miscellany of Washington manuscripts.

The celebrated library of Americana which was formed by Bishop White Kennett, of Peterborough, and which in 1712 he presented to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a library rich in rarities, has lately been sold at Sotheby's for the benefit of the society.

No. 4 of Mr. Clarence M. Burton's series of pamphlets, *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection*, contains, reprinted from the *London Chronicle*, a narrative of the adventures of Peter Lewney, captured by the French and Indians in western Virginia in 1756 and taken to Detroit and Niagara; a petition of Daniel Boone (1810), from the files of the United States Senate; the adventures, from the *Analectic Magazine* of 1815, of Henry Bird, made captive by the Indians in Ohio in 1811; and a continuation of the Harrison documents from the archives of the War Department, relating to Indiana in 1807. It is pleasant to learn that Mr. Burton has received sufficient encouragement to cause him to continue his interesting series through at least four more numbers.

In the July number of the *Journal of Negro History* Mr. John M. Mecklin continues his valuable study of the evolution of slave status in American democracy, Professor Henry N. Sherwood gives from original materials the history of the formation of the American Colonization Society, and Mrs. Mary C. Terrell, a member of the school board of Washington, D. C., that of the high school for negroes in that city. The document section is occupied with an interesting body of extracts respecting the Danish West Indies, relating especially to the history of negro slavery in those islands and preceded by an historical article on the subject by Leila A. Pendleton.

The January-February number of the *Magazine of History* includes a paper entitled the Putnams: a Study of American Heroes, by Rev. Warren P. Landers, and a letter of Washington written in 1762. In the March-April number is printed, under the title New York during the Revolution, a body of letters, chiefly correspondence between Washington and the Clintons, but including also letters of Schuyler, Duane, William Whipple, and others. France's Aid to America in the War of Independence, by Richard H. Clarke, is reprinted from the *American Catholic*

Quarterly Review. The papers by Winfield M. Thompson, entitled When Washington toured New England, are continued. The May-June number of the *Magazine* contains the concluding installments of New York during the Revolution: Selections from the Clinton Correspondence, 1776-1783, and Joel N. Eno's Pennsylvania County Names; further installments of Winfield M. Thompson's When Washington toured New England, and Gen. Philip Reade's Massachusetts at Valley Forge. There are also articles on Virginia Folk-Lore about George Washington, by John S. Wise, the Minute Men of the Revolution, by Rev. Howard Duffield, and George Washington's Ancestors, by William C. Wells.

Frédéric Notte has prepared for French readers an *Histoire des États-Unis d'Amérique depuis les Temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Perrin, 1917).

The Arthur H. Clark Company is publishing *A Social History of the American Family from Colonial Times to the Present*, by Arthur W. Calhoun. The work will consist of three volumes, of which the first, relating to the colonial period, is issued now.

Three new volumes of the *Yale Historical Publications*, just issued by the Yale University Press, are: *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763* (pp. 475), by Dr. Frank W. Pitman of the Sheffield Scientific School; *The Readjuster Movement in Virginia* (pp. 191), by Professor Charles C. Pearson of Wake Forest College; and *The History of Legislative Methods in the Period before 1825* (pp. 269), by Dr. Ralph V. Harlow of Simmons College.

Volume III. of *Makers of America*, edited by Leonard Wilson, has come from the press (Washington, B. F. Johnson).

A History of Transportation in the United States before 1860, prepared under the direction of Dr. Balthasar H. Meyer, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, by Caroline E. MacGill and a staff of collaborators, is published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, being one of the Institution's *Contributions to American Economic History* from the Department of Economics and Sociology.

The University of Chicago Press has brought out *A History of the Australian Ballot System in the United States*, by Eldon C. Evans. An introductory chapter describes and discusses the manner of voting in different sections of the United States before the introduction of the Australian ballot system, and other chapters treat of the origin and development of the system in its several aspects and of the attitude of the courts toward the system. An appendix contains the text of the original Australian ballot act, and another includes a bibliography and a table of cases.

Collective Bargaining in the Lithographic Industry is a study by Dr. H. E. Hoagland, of the University of Illinois, included among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The May-August number of the *German-American Annals* contains the opening chapters of a study, by Clement Vollmer, of the American Novel in Germany, 1871-1913, and the concluding portion of Alfred H. Nolle's study of the German Drama on the St. Louis stage.

Rear-Admiral Preble's *History and Origin of the American Flag*, some time out of print, has been republished by Nicholas L. Brown of Philadelphia.

Latin America and the United States is the title given to the latest volume in the collection of the addresses of Elihu Root, edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott and published by the Harvard University Press.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles has issued a volume of *Relaciones Históricas de América, Primera Mitad del Siglo XVI*. (Madrid, Imp. Ibérica, 1916, pp. cxliii, 240).

Nos. 210, 211, and 212 of *Old South Leaflets*, all edited by Dr. S. E. Morison, present respectively William Knox's *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed* (London, 1769); a body of contemporary documents by John Quincy Adams and others, American and British, on the treaty of Ghent; and the text of the treaty itself, with some supplementary documents.

To volume XIX. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, a volume not yet published, Professor Charles M. Andrews contributes an important and thoroughgoing article of a hundred pages, of which we have received a "separate", on Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Agreement.

Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company publish this autumn *Paul Jones and his Exploits in English Seas, 1778 to 1780*, by Mr. Don C. Seitz, business manager of the *New York World*, who has collected from English newspapers of that time, and from other sources, accounts of Jones's raids along the English coast. The book will contain a special bibliography of its hero.

Mr. E. Alfred Jones of the Temple, London, has in preparation a collection, in two volumes, of *Biographies of the Officers of the Loyalist Regiments of America*, which will embrace biographical and genealogical details based largely on unpublished material, respecting more than a thousand Loyalist officers, and will be issued to subscribers only. Orders may be sent to the St. Catherine Press, Stamford Street, London, S. E.

The June *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library prints from among the library's manuscripts a journal of the celebrated commerce-destroying cruise of the United States brig *Argus* of 1813, from the journal of the surgeon, James Inderwick.

The Smithsonian Institution has recently acquired the manuscript journal kept by Capt. Edward Trenchard, U. S. N., during his service on the West African coast, 1820-1821, in command of the *Cyane*.

Dr. Bernard Steiner of the Enoch Pratt Free Library and the Johns Hopkins University is preparing a life of Chief Justice Taney. He would be greatly obliged if any persons who possess letters of Taney would lend them to him, to be copied and promptly returned.

The Johns Hopkins University Press is soon to publish the Albert Shaw Lectures recently delivered by Professor Payson J. Treat, under the title *The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-1865*.

Mr. Henry E. Shepherd of Baltimore is the author and publisher of a *Narrative of Prison Life at Baltimore and Johnson's Island, Ohio* (pp. 22).

James Monroe Buckley, by Dr. George Preston Mains (New York, Methodist Book Concern), relates the life of one who was a conspicuous leader in the Methodist Church during the last fifty years and an excellent student and writer of its history.

Messrs. Harper and Brothers will publish in the early autumn a new volume in the *American Nation* series edited by Professor A. B. Hart. The book, written by Professor F. A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin, covers the history of the United States from 1907 to 1917.

Stanton and Van Vliet of Chicago have published a collection of thirty speeches and thirty-two diplomatic letters and documents of President Wilson with the title *President Wilson's Great Speeches; and Other History-Making Documents*.

Carl Bitter, a Biography (University of Chicago Press), a small volume by Professor Ferdinand Schevill, brother-in-law of that eminent sculptor, describes a career notable not only for artistic achievement, but for its exhibition of organizing ability, of public spirit, and of ardor for the promotion of American ideals on the part of one of foreign (Austrian) origin.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

In the *War Information* series published by the Committee on Public Information six pamphlets have now been published, all having in greater or less degree an historical aspect. The first, *The War Message and Facts behind It*, has already been mentioned in our July number.

The second, *The Nation in Arms*, contains addresses by Secretaries Lane and Baker. The third is a brief description of the government of Germany by Professor Charles D. Hazen. No. 4 is Professor McLaughlin's paper *The Great War: from Spectator to Participant*, already mentioned on its appearance in the *History Teacher's Magazine*. No. 5, *A War of Self-Defense*, consists of Secretary Lansing's notable address, "America's Future at Stake", and one by Assistant-Secretary Post on "The German Attack". No. 6, *American Loyalty, by Citizens of German Descent*, is a collection of characteristic expressions, also brought out in German. The committee expects before long to bring out a new edition of no. 1; a "war dictionary" for speakers and others, by Professors Corwin and Paxson; "American Expressions of Sympathy with Liberal Europe", by Professor E. B. Greene; a collection of diplomatic documents in the case against Germany, edited by Professor G. G. Wilson; and a pamphlet by Professor Wallace Notestein on Pan-Germanism.

The Oxford University Press announces for early publication, on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a volume entitled *The American View of the War against the Imperial German Government, based upon Official Documents*, by Dr. James Brown Scott, secretary of the Endowment.

Former Ambassador Gerard has written an account of his experiences in Germany which is announced by the George H. Doran Company under the title *My Four Years in Germany*.

A. Viallate dealt with affairs during the first two years of the war and discussed problems of policy in *Les États-Unis d'Amérique et le Conflit Européen* (Paris, Alcan, 1916). Gabriel Alphaud, who dealt with an early phase in *L'Action Allemande aux États-Unis* (1915), has now published *Les États-Unis contre l'Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1917). The two works contain the texts of all the pertinent presidential addresses and other important public documents and form a better account of the relations between the United States and Germany from August, 1914, to April, 1917, than any yet available in English. President Wilson's peace and war addresses and messages are collected in French translation in a thirty-centimes pamphlet (Paris, Bossard, 1917). F. Maurette has written *Ce que les États-Unis nous Apportent, des Aliements, du Matériel, des Navires, de l'Or, des Hommes, d'Autres Alliés* (Paris, Hachette, 1917).

No. 15 in the series *International Conciliation: Documents regarding the European War* presents the main documents respecting the entrance of the United States into the war: President Wilson's address of April 2, the joint resolution of Congress of April 6, the President's proclamation of the same date, Mayor Mitchel's proclamation, and the President's address to his fellow-countrymen, April 16.

The Library of Congress issues a pamphlet entitled *The United States at War: Organizations and Literature* (pp. 115), compiled under the direction of Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer. It presents a list of many public, semi-public, and voluntary organizations functioning in the present emergency or brought into existence to aid the government therein, and describes their activities, with many bibliographical references.

Mr. Lindsay Rogers's *America's Case against Germany* (New York, E. P. Dutton) is not merely an argumentative book, but presents, in brief compass, much historical matter of fact.

Some light on the conditions surrounding the entrance of the United States into the Great War may be gleaned from W. E. Weyl's *American World Policies* (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 307); Arthur Gleason's *Our Part in the Great War* (Stokes, 1917, pp. 338); and Arthur Bullard's *Mobilizing America* (Macmillan, 1917, pp. 129), all published before the declaration of war; and from Senator H. C. Lodge's *War Addresses, 1915-1917* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1917, pp. viii, 303).

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The library of the Maine Historical Society, of Portland, has lately received valuable original records dealing with the early history of the towns of Gray and North Yarmouth; also, on deposit, the manuscript records, 1701-1848, of the second oldest church in Maine—the First Church of Christ (Congregational), of Wells.

The History of Jericho, Vermont, is a good-sized volume edited by an historical committee, composed of Chauncey H. Hayden, Luther C. Stevens, Lafayette Wilbur, and Rev. S. H. Barnum (Burlington, Free Press).

In the May serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society there are two valuable contributions, a review of General McClellan's conduct as a commander in the Civil War, by Col. Thomas L. Livermore, and a detailed survey, by Mr. Samuel E. Morison, of the struggle over the adoption of the constitution of Massachusetts in 1780. Especial attention should be called to the latter article, because, by its thorough and detailed study of the action of individual towns (townships), it carries out within its field a process which deserves wide extension in the history of the American Revolution, and which has been so fruitfully pursued in the case of the French Revolution, the examination of those currents of local opinion out of which the main drift of development was constituted and without which it cannot be rightly understood.

Twenty-five Years of Massachusetts Politics, from Russell to McCall, 1890-1915, by M. E. Hennessey, with a foreword by Senator Henry

Cabot Lodge, is a chronological record of political events in Massachusetts, with their bearing upon national politics pointed out (Boston, Practical Politics).

The Essex Institute is now in possession of all the abstracts and copies of English records made by the late Henry FitzGilbert Waters, Lothrop Withington, and J. Henry Lea. The collection, representing the gleanings of the better part of a lifetime in the case of each of these three experts in genealogical research, is by far the largest collection of abstracts from English genealogical records to be found in America, embracing 50,000 wills, alphabetically arranged, copies or abstracts of the registers of over 600 parishes, a name-index to the Chancery proceedings in more than 75,000 cases, and the like. Much of the matter is in such shape that it can be consulted, free, in the library of the Institute; for the rest, the services of a skilled genealogist attached to the Institute staff are available.

The Institute has brought out, in a limited edition of 300 copies, the first of a series of volumes of the *Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*. In this volume (pp. xvi, 526) all wills and inventories from 1635 to 1664 are printed in full, with full abstracts of all documents relating to the settlement of the estate. The material is derived from every available original source, both in the Massachusetts archives and in those of the county. The collection is of inestimable value to the social and economic history of early Massachusetts. The index is exceptionally elaborate.

The *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for July contains Remarks on a Voyage in 1801 to the Island of Guam, by William Haswell, first officer of the American barque *Lydia*; some letters of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers and others, 1626-1647, from the British Museum, and an account of the grantees and settlement of Hampton, N. H., by V. C. Sanborn.

Mr. Francis B. C. Bradley's *The Eastern Railroad: an Historical Account of Early Railroad in Eastern New England*, which has appeared in sections in the *Historical Collections* of the Essex Institute, as noted from time to time in these pages, has now been brought out as a volume (Salem, Essex Institute, 1917, pp. 107), and constitutes a most valuable contribution to American railroad history.

The Essex Institute has also published, as a separate volume of 167 pages, *Gravestone Inscriptions and Records of Tomb Burials in the Central Burying Ground, Boston Common, and Inscriptions in the South Burying Ground, Boston, 1756-1878*; and two pamphlets by Thomas Amory Lee, namely, *Colonel Jeremiah Lee, Patriot*, and *Colonel William Raymond Lee of the Revolution*.

The American Antiquarian Society has acquired a file of the *Missouri Gazette*, a very rare newspaper. The file extends from the foundation of the journal in 1809 to 1818. The society has also acquired a set of the *Federal Republican*, of Baltimore, running from 1808 to 1819.

The city of Pittsfield, Mass., has published E. Boltwood's *History of Pittsfield from the Year 1876 to the Year 1916* (pp. 387).

The Connecticut Historical Society has published, in a quarto volume of 229 pages, the *Records of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati* from its origin in 1783 to its dissolution in 1804. The pages of the original are photographically reproduced.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Division of Archives and History at Albany has ready for print two volumes of translations from the Dutch records of Albany County, by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, consisting of notarial papers, 1660-1695, deeds, 1658-1660, wills, 1687-1765; also, two volumes of Papers of Sir William Johnson, continuing his correspondence from 1738 through 1762.

The New York Historical Society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for July prints from the archives of the society certain documents relating to the conferring on Washington, in 1785, of the freedom of the city of New York. The society has just issued an *Orderly-Book of De Lancey's Brigade* in the British army, 1776-1778, with an appendix containing a list of New York Loyalists, by Mr. William Kelby. *The Papers and Letters of Cadwallader Colden*, 1710-1775, are being prepared for publication in several volumes of the society's *Publication Fund Series*. Volume L. of this series is now in press, and contains Colden's letters of 1710-1745, rich in material for the history of the province.

The July number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* continues the vital records of Christ's Church at Rye, the Kings County deeds, and various genealogical records. It also prints, with a facsimile and with annotations, the list of those invited to the funeral of the patroon Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, 1674.

The Development of the Power of the State Executive, with special Reference to the State of New York, by M. C. Alexander, is a recent number of *Smith College Studies in History*.

The report of the canal committee of the chamber of commerce of Buffalo on a *Ship Channel between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario* (pp. 53) contains an historical review of the project. The report was prepared by Mr. Henry W. Hill, chairman of the committee.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for January contains a paper by the late William Nelson entitled "A Red Rose: Springfield, 1780—and After", being the story of an incident of the

battle of Springfield; an article by Rev. Charles E. Hart on the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in Newark; some Reminiscences of the War of 1812, reprinted from an old newspaper; a continuation of the Revolutionary pension records of Morris County; and the first installment of the orderly book of Captain Jedediah Swan. The two articles last mentioned are continued in the April number of the *Proceedings*. In the latter number are found also an extended article by William J. Magie entitled *New Light on a Famous Controversy in the History of Elizabethton*, a controversy between the Associates of Elizabethton and the Proprietors of New Jersey over the title to the land on which the town was settled.

The July number of the *Vineland Historical Magazine* is occupied chiefly with continuations of the Journal of Charles K. Landis, Founder of Vineland, and the paper of Mrs. Mary E. Schley concerning Early Settlers of Vineland west of Malaga Road. There is also a letter of Oliver Allen, November 27, 1815, describing a journey from Erie to Marietta, Ohio.

By act of the recent session of the Pennsylvania legislature the functions of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission are extended to include the editing and publication of historical and archaeological material and the conduct of investigations in Pennsylvania history. Provision is also made for a salaried secretary to the commission.

The principal contents of the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are the Orderly Book of General Edward Hand (Valley Forge, January, 1778) and the Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher of Philadelphia (1779-1781), both of them continuations, and some bibliographical and descriptive notes on the issues of the journal of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1776-1790, by Augustus H. Shearer. There are also excerpts from the report of the librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania listing accessions to the society's library and collections.

An acceptable volume on the life of William Penn has been produced by John W. Graham in *William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania* (London, Headley Brothers, 1917, pp. 332).

In the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for June is an interesting article concerning the Santo Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia. In consequence of the negro insurrections in Santo Domingo, beginning in 1791, many of the white inhabitants of the island fled to Philadelphia and Baltimore. Numerous family papers of these refugees are in the possession of the American Catholic Historical Society, and it is from these papers that this article, by Jane Campbell, has been compiled. How narrowly these valuable papers escaped destruction is related among the "Historical Notes" by Dr. Lawrence F. Flick.

The one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the first savings bank in the United States has brought forth *A History of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, 1816-1916* (Lippincott), by J. M. Wilcox, compiled from documentary records of the bank.

The Beginnings of the German Element in York County, Pennsylvania, by A. R. Wentz, has been brought out in Lancaster (New Era Printing Company).

Mr. George H. Lamb of Braddock, Pa., has edited and publishes *The Unwritten History of Braddock's Field* (pp. 336), prepared by the historical committee for the celebration of the golden jubilee of Braddock, the silver jubilee of Rankin, and the one hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the first white settlement west of the Alleghenies. The book deals chiefly with the recent achievements of the community, especially in the development of the steel industry.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Studies of the Old South by the Present Day Students of a Virginia College is a collection of essays to which have been awarded during the past ten years the George W. Bagby prize of Hampden-Sidney College (Hampden-Sidney, Va., the college).

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes an article by Dr. Henry J. Berkley, on Lord Baltimore's Contest with Sir David Kirke over Avalon, notes by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner from some unpublished manuscripts from Fulham Palace relating to provincial Maryland; the proceedings of the Committee of Observation for Elizabeth Town District, September, 1775, to May, 1776; and extracts from the Carroll Papers, April, 1764, to December, 1768.

From notes and incomplete manuscripts of the late Dr. Samuel A. Harrison of Easton, his son-in-law Mr. Oswald Tilghman has compiled an elaborate and valuable *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, in two volumes (pp. 649, 573), with good indexes—a substantial contribution to the history of the state and especially of the eastern shore, including some fifty biographical memoirs. The book is now to be obtained from the Waverley Press, Baltimore.

In the Virginia archives the rearrangement of the legislative petitions, some 25,000 in number, with accompanying papers, in a general chronology from 1776 to 1865, has been completed in substance. The personal property books recently transferred to the state library by the state auditor have in part been bound. The "archival apprentices" from the senior class in Westhampton College completed in June their first session of work in the archives as an historical laboratory; during the next session the same privilege will be available to the senior history students of Randolph-Macon College. The amount of shelf-space in the archives has been largely increased.

The July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes minutes of the council and general court, 1622-1629, from the originals in the Library of Congress; sundry official documents pertaining to Virginia of the years 1680-1681; a continuation of the letters (1686-1688) of William Byrd, First; and some selections from among the papers transferred in 1913 from the state auditor's office to the state library. The selections include: a letter, December 11, 1777, from William Aylett, deputy commissary-general of purchases for Virginia, to William Lee, and one from Governor Patrick Henry to Lee, December 13, both in regard to supplying the Virginia army and navy; two letters (1781, 1786) of Raleigh Colston, commercial agent for the state of Virginia at Cap François, Santo Domingo, where the first was written; and a contract, made July 21, 1715, between William Dandridge and Lieut.-Gov. Alexander Spotswood to carry troops from Virginia to South Carolina to assist the latter against the Indians.

Messrs. Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Kichtenstein have prepared a volume on *The History of the Jews of Richmond, 1769-1917* (Richmond, Va., H. T. Ezekiel).

In 1912 the Phelps-Stokes Fellowship was founded at the University of Virginia for the purpose of stimulating and conducting investigations concerning the character, condition, and possibilities of the negroes in the Southern States. Such a study is *The Taxation of Negroes in Virginia* (pp. 97), by Tipton R. Snavely, which is issued by the University of Virginia. About one-third of the pamphlet is devoted to an examination into the history of the capitation tax as applied to and affecting the negro. The real estate tax is however regarded by the author as of chief importance inasmuch as it is the principal source of all taxes paid by negroes. This part of the study is also of greater interest for the light it throws on negro life in Virginia. The personal property and the income taxes are of less importance. Such a specialized investigation is valuable for the study of conditions among the negroes.

The North Carolina legislature of 1917 made an increase of \$2000 in the annual appropriation for the maintenance of the North Carolina Historical Commission. The legislature also appropriated to the commission \$2500 a year for the next two years to be used by it in marking historic sites in North Carolina. The commission is authorized to appropriate from this fund \$100 for each marker, provided a like sum is raised from other sources. To its collections the commission has added 351 miscellaneous manuscripts including letters from several Confederate generals and a number of North Carolina statesmen. A large collection of the family letters of the James K. Polk family has been secured. To the collection of papers of Governor David S. Reid previously reported, have been added 248 pieces. Other additions are:

four letter-books of Charles P. Bolles, of the U. S. Coast Survey, containing 648 letters, memoranda, notes, etc., relating to the work of the Coast Survey, 1846-1855; letters of J. M. Worth, state salt commissioner during the Civil War, relating to the state salt works at Wilmington; 40 bound volumes of Wilmington newspapers, 1861-1881; 1042 North Carolina items, 1731-1795, from issues of the *South Carolina Gazette* and other early papers of South Carolina; local records from Edgecombe and Halifax counties; and from Chowan County a large collection of valuable early colonial papers, including journals of the general assembly, records of the vice-admiralty court, etc.

The North Carolina Historical Commission prints the *Proceedings* of the seventeenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association. It contains an address on Edward Livingston by Ex-President Taft, and historical essays on the Sovereign State of North Carolina, 1787-1789, by W. W. Pierson, jr., on Suffrage in North Carolina, by W. S. Wilson, and on the history of Crime and Punishment in North Carolina, by Thomas M. Pittman.

The North Carolina Council of Defense has, like some of the other state councils, included in its plan of organization an Historical Committee. Mr. R. D. W. Connor of Raleigh, its chairman, has prepared a leaflet on the work of the committee, which contains many suggestions applicable to similar work elsewhere.

Economic and Social History of Chowan County, North Carolina, 1880-1915, by W. Scott Boyce, is no. 179 of *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

The James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. XVI., no. 1, is *A Colonial History of Rowan County, North Carolina*, by Samuel J. Ervin, jr. Rowan County originally included the northern part of the Piedmont and mountain sections of North Carolina, therefore this sketch relates not only to the region around Salisbury (the seat of the present Rowan County), but to the larger part of the western end of the state.

The South Carolina Historical Commission has published as *Bulletin No. 4* George Hunter's map of the Cherokee Country and the Path thereto in 1730 with comments by A. S. Salley, Jr., secretary of the commission.

Mr. Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* a study of the Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina. Among the letters of John Rutledge, annotated by Joseph W. Barnwell, there are in this number of the *Magazine* six addressed to the South Carolina delegates in Congress, January to September, 1781, chiefly concerning military events. There is also a brief letter from General Greene to Rutledge concerning the action at Eutaw Springs.

The following articles are found in the June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*: James Mackay of Strathy Hall, Comrade in Arms of George Washington, by William Harden; the Boundary between Georgia and South Carolina, by George Hillyer; Fort Pulaski, by C. H. Olmstead; and Historic Spots in Summerville, by Lawton B. Evans.

M. Serrano Sanz has brought out as a small separate volume his articles in the *Boletín* of the Archives of the Indies on *España y los Indios Cheroquis y Chactas en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII*. (Seville, Tip. de la Guia Oficial, 1916, pp. 92), a useful contribution to the history of the Indian problem and of the southwestern territory in the early days of the United States.

The Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge issued in August the first volume of its annual proceedings. The Louisiana State University has reissued this as the August number of the *University Bulletin*.

Among the articles in the May number of the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* are: the Alleged Secession of Kentucky, by A. C. Quisenberry; Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, and Francis Preston Blair, by Gist Blair; and History of Education in Kentucky, by Martha Stephenson.

The Filson Club has brought out a study, by Mary Verhoeff, of the Kentucky River in regard to improvements, commerce, and mountain traffic. The volume bears the title *The Kentucky River Navigation*.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for July contains the concluding installment of Professor St. George L. Sioussat's study of the beginning of railroad transportation in the Old Southwest, entitled Memphis as a Gateway to the West, and also that of W. A. Provine's Lardner Clark, Nashville's First Merchant and Foremost Citizen. The documents consist of letters from the Donelson Papers, edited by Professor Sioussat.

A History of Sweetwater Valley (Tenn.), by W. B. Lenoir, is published in Sweetwater, Tenn., by the author.

WESTERN STATES

The annual historical volume published by the Lakewood Press of Chicago for distribution at Christmas time will this year consist of a reprint, edited by M. M. Quaife, of the Indian captivity narrative of the Rev. Oliver M. Spencer, first published in the *Western Christian Advocate* of Cincinnati in 1835. The narrative was several times reprinted in book form, with more or less fidelity to the original, during the next few years.

The Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois (pp. 149), by Dr. Niels H. Debel, constituting vol. VI., nos. 1 and 2, of the *University of Illi-*

nois Studies in the Social Sciences, is a thoroughgoing study in a field that has been but indifferently cultivated. As a necessary approach to the immediate subject of investigation Dr. Debel traces the general development of the veto power in the American colonies and states. He then treats the development and operation of the veto power in Illinois in three stages: the period from 1818 to 1848, when the veto power resided in a council of revision constituted of the governor and judges, the suspensive veto under the constitution of 1848, and the power as exercised under the constitution of 1870.

In July the Michigan Historical Commission began the publication of the *Michigan Historical Magazine*, excellent in appearance and in contents. The latter include a sketch of the life of Judge Isaac Marston, justice of the state supreme court from 1875 to 1883, by William L. Clements, a member of the commission; an address on the Field for the Historian in the Upper Peninsula, by the Very Rev. Dr. F. X. Barth, dean of Escanaba; a history of the first bank in Michigan (the Detroit Bank, created in 1806), by William L. Jenks of the commission; and an account of the centenary of the settlement of Oakland County, the first county to hold a centennial celebration, by Mrs. L. D. Avery. The magazine abounds in news of historical progress in the state, especially on the part of county history societies. It is intended to serve both as a bulletin for such news and as a medium for the publication of historical papers, hitherto chiefly published in the *Michigan Historical Collections*. In place of the latter, the commission will hereafter publish two distinct series, a "Documentary Series", for homogeneous volumes of original material, and a "University Series" of monographs. The first of the latter is *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan: a Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula during the Territorial Period, 1805-1837*, by G. N. Fuller, secretary of the commission. The October Magazine will contain war letters of Hon. Washington Gardner, a history of St. Mary's parish, in Marshall, by Rev. Father James Cahalan, an account of government survey and charting of the Great Lakes, by John Fitzgibbon, and two articles on the Holland Emigration to Michigan, by Hon. Gerrit Van Schelven and Hon. Gerrit J. Diekema.

The Michigan Historical Commission has recently begun an inventory of the state archives, looking toward their systematic organization. It has completed a descriptive list of the papers of Austin Blair, Michigan's "war governor", a collection comprising some 11,000 items, recently acquired by Mr. C. M. Burton. This list will be printed in the *Magazine*. The commission has acquired an important series of photographs of maps having a bearing on the Michigan-Ohio boundary line.

The Library of the University of Michigan invites subscriptions to a photographic facsimile of the *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington, 1787-1800), the first newspaper published west of the Alleghany Mountains, and a foremost source for Western history in its period. The reproduc-

tion, made from the unique file in the Public Library of Lexington, will be offered in 14 volumes bound in buckram, at a price of not more than \$775. Similarly, the Michigan Historical Commission invites subscriptions to a photographic facsimile, in 13 volumes, at \$750, or less, of a set of the *Detroit Gazette* (1817-1830), as complete as can be made from the file in the Burton Historical Collection, supplemented by the use of other files. Subscriptions to either set may be sent to W. W. Bishop, librarian of the University of Michigan.

In a study of *Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890* (Johns Hopkins University Studies, XXXV. 3, pp. 189) Professor Arthur C. Millspaugh of Whitman College presents in excellent fashion all the essential data on an important subject in respect to which Michigan is not far from a typical case; yet it is to be wished that similar thorough histories should be made for other states.

The initial number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has been announced for publication in September. The magazine will appear quarterly and each number is to contain about one hundred pages. Leading articles in the initial number are, Increase Allen Lapham: First Scholar of Wisconsin, by M. M. Quaife; Bankers' Aid in 1861-1862, by Louise P. Kellogg; Forest Fires in Northern Wisconsin, by J. L. Bracklin; and the Diary of Harvey Reid, kept at Madison in the spring of 1861 (document). Aside from these articles, there are departments devoted respectively to editorials, to historical queries, and to "historical fragments", and finally a survey of historical activities.

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Riverside High School, Milwaukee, has spent the summer in the employ of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in the preparation of a comprehensive report on the archives situation in Wisconsin. It is expected that this report will be published by the society later in the year. The annual address before the society at the coming meeting in October will be given by Professor Paxson of the University of Wisconsin.

Miss Genevieve Mills of Madison, who died at the close of 1916, bequeathed to the Wisconsin State Historical Society her half interest in the parental homestead, supposed to amount to about \$25,000, as a perpetual fund, to be devoted to the editing of material for middle western history.

In *Oberst Heg og Hans Gutter* (Eau Claire, 1916, pp. 327) Mr. Waldemar Ager has collected and edited letters and diaries, written by members of the Fifteenth Wisconsin Regiment, a regiment of Norwegians, commanded by Colonel Heg, who was killed at Chickamauga.

Solomon Juneau, who is commonly looked upon as the first settler of Milwaukee, came to the site of the future city in 1818. Elaborate preparations are under way looking to the suitable celebration, by means

of an historical pageant and otherwise, of the centenary of Juneau's coming.

Mr. Lucius C. Coleman of La Crosse has reprinted by photomechanical process from the copy in the Wisconsin Historical Library the rare *Brief Sketch of La Crosse, Wisc'n*, published in 1854 by Rev. Spencer Carr. The work, a twenty-eight page pamphlet, may be regarded as a combined city history, diary, census, and promoting tract.

The Minnesota Historical Society has recently acquired a large collection of manuscripts consisting of papers of Maj. William D. Hale, a well-known Civil War veteran, and a prominent figure in the commercial, political, religious, and educational life of Minneapolis and Minnesota. The material includes records of a number of business firms with which Major Hale was connected, and letters received from about 1868 to 1894. Of these last a considerable proportion were written by W. D. Washburn, representative and senator in Washington 1880-1885, 1890-1894.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* for May includes a brief paper by Professor Carl Becker on the Monroe Doctrine and the War, and one by F. F. Holbrook on Some Possibilities of Historical Field Work.

The Enlistment of Iowa Troops during the Civil War, by John E. Briggs, is an interesting and timely article in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. Ruth A. Gallaher contributes to the same number an article on the Military-Indian Frontier, 1830-1845. The *Journal* also reprints from the *Hawk-Eye and Iowa Patriot* (Burlington) of January 30, 1840, an account of the council held with the Sac and Fox Indians January 23 and 24 of that year.

Mr. E. H. Stiles, formerly a member of the Iowa house of representatives, a state senator, and the reporter of its supreme court, in *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa*, writes of men whom he has known in his public life.

During the past year the State Historical Society of Missouri has obtained a complete file of the *Missouri Republican* and the *St. Louis Republican* (daily) from 1874 to 1890, bound in 63 volumes, and making the society's file of these papers nearly complete from 1859 to date. In the April-July issue (double number) of the society's journal, the *Missouri Historical Review*, Walter B. Stevens, writing concerning Missouri's centennial, discusses several phases of Missouri history; F. F. Stephens continues his papers on Missouri and the Santa Fé Trade; and David W. Eaton contributes the fourth of his articles on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were named. The October number will contain the first installment of a series of articles by Dr. William G. Bek, of the University of North Dakota, on the famous and influential work by Gottfried Duden, "A Report of a Journey to the Western

States of North America"—*Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas* (1829), now for the first time translated into English.

The July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the second installment of A. K. Christian's study of the Tariff History of the Republic of Texas, a paper by James E. Winston on Mississippi and the Independence of Texas, and one by E. W. Winkler on the "Twin Sisters" Cannon, 1836-1865. The "Twin Sisters" cannon were two field pieces presented to the Texan government by the citizens of Cincinnati in 1836 and used at the battle of San Jacinto.

The President of the United States has by proclamation created the Verendrye National Monument, near Sanith, North Dakota, a reservation of 253 acres, embracing Crowhigh Butte, on the left bank of the Missouri River at Old Crossing, and marking the first recorded visit of white men to North Dakota.

A Popular History of Utah, by O. F. Whitney, has been published in Salt Lake City by the *Deseret News*.

The Bureau of American Ethnology and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, have jointly initiated during the past summer the work of excavating the important ruined pueblo of Hawikuh, in New Mexico, one of the Seven Cities of Cibola, visited by Fray Marcos de Niza and captured by Coronado. Mr. Earl H. Morris, on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History, has been proceeding with the excavation of the pueblo ruins at Aztec in northwestern New Mexico.

The July number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by Judge F. W. Howay of British Columbia, on the Spanish Settlement at Nootka: an address by General Hazard Stevens, on the Pioneers and Patriotism; and a paper by Professor Edmond S. Meany, on Governor Richard D. Gholson. Mr. T. C. Elliott gives, from David Thompson's manuscript journal, an installment of the records of his journeys in the Spokane country. More than half the number is occupied with a manuscript entitled *A Few Items of the West*, casual in arrangement but full of interest, found among the "literary remains" of Angus McDonald (1816-1889), one of the last chief traders of the Hudson's Bay Company to conduct a post within the territorial limits of the United States.

The principal content of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is four chapters of a biography of Hall J. Kelley, Prophet of Oregon, by Fred Wilbur Powell. Kelley (1790-1874) became actively interested in the settlement of Oregon as early as 1824. In 1829 he organized the American Society for Encouraging the Settlement of the Oregon Territory, and as its general manager proceeded to carry on energetic propaganda in behalf of the settlement of Oregon under his plans.

The California Historical Survey Commission, appointed in 1915, has brought out a *Preliminary Report* (pp. 71). It contains preliminary descriptions of the operations and plans of the commission, a general treatise on the records of county clerks in California, and sample reports on the archives of Humboldt County and on those of the recorder of the city and county of San Francisco. All the work seems to be based upon sound methods, intelligently carried out.

Mr. H. Kephart has edited and the Outing Publishing Company publishes J. D. Borthwick's *The Gold Hunters: a First-hand Picture of Life in California Mining Camps in the Early Fifties* (pp. 361).

CANADA

The New Era in Canada is the title of a volume of essays by various writers dealing with the upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth. The authors represented are: Stephen Leacock, Sir Edmund Walker, Professor F. D. Adams, Sir John Willison, John W. Dafoe, Miss Marjory MacMurchy, Dr. Herbert Symonds, Sir Clifford Sifton, Archbishop McNeil, G. Frank Beer, Professor George M. Wrong, and Peter MacArthur.

The Yale University Press has published *The Constitution of Canada in its History and Practical Working*, by Justice W. R. Riddell of Ontario.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The student of the work of Spanish friars in America will find much aid to his labors in the *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la Orden de San Agustín*, of which Father Gregorio de Santiago Vela has brought out three volumes (Madrid, Asilo de Huérfanos del S. C. de Jesús, 1913, 1915, 1917, pp. xxx, 742, 722, 728), extending through the letter "J".

E. Martinenche has furnished the preface for the first part of *L'Amérique Latine et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Hachette, 1916, pp. viii, 204), which contains contributions by representatives of ten Latin-American nations, which voice sympathy with the cause of the Entente Allies.

Special attention, beyond what arises from a mere mention under "Noteworthy articles in periodicals", should be called to the elaborate articles of Professor G. Desdèvises du Dezert on "Vice-Rois et Capitaines Généraux des Indes Espagnoles à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle", of which the first installment appears in the *Revue Historique* of July-August.

The most recent period of Mexican history is illustrated by a recent book of one of the chief actors, Gen. Alvaro Obregon, *Ocho Mil Kilometros en Campaña*.

The Sociedad Española de Librería (Madrid, Ferraz 25), sales agents for the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, have also been publishing a

Biblioteca de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, in which several volumes are of an historical nature: *La Diplomacia de Chile durante la Emancipación y la Sociedad Internacional Americana*, by Dr. Alejandro Alvarez; *Etnología é Historia de Tierra-Firme (Venezuela y Colombia)*, by Dr. Julio C. Salas of the University of Mérida; *El Mito de Monroe*, by Dr. Carlos Pereyra, formerly professor in the University of Mexico; *La Federación en Colombia*, by Señor José de la Vega of Cartagena; *La Evolución Histórica de la América Latina*, by Senhor Manoel de Oliveira Lima of the Brazilian Academy; *Ensayos de Historia Política y Diplomática*, by Señor Angel César Rivas of the Venezuelan Academy of History; *El Hombre y la Historia (Ensayo de Sociología Venezolana)*, by Señor José Gil Fortoul, of the same institution; *Rosas y el Doctor Francia*, by Señor José M. Ramos Mejía, president of the Argentine Council of Education; and *El Ideal Político del Libertador Simón Bolívar*, by Señor J. D. Monsalve, of the Academy of History of Colombia.

An exhaustive work on the early history of Buenos Aires is *Mendoza y Garay: las Dos Fundaciones de Buenos Aires, 1536-1580* (Buenos Aires, Coni, 1916, pp. xxxi, 546), by Señor Paul Groussac of the Biblioteca Nacional.

The seventh volume of the *Documentos para la Historia Argentina* is devoted to *Comercio de Indias, Consulado, Comercio de Negros y Extranjeros, 1791-1809* (Buenos Aires, Comp. Sud-Americana de Billetes de Banco, 1916, pp. xcvi, 429), edited by D. L. Molinari.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Yves Guyot, *La Formation Politique des États-Unis* (*Journal des Économistes*, May); D. R. Fox, *The Negro Vote in Old New York* (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); M. W. E. Wright, translator, *Memoirs of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau relative to the War of Independence of the United States* (*North American Review*, May, June, July); H. N. Gay, *Tradizioni della Politica Estera Americana* (*Nuova Antologia*, May 16); W. L. Fleming, *The Early Life of Jefferson Davis* (*Bulletin of the Louisiana State University*, June); G. W. Stark, *A Century of Steam on the Great Lakes* (*Outlook*, July 11); M. H. Hunter, *Early Regulation of Public Service Corporations* (*American Economic Review*, September); Hamilton Gardner, *Co-operation among the Mormons* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May); E. Porritt, *Canada's National Policy* (*Political Science Quarterly*, June); M. O. Hammond, *The Fight for Confederation* (*Canadian Magazine*, July); N. M. McTavish, *The Jubilee of Confederation* (*ibid.*); A. H. U. Colquhoun, *Our Eight Prime Ministers* (*ibid.*); Baron Erland Nordenskiöld, *The Guarani Invasion of the Inca Empire in the Sixteenth Century: an Historical Indian Migration* (*Geographical Review*, August); C. de Velasco, *La Unica Interpretación Racional de la Emmienda Platt* (*Cuba Contemporánea*, August); T. M. Cestero, *Los Estados Unidos y la República Dominicana*, I. (*La Reforma Social*, Havana, December).

The

American Historical Review

THE EDITORIAL FUNCTION IN UNITED STATES HISTORY¹

THE long line of my abler predecessors in office has given expression to many views and convictions. There are definitions of history, the application of historical principles, the interpretation of periods or of events, and experiment in forecasting the future in terms of the past. Scholar, publicist, and public servant have expressed their beliefs, outlined their hopes, and even intimated their disappointments in historical language. After such a series of treatments the field has been so well gleaned as to leave little yet to be garnered. If therefore I say a word for an historical agency on which almost no words have been spent, my apology must cover at once the poverty of the subject and the comparatively low rank of the agency. I refer to the editor of original sources of history, the ginning or picking machine which deals with the raw material, the first stage toward the warp and woof of historical writing.

Let us start with something definite. "Was it you", wrote an Englishman to Joseph Jefferson, the actor, "or was it your grandfather, who wrote the Declaration of Independence?" The inquirer and the question are always with us and one of the objects of writing and teaching history is to make both harmless, if not impossible. And the lowest round of the ladder of accomplishment is the editor. He assumes the existence of the anxious inquirer, he seeks to measure his wants, and he frames the answer on such a plane as to hit the average degree of ignorance. "Ignorance", wrote Emerson in his journal, "is but an appetite which God made us to gratify." The editor is a source of information and a measure of quantity suited to a dose. A physician selects his remedies on case practice, on a range of experience which has eliminated

¹ Presidential address read before the American Historical Association, at Philadelphia, December 27, 1917.

every factor of doubt but the personal equation of the subject. The giver of information has few rules based on experience for his guidance, and has a double personal equation to meet—that of his subject and that of his questioner. No wonder the failures are many.

The art is comparatively new, for it arose out of myth and fable and is still painfully groping towards truth. Evolutionists tell us that the development of moral concepts has been as gradual and certain as the development of physical characteristics, and some would lay down a rule of thumb to show how the ideas of truth, right, and justice have been evolved from moral nescience. What would the writer of history not give for such a standard or measure! The pleasure and the relief of being able to determine thus almost mechanically the degree of faith to be given to this or that relator; the delight of placing him in his proper stage of development and the mastery of purpose which would follow—what boons to the plodding reader who must rest his story upon what others, of another time and place, have related. The strata of dependence thus defined would mean a scientific test for reliability, something far beyond the existing method of setting relator against relator and accepting the mean as truth.

Three centuries ago, before there was a wide public to be gulled, the little circle of readers was given on the death of a great man a volume of his testament or parting advice. The contents had just enough verisimilitude to be accepted in part, and the advice was wholly interested. The practice common in its day on the Continent of Europe easily slipped into the later form of memoirs, and from the memoirs came biography. To pass upon the career of a public man immediately after his death involves no light task. The secretarial writer, of which Boswell is such a shining example, may be truthful and interesting; but if he is sincere and loyal he will not lightly relate what may tell against his employer. That appeal to prurient curiosity which finds a market in sensation, has been framed in many ways, and still attracts support. A Pepys holds up a personal mirror with the reflecting surface towards himself, and unconsciously gives material for judging others and his own times such as no serious-minded historian could give and such as no writer on Pepys's period can neglect. The little has become the important.

The United States has not been rich in self-written history, nor is the little it possesses, of startling moment. An explanation offered by some declares the lack of real interest in American history. However rich in pictures and incidents it does not present

flashes and explosions of overwhelming importance. Another explanation is that its people have been too occupied in opening territory to settlement and development to expend much energy on recording and explaining the course of events, much less the participation in the struggle where the overscrupulous were doomed to defeat. A third would say that a democracy is against good history, for it means a slow vulgarizing of the best. No such explanations will account for the absence of those willing and able to relate their own careers after their own point of view. Their names should be legion. The foreign visitor, in the rawest period of our growth, has not failed in picturesque, even lurid contrast, and has not found us inarticulate on ourselves or bashful of suggesting our merits. If the tone has been one of bluster rather than of philosophic analysis, it is genuine and not assumed, even to the wincing at the reflection returned by the not too faultless mirror.

In colonial New England publicity in the religious experiences of members or would-be members of the churches was exacted. If printed they take rank with the confessions of condemned criminals just reprieved, interesting not for their content, but for the state of mind and surroundings they show. They constitute a necessary item in the social history of the time, a crude form of the third degree, by which it was hoped a corner of the curtain of the soul, the token of immortal man, would be raised. The diaries, chiefly kept in interleaved almanacs by the ministers, were never intended for the public eye, and rarely rise above the level of a record of church ministration, with items of farm and household of a singularly bald nature. Once in a great while some one has the itch of putting all his thoughts and feelings on paper, and in seeking to imitate St. Augustine in frankness and scope, presents the most repellent features of religious ecstasism. Sainthood and martyrdom are able to endure that form of exhibition; but the atmosphere of early New England lacks in the quality which makes martyrdom picturesque; and this self-immolation to dogma long since passed away leaves the reader cold, even in a critical frame of mind. Did the situation of soul really demand this suffering? Is it not the symptom of physical derangement so easily mistaken for a divine afflatus? Of the sincerity of the sufferer there need be no doubt; but for permanent effect the acting is a little overdone.

Whence comes this expansiveness which often mounts to the grotesque; this tendency to publicity of thought and action? It is not English, for that people avoid exhibitions of feeling lest they make themselves ridiculous. It is not French, for they have a better

sense of finish and proportion. It is not Scottish, for they are too canny to waste even emotion without some definite return. The Irish have a humor that saves them from ridicule, though it does not endow them with the needed balance-wheel of wisdom. The sentiment of Germany overruns proper bounds, but is not reflected in the leading examples of American self-written biography. The American expression is peculiar, a proper accompaniment of a territory almost without limits. Virgin land at settlement, it had a strong influence on those who came to it. Its symbol is a screaming eagle, and who would blame an eagle for screaming in boundless space? Every American claims the right of free utterance. As a child he has used it, as a man he has abused it, the only restraint being a wholesome fear of the law of libel or an appeal to the medieval and murderous code of honor. Even this right of utterance is quite modern.

Censorship of the press, one stage in the development, is an historical survival, and in English-speaking countries (except Ireland) is merely of historical importance. Liberty "to know, to utter and to argue" Milton placed above all other liberties; but so long as it could be interpreted by an autocratic ruler, by virtue of an undefined general prerogative, the liberty existed only in name. Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia* made it punishable by death to speak against the ruling power, and by one of those strange sequences of events he was himself brought to trial for countenancing the pretensions of a nun who was charged with treasonable language. Freedom came slowly, and such was the effect of the supervision of the press that under the Restoration the newspaper press was practically reduced to the *London Gazette*—an official and inspired organ. In two centuries and a half such interferences have been abolished. While Great Britain has, after its fashion, never rested the freedom of the press on law but on its unwritten constitution, the United States have gloried in its recognition in their bills of right, an essential part of their constitutions. The price paid is a confusion of tongues, a multiplicity of opinion which produces indigestion, and an absence of standards which permits the glorification of the seamy and the sordid as freely as of the great and the admirable. Laudation of self and institutions is justified by accomplishment, and if it is pitched in too high a key is excusable by its honesty.

One compensation may be found in this discordant circle of self-praise, filial praise, and disciple praise. The note is unharmonious even in development. There has not long existed a studied

combination singing praises of one man or one policy; at no time do we trace that blind sacrifice of opinion which marks the devoted adherent to faction, to party, to Church or to State. There has been no suggestion of general interference by the state to impose upon the people a single interpretation of policy outside of law. The opposition has been as free as the supporters of government, and the third or independent party, or the silent independent voter, tends to correct such an overwhelming drift as could be interpreted as an unrestricted mandate from the people to their representatives, or from the government to the people. Except in great crises the American conception of liberty of speech has been maintained, and in the severe crises, as Rhodes says of the War of Secession, the great principles of liberty have not been invalidated by the exercise of extraordinary powers, although the arbitrary exercise of those powers was to be condemned. Even against the government the citizen can invoke the protection of the courts.

Self-editing finds expression in autobiography, and the one great example of American autobiography is that of Franklin, written, be it remembered, late in life, and never finished. Unable to live his life over again in fact, he took the nearest to it, to make a recollection of that life as durable as possible by putting it down in writing. And he gratified his vanity in so doing, believing that vanity is "often productive of good to the possessor, and to others that are within his sphere of action; and therefore, in many cases, it would not be altogether absurd if a man were to thank God for his vanity among the other comforts of life". The entire relation is redolent of a studied frankness that lulls the reader into a forgetfulness of much in Franklin's career that a moralist would dwell upon. I almost fancy that Cotton Mather would have been pleased to preach the last sermon heard by the condemned Benjamin Franklin. And the circumstance would have been possible, for Franklin was born in 1706 and Mather lived until 1728. The autobiography was first published in 1817, and could occasion no serious controversy; but the papers printed with the autobiography by the grandson did arouse comment on both sides of the ocean, more for what had been omitted than for what had been included. The question of an interference by the British government is not one which need delay us in passing. That government and that people have not shown strong inclinations to edit their expressions on America and its history, least of all at the time the Franklin volumes appeared. Jefferson intimated that William Temple Franklin may have been "an accomplice in the parricide of the memory of his immortal

grandfather", but the result of the publication gave proof of the incapacity of the grandson. There is not a line of Franklin's writings which could not have seen the light in 1817 with as little injury to his reputation as in 1917.

An earlier and the earliest printed autobiography after the War for Independence appeared in 1798. Major-General William Heath took us into his confidence in the form of a journal of events compiled after his active service was past, and published, it has been charged, before its intended time, to promote an election to office. Fully acquainted by his studies, as he believed, "with the theory of war in all its branches and duties, from the private soldier to the Commander in Chief", he wrote sometimes as a private and sometimes as generalissimo. He was the preacher of preparedness from 1770, and like most such preachers was lacking in action. A trusted lieutenant, he attained rank without distinction, and grew corpulent in inaction and performance. "Our General", as he pleases to call himself, a term reported to have been applied to him by Bernard in one of his prophetic moments, printed his book, which was greeted by smiles on all sides. It was impossible to misinterpret such a delightful piece of vanity. Its historical value shrinks before its personal quality.

Gradually an interest in personal history was awakened. In biography Marshall's *Life of Washington* was easily first to challenge attention. It was based upon original documents; it appeared at a time when the power of the Federalists had been shattered, and their shrewdest opponent was in full possession of the executive. Did Marshall intend to raise a monument to Washington or to the Federalist Party? It was good history, good politics, and good biography for the time, yet the neglect into which it has fallen is due more to the writer than to what he used of the subject. Fourteen years later, in 1818, Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, necessarily largely based on tradition, carried into biography the oratorical flowers of Independence Day, and succeeded so far as to make its transplanted garden a desert place in comparison to a later and saner cultivation. It is something to have manufactured a good book, yet an example that is to be avoided—otherwise the sense of relation would be weakened. Virginia still held the field for a period. In 1825 the life and correspondence of Richard Henry Lee and in 1829 that of Arthur Lee were given out by a grandson of the former. They were defensive, colored by deliberate but mistaken purpose. Both compilations showed how good material could be wasted in an effort to prepare a brief in a cause of secondary importance.

The first compilation of Jefferson's letters, by his grandson Thomas Jefferson Randolph, appeared in 1830. Monroe and Madison, the closest intimates to Jefferson after his presidency, were still living, not to mention some of the opposition whose feelings might be touched. They knew some years in advance that this work was in preparation, yet neither attempted to interfere or to control what should be inserted. Randolph possessed the courage of his necessities, for on the last pages of the last volume he printed the *Anas*, that body of comment which is so characteristic of the Jefferson epos. Yet he did not let stand the criticism of Washington or the word which made John Marshall the mountebank of the X. Y. Z. mission, and he omitted more than half of the record as of lesser importance. Jefferson's opinions invited dissension, and the publication of the volumes led to an exchange of epithets that enlivened, even if it did not much enlighten, the history and practice of politics. Having gone as far as he did, Randolph need have omitted no part of the record. Those who disliked Jefferson were convinced of the soundness of their dislike; those who practised politics as a profession busily engaged themselves in constructing that Jeffersonian myth which still persists and, judiciously used, has exerted a constant effect in hypnotizing the wavering voter.

These lights of the War for Independence used language unrestrained by a fear of publication. They lived in the day of a newspaper which seems singularly harmless for attack. The party scribblers of low character might dip their pens in venom; the very excess of their invective discounted and the small circulation deadened its force. When Callender turned upon Jefferson, his benefactor, he was obliged to set up a sheet of his own, and the few copies in existence are eloquent on his poverty and incapacity. In the respectable press the discussion of men and measures rarely rose above mediocrity, and mere personalities could not explain policies. Hamilton, one of the best controversialists of his time, might have repeated his letter to John Adams six times over, with six different objects, and had either the *Diary* or letters of John Adams seen the light in his day, the pot of discord would have remained at boiling point. Both men in their own time experienced the effect of an untoward publication of confidential communications, and the experience embittered their later years. Hamilton's papers drifted for years looking for a biographer, and when at last in 1840 they were used by a son, his brothers openly expressed their disapprobation and regret on the event.

In this early period of personal relations the editor had no

place. The member of the family sufficed. However marked a curiosity over a public character might exist, it did not extend to his writings. An early experiment (1810) of printing Hamilton's financial papers failed. With the current questions interest ceased, and newspaper discussion rarely dipped into past American history. Precedents and comparisons were drawn from Greece and Rome, not from colonial Britain. In the small number of instances where elaborate defense was deemed proper, it was the leading actor who performed the task—as in Monroe's defense of his French mission and in Edmund Randolph's *Vindication*. A pamphlet would cover the emergency; and it was prepared by an interested party. Yet in the first years the editor appears in a modest but efficient form, dealing with original sources and with some comprehension of the function he was to fulfil.

The earliest example is Ebenezer Hazard and his *Historical Collections*, printed by the author—a euphemism then as now for printed at a loss—in 1792. Wait's *State Papers* (1815) were a forerunner of Force's *Archives*. As to the publication in 1819 of the *Acts and Proceedings of the Convention of 1787* by John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, as related in his *Memoirs*, he enlists the heartfelt sympathy of everyone who has dealt with original material as arranged by ambitious but badly equipped adventurers in history, or by pious hands directed by filial apprehension. These early essays in printing sources were guided by the proper spirit. Without undue reverence for the written word, they followed the text without modification in language or in intention. Why should this attitude have undergone a change which for half a century persisted in mutilating the text and giving excuse for every vagary of statement?

'Tis woman that seduces all mankind;

By her we first were taught the wheedling arts.

And it was a Massachusetts woman who pointed out the way. Secretly Eliza Susan Quincy compiled a memoir of her grandfather Josiah Quincy, the patriot, and when she had completed the task, she induced her father, Josiah Quincy, to put his name on the title-page and thus assume responsibility for the dark deed. How she doctored the text, altering, omitting, and mutilating as seemed to her proper and best, has only recently become known. I will not say that she violated all the commandments of good editing, but she was remarkably successful in sinning against the great majority. This volume appeared in 1825, and the first volume of Sparks's *Washington* followed nine years later, so perfect an imitation of all

the faults embodied in the Quincy publication, that collusion might be assumed, without the excuse of family reticence.

I wish to be just to Mr. Sparks. Admit that he designed and carried into execution large undertakings, and a series of ten volumes is a large undertaking even now; admit his singleness of purpose and consistency of operation; is it harsh to say that his judgment is condemned by the necessity for going again over the ground he covered, not because of new material discovered or available since his day, but because of an unreliable text? The writings of Washington, Franklin, and Gouverneur Morris and the *Diplomatic Correspondence* which he edited—all have since been republished, and with patience, not from a few samples but from the many, may be discovered the manner in which Sparks misused his opportunity. His good fortune in being a pioneer in this form of compilation, and his industry as an editor, have placed his volumes on the shelves of every self-respecting library, public and private; yet his repute as an authority has been steadily falling.

Deliberate falsification can hardly be charged to these early practitioners in editing. They felt the presence of some who had participated in the events they were to describe. Why print anything unpleasant, or unkind, or partizan, or personal? Why expose the foibles of men looming big as historical characters? These contemporaries, wearied by perpetual party strife, were beyond a capacity to reply; they asked only to be permitted to close their lives in peace. Others were actually in office, honored by the free choice of the electors or by the trust of those who held their office by election. Why raise disputes of the past, much and probably ignorantly discussed at the time, now the ashes of controversy? The supposed necessity of party supplied the newspapers with abuse of individuals, and the pamphlets of the day could match the newspapers in directness and scurrility of language. History and biography should rise to a higher level, and in style attain to some merit. If it bordered on the ultra-patriotic, that was an excusable weakness, for the men of the War of Independence then looked large, larger even than the principles for which they fought.

The influence of official relations must be held responsible for some serious blunders. When Congress assisted to publish Hamilton's works in 1850, it was the son who edited the material; the Jefferson, three years later, was entrusted to the librarian of the Department of State, and he took remarkable liberties with the text—inexcusable, unless we accept the theory that political exigency rather than historical truth guided the undertaking. The dominance

of the South made expedient suppression of some features, for the South had become sensitive to the growing antagonism to slavery and the increase in material power at the North. Even the foreign relations of the United States remained in good part unknown; the executive could give out what it pleased and withhold information on the plea of prejudice to public interests. The Department of State harbors an unmeasured mass of historical material, and has used only what has seemed good to more or less well-informed officials in the past when weighing it in the scale of occasion. Diplomacy, even the open diplomacy of the United States, has had its high victims, and both secretaries of state and agents stand as sacrifices offered to smooth over blunders or to quiet public clamor. What a field for judicious editing!

It may thus be said that the editor has been coming into his own, not rising in importance, but better recognized as a useful albeit somewhat erratic adjunct to the writing of history. The quality of product has improved, and the shadows of family or political doubt are less frequently encountered. Public archives have been made accessible, a generous freedom of use accorded by private owners of papers; and pride of ancestry has contributed its share to the ever increasing quantity of product. If only certain possessors of material could appreciate how far they are like the ostrich, and what damage their aloofness is working on their pet admirations! Imagine trying to prove anything against public morals on John Jay! Yet he has been fastened in a niche of the 1833 model, when reserve darkened reputations. I could name a number of such distorted models, still cramped under a silence that almost confesses guilt. Where papers have been destroyed in the hope that criticism would be ended, the ghosts of old controversies arise and the worst or opposition phases of character are remembered. Descendants who have nestled in self-confidence and wrapped themselves in forgetfulness are pained and shocked to have the old gossip and tradition of their ancestors served up highly spiced in modern journalese. They have only themselves to blame.

For nearly a century after the Declaration of Independence both biography and editing of original materials had not attained success. They lisped, fearful of speaking aloud, and they avoided crucial matters of controversy. Was it this example which led to a series of political autobiographies in the last two generations? From Benjamin F. Butler to George F. Hoar and beyond—the mere writing of the names suggests startling comparisons of product. Was it a suspicion that they could not entrust their reputa-

tions to editors or to biographers which tempted them into a difficult adventure? Was it a desire to anticipate the opinion of contemporaries, and while yet living to taste the sweets of servile flattery? They chatter of many things, but are reticent on those most important to the historian. As appeals to a simple faith, and as childlike murmurings of unrelated facts they awaken wonder without gratifying a reasonable curiosity. To compile such works and then to destroy the original records, as if the last word had been said, is a crime against history, and an unavailing plea in abatement against further consideration. Yet most of those self-constituted apologists have been lawyers, and some of them good lawyers.

To approach such modern instances with due reverence is difficult. Conditions have altered, the standard of greatness has changed, and the demands as well as the responsibilities of biographer and editor are other than were accepted unquestioned a half-century ago. History is better written, and the subject is attracting the best; but autobiography lags behind, good-naturedly accepted for its defects rather than for its virtues. The charm of literary autobiography persists, but the unreliability of political autobiography has come to be a byword. To describe action directly and intention truthfully after the event appears to demand opposite qualities. *Magna pars fui*—the accent is on the *magna*, and the relator exaggerates his own importance while twisting his facts and misstating his motives.

Is it not a form of conceit, and a vulgar form at that, to suppose that the story of a life can be only self-written? Is man so little influenced by circumstances and so greatly moulded by his own will that he can consciously assume to be master of his own fortunes? The self-made man is subject to attacks of assurance which awaken in him an anxiety to tell others how he accomplished it—it referring to any achievement from making a large fortune to writing a popular song. Success is the worst judge of itself, and some other tribunal should take cognizance and, if possible, commit such budding sprouts to safe quarters where they may interchange their confidences without making an undue exhibition of themselves. The thing is possible, for did not an Italian saint not only overcome the Devil but make him confess *all* his sins?

The human machine is self-advertising, for its wants are imperative and its acts come for judgment before an immediate tribunal—public opinion. Is not, then, the desire to write autobiography a confession that some explanation of conduct is to say the least expedient? The atmosphere of publicity in which a public character

of to-day moves gives to surrounding objects and relations a certain distortion. The distortion becomes natural to him, and he wonders why others do not accept him as unquestioningly as formerly, why they adopt a critical attitude with a tendency to open opposition. If he is pushed out from a public career, and gains time for reflection and self-examination, the injustice and unreason of his former constituency appear large and to him are based upon misconception. So he enters upon his defense, and tells the old story in the old way, with distorted vision and with vanished glamour. It requires a greatness of character to stand the test, and there are few great characters. The majority babble, retail half-truths and vamp the worn and patched shreds until they have encased themselves in nothing but their own too transparent self-consciousness, still not undisturbed by doubts. Seeking to invest themselves with a cloudlike splendor and halo as the reward for upright conduct, they retire into the smoke-shield of their own creation, to emerge streaked with smudge. As a mode of defense autobiography is a failure; it too often confirms the old saying, that a man who is his own lawyer has a fool for a client. The ghastly skull of St. Charles Borromeo looked out from its gorgeous trappings and surroundings, always a reminder of what he had been—a mortal. As ghastly figures stare from the written pages of autobiography, reminders that the mortal or weak parts dominated the whole, and left a record that is unchangeable.

To the biographer, not too closely related to his subject, and to the editor, belongs the task of telling the truth—not the simple or the whole truth, but as much as the records will afford. The writer of biography has the wider field, the better opportunity, for he may wander far and invoke the dramatic and the picturesque, even infusing into the relation a color of his own. His story may read like a romance, it may be a fairy tale, or it may be a verbal cenotaph wherein nothing of its subject may be found; it soon is weighed, judged, and ticketed for remembrance or oblivion.

An editor is restricted to the written record; the memories of oldest inhabitants and the tradition of generations have no attraction for him. His purpose is to give all that may be of service to our host of anxious inquirers and the ever-increasing number of writers of history, and to give it unvarnished, as the documents contain it. This is not to say that he will be unsympathetic. I defy anyone to live among the records of the past without absorbing some spirit kindred to that which actuated the men of that time. He sees through their eyes, and re-enacts their deeds, with a wider

vision and a knowledge of consequences not vouchsafed to them. Whatever reserve is imposed arises out of a sense of decency; all else may safely be left to the judgment of history. It is good to humanize Washington, to have the means of tracing the tortuous policy of Jefferson, to measure the ability and ambitions of Hamilton, to comprehend the rash but honest conduct of the Adamses, and to wonder at the little greatness of Monroe. We owe these to modern editors, and in no instance did they inflict injury upon good repute, nor did they greatly modify the great lines of historical writing. They supplied treasuries of fact from which incidents and characters may be written or newly written. To furnish the material in its full and unaltered shape—that is the achievement of the change which has come to editorial methods in a generation.

True perspective requires time and space, and neither historian nor editor can use material of the day in the hope of attaining finality. Yet both are in possession of a trained quality of which few journalists, few civil and military officials can boast. A knowledge of what has gone before, of past events, a habit of analyzing character, of combining facts and weighing evidence, constitute an added sense in seeking some solid foundation in the welter of to-day. They have tested the politicians' position. They know that from the very beginning of its history the country has been in a chronic state of crisis, requiring the election of this or that man to office, demanding sacrifices which constitute the stock claim of the politician to reward; that the years are strewn with such sacrifices, and that the number of pretended and willing saviors of the country would fill several Valhallas. They know that family, censors, and state are unavailing against time, and that no cause has been without its evil features which cannot be suppressed and ought not to be forgotten. They know that no human agency can belie the character for which the man himself is responsible. The inevitableness of history lies before them in too many examples to be neglected. The editor deals with individuals, the historian with generals. The cultivation of a balanced and non-partizan spirit and utterance, no small accomplishment, brings its reward in confidence and clarity of vision.

What is the application of this excursion? For three years the country has been under a stress which has tested its people and its government. In the mass of interested discussion and propaganda, licit and illicit, it has been difficult not to take a position and express the faith that is in us. Even before actual participation in the war necessary information was wanting. Of partial statements the number was and is in excess, but it may be doubted if the fullest

exposure of motives and performance will much change general opinion. The extremist is beyond change, and among these extremists on both sides are some historians. Their honesty of conviction is not to be questioned, but their violence of expression is to be regretted. Exaggeration in language is not confined to the newspaper. The time is not yet come for a final weighing of evidence, for we are living, as in the England of the Restoration, under a "Royal Gazette". Cables and mails are under a censorship which tends to become more rigid; discussion of governmental policy and execution is under a threatened interference by officials, who are wanting in experience and are fallible and extremely sensitive to currents of public opinion; and American opinion is subject to excitements, fitful and destructive of reputations. But unless a man sells his soul he can be heard and answered, or left to the certainties of time. It is all very well to speak of the sober second thought of the people; the first thought may not be sober and may inflict great injury, and in war times the first thought is explosive. How long has it been since our writers of text-books on history consented to modify their denunciation of Great Britain? How many years have allowed the war with Mexico to pose as a shocking example of greed and broken faith? The word rebel as applied to the South is a survival; the bitterness has slowly turned into sweetness, and the glory of honorable conflict is shared between the two sections. Much of what parades as history to-day will fortunately sink into the forgetfulness of the future, to be exhumed at times as curious examples of misdirected energy and ill-exercised thought. What remains, clarified of its partizanship, may serve for real history. It will be two generations before the full publication of documents can begin, and then will be applied the tests of fair judgment—the real editing. In the meanwhile we should cultivate, as far as possible, the editorial attitude, keeping our minds open, restraining our criticism lest it lead to injustice and persecution, avoiding personalities, and exercising the same patience and restraint under wrongs and violations of good faith as have placed our country with an unsoiled record at the front of a world movement.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

AMERICAN RULE IN MEXICO

DURING the war of 1846-1848 portions of Mexico, conquered by our arms, remained for shorter or longer periods in American hands. Matamoros was captured by General Taylor in May, 1846; our flag went up in California two months later; New Mexico yielded to Kearny in August; Monterey, Saltillo, and Tampico fell during the autumn; Vera Cruz surrendered in March, 1847, Puebla in May, and the capital in September; and our troops did not evacuate the country until the middle of 1848. American rule was therefore sufficiently extensive and sufficiently prolonged to exhibit its character, and few aspects of the war are more interesting than our manner of bearing sway.

The initial spirit of the American Executive toward the Mexicans may justly be described as fraternal. Polk's intention was to treat non-combatants as friends, and protect them in all their rights of person, property, and creed. Both for immediate military success and for the eventual restoration of satisfactory intercourse, diplomatic and commercial, it seemed highly desirable to attack only the government of Mexico and the troops under its control, and to avoid rousing the great body of the nation. Accordingly, Taylor was promptly supplied with a proclamation, to be given wide currency, which attributed to the revolutionist Paredes—now in supreme authority—all the blame for the conflict, assured the Mexican public that a government of "usurpers and tyrants" had involved them in its losses and miseries, and promised that no one behaving peaceably should be molested. The general was instructed that his "utmost endeavors" must be exerted to make good this pledge. An active policy of conciliation was urged upon him; and our government went so far as to place Roman Catholic priests at the front in order to prove that no hostile designs were entertained against the religion of the Mexicans.¹

Later events hardened this fraternal disposition. Owing to the stubbornness of the enemy, unlooked-for expenses and loss of life occurred; and Polk's efforts to negotiate, besides proving fruitless

¹ *American Flag*, Matamoros, July 14, 1846; *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 155, 165-166, 284; W. L. Marcy to John McElroy, May 19, 1846, Adj.-Gen.'s office; J. K. Polk, *Diary* (1910), I. 408-410; *W. W. S. Bliss [i. e., Z. Taylor] to M. B. Lamar, October 15, 1846, Lamar Papers, Texas State Library. (An asterisk indicates manuscript material.)

for a long while, met with exasperating rebuffs. In reply to an American overture Rejón, the minister of relations, intimated in August, 1846, that our government wished to ignore the causes of the war because we dared not face the question of its justice. Six months later a messenger from our State Department was handled unceremoniously, as with tongs; and he brought back, in a quite offensively worded note, the refusal of Mexico to treat unless our forces should first withdraw from her soil and her waters. Naturally Polk was displeased. Instead of wishing longer to conciliate, he felt disposed to bring the stern realities of war home to the Mexicans, and in fact concluded that such a change of policy would be essential. In particular he decided that our custom of paying liberally for whatever was used by our armies, and thus providing the inhabitants with a profitable market, should give way to a system of levying "contributions" and seizing supplies; and corresponding intimations were despatched to the commanding generals. This method was harsh, but still it was only the legitimate harshness of war. It is no part of an invader's duty to scatter gold over conquered territory, and our government did not propose to go a step beyond the acknowledged rights of belligerency. Vattel, the standard authority on international law, said,

A nation [at war] on every opportunity lays its hands on the enemy's goods, appropriates them to itself, and thereby, besides weakening the adversary, strengthens itself, and, at least in part, procures an indemnification, an equivalent, either for the very cause of the war, or for the expenses and losses resulting from it.²

The real field of investigation, however, is not Washington but Mexico. The true question is, what things were actually done by the Americans there; and these may for convenience be grouped in four classes, which can readily be distinguished even if not practically to be severed: first, the direct relations of our commanding officers to the people; secondly, their relations through Mexican officials; thirdly, their relations through the behavior of their troops; and finally their relations to the Mexican civil administration.

² M. C. Rejón to J. Buchanan, August 31, 1846, *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 29 Cong., 2 sess., p. 43; A. J. Atocha to Buchanan, July 3, 1847, Buchanan Papers, Penn. Hist. Society; *Consul J. Black, February, 24, 1847, State Dept.; *Don Simplicio*, February 17, 1847; *La Epoca*, February 23, 1847; *Bermúdez de Castro to Spanish government, no. 444, res., March 1, 1847, Archivo Particular del Minist. de Estado, Madrid; *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 37; Polk, *Diary*, II. 145, 432; Polk to House of Representatives, January 2, 1849, *House Ex. Doc. No. 20*, 30 Cong., 2 sess. (Intimations) *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 341, 1005; *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 14*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 5. E. de Vattel, *Droit des Gens*, book III., ch. 9, sect. 161.

Naturally the evidence on these points is not absolutely complete. Things were neither done nor recorded in a very systematic style. Owing to later disturbances in Mexico, not a few papers have been lost or destroyed; and the existing data are widely scattered. But the reports of American and Mexican officers, the despatches of foreign diplomatic and consular agents, local archives, newspapers, diaries, and private correspondence provide a great mass of information, which in the sum and in general is quite convincing. In these pages, of course, only the most representative documents can be cited.

The fundamental direct relation of American commanders to the people arose from insistence that civilians must abstain from hostilities, since to enforce this rule the standard international system of threats and, when it seemed necessary, harsh and summary action was unhesitatingly employed. Scott may fairly be described as conscientious and humane. He said once to a confidential associate, that if he could gain a victory in one way with a loss of eight hundred men and in a more brilliant manner with a loss of nine hundred, he would regard himself as a murderer, should he choose the second alternative; and his feelings toward the Mexicans were similar in quality. Indeed a book written by a Mexican in 1850 credited him with "humanity on all occasions". Yet in a most kindly worded proclamation, which he regarded as the crowning act of conciliation, this language was employed:

The system of forming guerrilla parties to annoy us will, I assure you, produce only evils to this country, and none to our army, which knows how to protect itself, and how to proceed against such cut-throats; and if, so far from calming resentments and passions, you try to irritate [them], you will but force upon us the hard necessity of retaliation.³

Citizens who took up arms now and then, and waged partizan warfare, received accordingly the treatment of outlaws. They were hunted and harried; and in general this policy extended to all who abetted their operations in any way, or were reasonably suspected of doing so. Houses and villages believed to be their rendezvous disappeared in smoke, and the women and children dwelling there found such refuge as they could. Troops selected because they were known to be merciless as well as indefatigable and brave scoured particular districts; and, aside from towns of considerable

³ (Murderer) *N. P. Trist, no. 11, August 14, 1847, State Department. (Book) Hitchcock in *The Republic*, February 15, 1851. (Act of conciliation) W. Scott, *Memoirs*, II. 549. (Proclamation) *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 971.

size, the routes from the Rio Grande to Monterey and from Vera Cruz to Mexico came to be little more than black swaths of desolation. The principle was established that citizens residing near the scene of guerrilla outrages were to suffer. Taylor imposed a crushing fine in one such case; and at Jalapa it was ordered that three hundred dollars must be paid for every murder, or the value of the property in each case of brigandage.⁴

People who attempted to assail our troops in the towns not only fared badly themselves but brought down misfortunes upon their neighbors. The military commander at Puebla, on finding that the governor of the state was endeavoring to cause an uprising, promptly notified the prefect that in the case of a hostile disturbance "the City [that is to say, innocent and guilty alike] would probably suffer from my guns and mortars". At the capital such an experience actually occurred. Soon after the Americans entered it, Mexicans fired upon them from the houses. Before long the First Alcalde issued this warning: "The General-in-Chief [Scott] of the American forces which have occupied the city this morning has informed the Ayuntamiento [city council] that if within three hours, reckoned from the time this notice is posted, there is not a complete cessation of the acts of hostility now being committed . . . , he will proceed with all rigor against the guilty, permitting their goods and property to be sacked and razing the block [*manzana*] in which are situated the houses from which the American troops are fired upon." At the same time the city council issued a placard requesting the people to remain peaceably at home, and saying in explanation that under Scott's orders every dwelling from which a bullet should be fired would be destroyed with artillery, and all within it put to death. These warnings were not effectual, however; and General

⁴ The documents relating to the guerrillas are many hundreds in number and mostly in manuscript, but the following may be cited. Córdoba (Mex.) archives; *House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., p. 75 (Marcy); *Flag of Freedom* (Puebla), vol. I., no. 4; M. Rivera, *Hist. de Jalapa*, III. 902; Lerdo de Tejada, *Apuntes Hist. de . . . Vera-Cruz* (1850-1858), II. 582; *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 32*, 31 Cong., 1 sess., p. 43 (Hughes); *G. H. Hughes to Wilson, September 13, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *J. E. Wool to Hamtramck, December 18, 1847, *ibid.*; *Apuntes para la Historia de la Guerra* (1848), p. 387; *Patridge to Miss Watterston, July 21, 1847, Watterston Papers, Library of Congress. Some of the desolation, particularly in the north, was due to camp-followers who banded together for the purpose of plundering, to deserters, and to discharged soldiers on the way home. H. J. Moore, *Scott's Campaigns* (1849), p. 72; *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1006, 1037 (Marcy); *Scott, Gen. Orders 372, December 12, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Niles' Register*, May 8, 1847, p. 152; *D. H. Hastings, *Diary*. (Near the scene) *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1142 (Taylor); E. del C. Negrete, *Invasión de los Norte-Americanos* (1890-1891), vol. III., app., p. 60.

Worth wrote to his daughter, "I caused the heavy guns to be turned against every house [from which a shot came] . . . and after a few hours of such appliance, not regarding where or who it hit, quelled the dastardly villains". Yet no complaint could be made. Vattel laid down the principle that people could not hope to be spared by a successful invader, unless willing to be submissive and to "refrain from all hostilities"; and Europeans on the ground felt that under the circumstances notable moderation was displayed by our generals.⁵

Commanders also required Mexicans to obey what may be called the martial police regulations. These were simple and sane. The most important was that no liquor should be furnished the troops, and the other chief rules had reference to good order and proper conduct. Naturally enough, the regulations failed not infrequently to produce all the intended results, but the American officers appear in general to have been decidedly earnest. At Saltillo, since orders did not prevent liquor-selling, Worth imposed a penalty of fifty lashes. Gambling-places received careful attention, and in many instances were closed or restricted. Suspicious characters, particularly men who had served as officers in the Mexican army, were notified to give an account of themselves. Persons without visible means of support, including American camp-followers, had to go forth; but families—whose presence made them in a sense hostages, tended to promote stability, and widened the basis of taxation—did not always find it easy to leave town. Carrying concealed weapons without permission had to be given up. Early hours for going home at night were occasionally fixed. Placards could not be freely posted up. "Tyrannical caprice", exclaimed some of the Mexicans; but they had no real grounds for complaint—especially since equally stringent regulations defended their lives, property, and comfort, and the same autocratic power provided work or free rations for the people whenever the need arose.⁶

⁵ T. Childs to Prefect, August 12, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office. (Mexico) *Apuntes para la Hist.*, pp. 325-329; *Veramendi, Proclam., September 14, 1847, Ayunt. archives, Mex.; Ayuntamiento placard, Yale College Library; *Worth to daughter, September 28, 1847, Worth Papers (in private hands). (Moderation) *Chargé Doyle to Foreign Office, No. 1, January 13, 1848, Public Record Office, London; New Orleans *Picayune*, October 14, 1847 (letter from a Frenchman). Vattel, *op. cit.*, book III., ch. 8, sect. 147.

⁶ *Monitor Republicano*, Mexico, March 29, 1847; G. T. M. Davis, *Autobiography* (1891), p. 246; G. G. Meade, *Letters* (1913), I. 147; T. Wilhelm, *Hist. of Eighth U. S. Infantry*, I. 299; *W. J. Worth, Order, November 19, 1846, War Dept. archives, Mexico; **id.* to Gefé Politico, Saltillo; November 23, *ibid.*; **id.* to Puebla Ayunt., May 18, 1847, Ayunt. archives; *id.* to First Alcalde, Puebla, May 21, 1847, *ibid.*; *Col. G. H. Hughes, Jalapa, series of

Under our second head, Mexican officials were frequently requested to furnish laborers and supplies; and it was not unusual to add in such instances that in case of non-compliance the Americans would help themselves to what they needed, and pay nothing. This threat, however, sounded more terrible than it was. "There must be the *semblance of coercion*", Worth wrote on one such occasion. The people were usually glad, or at least willing, to exchange produce and services for round, yellow dollars; and it was obviously for the common advantage that a person in authority, well acquainted with his constituents and the local conditions, should arrange the exchanges; but any appearance of having friendly business relations with the invader seemed likely to bring down punishment from Mexican sources at a later day, and therefore was guarded against. Transactions of this kind proceeded usually with little real friction, save when the excessive prices, that were often demanded, had to be reduced arbitrarily.⁷

Certain other relations between American commanders and Mexican officials proved less agreeable to the latter. So long as active hostilities continued, both Taylor and Scott were unwilling to seize instead of purchasing supplies, as the Executive recommended. They knew that our gold in a Mexican pocket diffused a soporific influence among the nerves of his patriotism; that stocks would be concealed or even destroyed by the owners rather than orders, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Col. W. Gates, Tampico, series of orders, *ibid.*; *Gen. Worth, Monterey and Saltillo, series of orders, *ibid.*; *Gen. Wool, Monterey and Saltillo, series of orders, *ibid.*; *Col. H. Wilson, Vera Cruz, series of orders, *ibid.*; *Gen. J. Shields, Tampico, series of orders, *ibid.* (Rations, work) *Consul F. L. Giffard, no. 12, Vera Cruz, April 13, 1847, P. R. O. The following body of regulations for Saltillo, established by Wool on July 9, 1847, is fairly typical: All residents capable of working must have some honest vocation, and those found here after three days without such will be tried and punished. Those who arrive must report to the governor; and those who depart, except U. S. officers, must do the same. All crimes will be punished by Mexican laws when Mexicans alone are concerned; when men of different nationalities are implicated, they may be tried by the governor or by tribunals appointed by him. A tariff of prices will be published in orders from time to time. Gambling is prohibited. Liquors may be sold only in licensed houses, and none may be imported. Unauthorized public fandangos [dances] and exhibitions are prohibited. Mexican houses may not be taken for private uses without the consent of the owners. The firing of arms is forbidden. All disorder will be punished.

⁷ *Worth to Vice-Gov., Saltillo, November 28, 1846, War Dept. archives, Mex.; *id.* to First Alcalde, Puebla, May 17, 1847, Ayunt. archives; *Gefe Político to Ayunt., Saltillo, November 30, 1846, Salt. archives. R. Patterson to Castro, November 9, 1847, N. Orl. *Picayune*, December 19, 1847; *Worth to Commrs., Saltillo, November 23, 1846, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 967 (Worth, May 19).

given up to force; and that without local supplies it would hardly be feasible to conduct active operations. But when serious hostilities appeared to be nearly or quite over, Polk insisted upon taxing the Mexicans. Scott himself concurred then in the policy, and besides imposing a contribution of \$150,000 upon the city of Mexico, he ordered in December, 1847, that whenever in possession of the chief point or points in any state, the American army should collect for its own use all the taxes previously paid to the Mexican government. The taxes were paid grudgingly, of course; and when Wool, now commanding at the north, required the local authorities to track down and arrest the guerrillas, they felt that their cup was full; but the results were tranquillity and an expense no greater than before the Americans had arrived—indeed less, for the personal extortions of Mexican officers no longer had to be endured. For a number of reasons, however, the plan to impose taxes did not go thoroughly into effect. Time was necessary to ascertain the conditions in Mexico and lay wise plans. Communication between Washington and the front required further time. The danger of inflicting hardships on Mexicans who had shown themselves friendly had to be recognized and met; and the importance of obtaining a treaty of peace and evacuating the country made it highly desirable to avoid exasperating the nation in general.⁸

As for the behavior of American soldiers toward the people, our government, the commanding generals, nearly all the regular officers, and most of the volunteer officers wished that it should be fair and kind. Not only justice and civilization, but policy, dictated that course. As at first no legal provision for punishing American soldiers outside our territory existed, Scott, the commander-in-chief of the army, drew up and submitted to the administration a martial-law order to be enforced in Mexico until Congress could legislate on the subject. Probably for political reasons, the government would not at that date accept it; and when Scott suggested the plan to Taylor, the latter tossed it aside as "another of Scott's lessons". Taylor

⁸ *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 354 (Taylor); Scott, *Memoirs*, II. 582; *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 14*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 6 (Scott); Polk, *Diary*, III. 156, 185; *J. Y. Mason to Scott, September 1, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Scott, Gen. Orders 287, 376, *ibid.*; *Wool, series of orders and reports, *ibid.*; *e. g.*, the use of buildings was no longer to be paid for except in special cases (*Scott, Gen. Orders 358; *Hughes to Scott, January 5, 1848, Adj.-Gen.'s office); *I. McDowell to Webb, April 15, 1848, *ibid.*; Scott, Gen. Orders 395, December 31, 1847, laid an annual assessment upon each state. Akin to the contributions, because imposed by virtue of military authority, was the moderate tariff prescribed for Mexican ports held by us (*Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 552-588).

was a born fighter and born leader of men, but lacked education and wide experience. Accustomed to a narrow sphere, he relied upon personal influence, which proved ennobling so far as it went, but came far short of the need. Besides, he had been mentioned prominently after his victories on the Rio Grande as a likely candidate for the presidency, and perhaps did not wish to make himself unpopular. Anyhow, the truth was that under his direct command Matamoros and, for a brief time after it was captured, Monterey became almost infernos. The regulars behaved well, but many of the volunteers, feeling absolved from every law of God or man save courage and fidelity to the stars and stripes, acted accordingly. "Crime followed in their footsteps", wrote a trustworthy officer with reference to these men, "and wherever they trod, they left indelible traces of infamy". Drunken, quarrelsome soldiers filled the streets of Matamoros at all hours. One drew a pistol on the British consul because he did not approve of the consul's walking-stick. Citizens were shot down merely for amusement. At Monterey, to say nothing of other outrages, it was estimated by an American officer that one hundred murders in cold blood occurred almost immediately.⁹

At Monterey, happily, Worth soon took charge; and his keen sense of propriety, clear mind, and unflinching courage promptly reduced chaos to something like order. Transferred later to Saltillo, he did equally well there, listening hour after hour to complainants and administering justice with untechnical but impartial ability; and he was followed by governors of a similar stamp. Person and property became safer than ever before and the town prospered. Tampico was a more difficult problem, for it had close communication with New Orleans by water; hard characters from the States could not wholly be excluded; and apparently every volunteer felt in duty bound to celebrate his arrival with a "frolic". But Gates and Shields knew quite well what needed to be done. Patrols marched up and down the wide streets; sentries with fixed bayonets could be found at every gathering, even balls; noisy houses

⁹ Scott, *Memoirs*, II. 393-394. The testimony as to the conduct of American volunteers at Matamoros and in the early days at Monterey is overwhelming. A few specimens only are given here. (Matamoros) *J. C. Henshaw Narrative, Mass. Hist. Soc.; Meade, *Letters*, I. 91, 108-109, 147; *C. Carroll to Faulac, August 9, 1846, War Dept. archives, Mexico; *Giffard to Bankhead, June 9, 1846, P. R. O., London; W. S. Henry, *Campaign Sketches* (1847), pp. 124, 137. (Monterey) T. B. Thorpe, *Our Army at Monterey* (1847), p. 120; *Registro Oficial de Durango*, October 15, 1846; *Henshaw Narrative, *supra*; *S. E. Chamberlain, *Diary*; *Gov. Morales to Taylor, September 29, and reply, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Niles' Register*, November 14, 1846, p. 165, November 21, p. 180.

were soon closed; and the very happiest of frolics was pretty sure to end before morning in a nap on the guard-house floor. For the principal outrages that occurred in the north, it should be added, there was some excuse. Mexicans charged with offenses against our men were sometimes acquitted on trial, though morally convicted, because the evidence against them proved legally incomplete, or was rebutted by testimony almost certainly perjured. American soldiers could not easily witness a result of this kind without retaliating upon the person they believed guilty or upon others of his nationality; and it must even be admitted that probably such barbarous reprisals exerted a wholesome effect on the bad Mexicans.¹⁰

Scott, for his part, landing at Tampico on the way to open his campaign at Vera Cruz, issued an order that instantly threw the pale of martial law round the people by ordaining that soldiers committing atrocities punishable in the United States by a civil court, should be tried in Mexico by a military commission. This order was supplemented with a scheme of safeguards, which meant that one or more soldiers, bearing a suitable document signed by a corps or division general, could be quartered at any place which it was especially desirable to protect. In occupying towns the rule was to billet no officer or man, without consent, upon any inhabitant, and to quarter the troops in barracks and other public buildings used for the purpose by the Mexican government. These arrangements, the practice of paying for everything used by the army, the principle of treating non-combatant Mexicans as fellow-citizens, and a strenuous endeavor, through arguments and appeals, to enlist the co-operation of all the decent men of the army in the suppression of outrages, constituted the plan of Scott.¹¹

¹⁰ (Monterey) Meade, *Letters*, I. 147; *Worth, Orders, October 8, etc., Adj.-Gen.'s office; *González to Santa Anna, November 21, War Dept. archives, Mexico. (Saltillo) *Worth, Orders, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Avalos, August 5, 1847, War Dept. archives, Mexico; *González to Worth, November 30, 1846, and reply, December 2, *ibid.*; *Worth to daughter, January 4, 1847, Worth Papers. (Tampico) E. A. Lawton [Robert Anderson], *Artillery Officer* (1911), pp. 16, 17, 37, 39, 46, etc.; *Gates and *Shields, Orders, Adj.-Gen.'s office.

¹¹ *Scott, Gen. Orders 20, February 19, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; Scott, *Memoirs*, II. 547-548, 580. The safeguard given to the village of S. Martín read as follows (Adj.-Gen.'s office): "Office of the Civil and Military Governor, Puebla, 22nd January, 1848. Whereas the Municipality of the town of San Martín, on the main road to Mexico, has presented a Solicitation to this Government with regard to certain permissions and protection, this Safeguard is given to said Municipality in the following terms:—1., The authorities and inhabitants of San Martín, their families and private property are placed under the protection of the United States forces, as long as they remain quiet, neutral and peaceable and will therefore be left unmolested and not interfered with by the

The system had to be supplemented, however. By his own official estimate ninety-seven out of one hundred soldiers were honorable, but this left three per cent. of the other kind. Besides, volunteers looked upon the regulars as little higher in the scale of humanity than slaves, and, even when intending to do about the right thing, resented strict rule. "They are a set of Goths and Vandals", said George G. Meade. "The volunteers", recorded one of them in his diary, "will not be treated as regular soldiers, and no man need ever attempt to enforce such discipline". Even desertion seemed to many a legitimate way of escape from a degradation like that.

"Sergeant, buck him and gag him, our officers cry,
For each trifling offence which they happen to spy,
Till with bucking and gagging of Dick, Tom, Pat and Bill,
Faith, the Mexican's ranks they have helped to fill",

so wrote a high-minded, sensible private. Trifling misdeeds naturally led on to greater ones; and hence many besides the bad men required the touch of punishment. So punishment came, and in ample measure. Flogging, confinement, shaven heads, labels such as "Robber" pasted on the back, drumming out, and even death, put the fear of the Lord—or at least the fear of their generals—into the hearts of the soldiers. "Revelling in the Halls of the Montezumas", which had been the dream of enlistment with countless

troops and followers of the United States army. On the contrary their civil authorities will be respected, and protection and assistance will be given to them such as they should need or claim.—2., All honorable and peaceable inhabitants guaranteed to be such by the Municipality have permission to carry arms for the defence of the community, their persons and their property against robbers.—3., They are allowed to organise a neutral police force of twenty five armed and mounted men for protection of the town against robbers and for assisting the authorities in executing their duties, the criminals taken prisoners by them to be delivered over to the Governor of Puebla.—4., Permission is likewise granted to said authorities and inhabitants to defend themselves against any one who comes to plunder, robb or attack them, may he be robber, guerillero, or an American soldier.—5., The municipality of San Martin has permission, to arrest and remit to their commanding officers all American soldiers, they may find within the district of San Martin, drunk, dispersed or deserters.—6., It is strictly prohibited to the troops and followers of the United States army to open the prison at San Martin and put the criminals in liberty.—7., A copy of this Safeguard has been forwarded to the General in chief of the United States forces in order to communicate it to the commanding officers of the army, and of divisions, which have to pass by San Martin. Another copy has been remitted to the commanding officer of the military post at Rio Frio [on the farther side of San Martin]." The penalty for violating a safeguard was death. Numerous large monasteries, occupied by only a few monks, were found serviceable as barracks, and this use of them gave no offense. The aim was to arrange about quarters in such a way as to satisfy the local authorities.

young fellows, means now, lamented one of them after the Halls were captured, that if you are caught out by the patrol after eight P.M. you are put in the guard-house, and if noisy are handcuffed. No matter how stern the rule, occasional outrages were sure to occur; small offenses like snatching a bit of candy from a tray in the street or "mustering in" a few apples in an orchard could not be prevented; and here and there a subordinate officer of inferior quality, or one ambitious for popularity and later political success, would cause mischief; but substantially everything practicable was done by the commanders, and the efforts to reach the good sense and right feeling of the soldiers, instead of relying wholly upon the fear of punishment, were especially noticeable. One of Scott's general orders used this language: "Men free at home, must maintain the honor of free men when abroad. If they forget *that*, they will degrade themselves to the level of felons and slaves, and may be rightfully condemned and treated as such; for felons, according to the laws of God and man, are *slaves*".¹²

No less interesting were the efforts of our commanders to facilitate a proper administration of civil affairs. It was held fundamentally that peaceable inhabitants lost none of their political rights during American occupation, and on election days our troops were usually kept in their quarters or marched out of town. While always having it understood that our authority was paramount, the governors desired the Mexican officials to look after municipal affairs, and were generally disposed to co-operate with them in a liberal fashion to ensure the good order, the efficient and economical administration, and even the improvement of the towns. If the local authorities did not wish to hold office, they were usually permitted to retire, and successors were either elected by the people or appointed by the governor; but as a rule they felt it would promote the interests of the city to remain at their posts. At the capital Scott dissolved a refractory *ayuntamiento* and obtained in its place a body anxious to proceed in accord with him. Shields

¹² (3 per cent.) *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 914. Meade, *Letters*, I. 161; *S. F. Nunelee, *Diary* (in the hands of the family). (Verse) J. J. Oswandel, *Notes of the Mexican War* (1885), p. 476. (Halls) *N. C. to J. L. Miller, May 7, 1848, Adj.-Gen.'s office; J. W. Buhoup, *Narrative of the Central Division* (1847), p. 50. N. Orl. *Picayune*, May 28, 1847; *G. H. Hughes, *Orders*, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Scott, *Gen. Orders* 395, *ibid.*; *Chargé Doyle, nos. 1, 27, Mexico, January 13, March 14, 1848, P. R. O. The chief cause of trouble was that in spite of all efforts Mexicans would furnish our soldiers with liquor. It is worth mention that General Quitman, first military and civil governor of the capital, forbade (September 21, 1847) "any interference with or mutilation of the books, papers, or records contained within the Palace" (C. J. Biddle papers, in the hands of the family).

extinguished the *ayuntamiento* of Tampico for incompetence and malfeasance in office, and selected their successors.¹³

Mexican courts enjoyed complete freedom in dealing with affairs exclusively Mexican, and their decisions were enforced by our commanders. When citizens were brought before an American military commission, they were permitted to have counsel; but occasionally somewhat unusual methods had to be employed in dealing with suspected Mexicans, for persons ready to make any sort of an oath in defense of a fellow-countryman abounded. When an American was involved, whether as accused or as injured, our commanders took charge of the case, or had it brought before a special tribunal selected by themselves. At Tampico Shields appointed three Mexican judges, and then, for the trial of cases arising between Mexicans and Americans, added to this court three American citizens. The police were usually residents, though occasionally American soldiers did the work, and at Tampico an efficient American officer had charge for some time of this department. If reliable, the police received firm support from the commanding officer; if not, a change occurred. At Córdoba the city guards were permitted to carry only clubs, but such a restriction does not appear to have been usual. Attention was given to the care and lighting of the streets, sanitation, and the maintenance of schools, hospitals, prisons, and public works. Municipal taxes levied for such expenses continued to be paid under American rule, and at Jalapa additional funds were obtained by taxing the liquor saloons. At Puebla and Tampico the military authorities established chambers of commerce.¹⁴

¹³ (Rights) *Instrucciones otorgadas por la Junta General* (1847). (Elections) *D. Woodruff, Orders, April 25, 1848, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *W. O. Butler, Orders, March 31, 1848, *ibid.*; J. R. Kenly, *Memoirs of a Maryland Volunteer* (1873), p. 380. (Paramount) Worth, Proclamation, May 22, 1847, Ayunt. archives, Puebla. *Hughes to First Alcalde, Jalapa, December 13, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Records of the Ayunts. of Mexico, Puebla, Jalapa, Vera Cruz, and numerous other cities. E. A. Hitchcock, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field* (1909), pp. 314-315; *N. P. Trist, no. 18, October 25, 1847, State Dept.; J. A. Quitman, Poster, September 16, Yale College Library; *Defensa de F. G. Iriarte* (1850); *Apuntes para la Historia*, p. 366; Rodríguez, *Breve Reseña* (1849), p. 5; *Shields to Adj.-Gen., January 19, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; **id.* to Ayunt., January 2, 1847, Ayunt. archives, Tampico; *F. de Garay, January 22, 1847, War Dept. archives, Mexico.

¹⁴ (Courts) Wilhelm, *Eighth Infantry*, I. 299; *Worth to Vice-Gov., Saltillo, November 23, 1846, War Dept. archives, Mexico; **id.*, Orders, November 16, 1846, *ibid.*; *Marcy to Davenport, August 6, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *Wool, Orders, July 9, 1847, *ibid.*; Lawton, *Artillery Officer*, pp. 39, 40. (Counsel) *Worth to First Alcalde, May 22, 1847, Ayunt. archives, Puebla. (Unusual) *J. Hamtramck to McDowell, January 20, 1848, Adj.-Gen.'s office. (Police)

In this brief survey our attention has been directed to the principal fields of American activity, but the remoter districts also deserve mention. New Mexico and California were singularly instructive by contrast. In the former a political general bore sway, and there was a scene of license, debauchery, disease, misery, crime, and revolt. "The dirtiest, rowdiest crew I have ever seen collected together", was a responsible British traveller's description of the American forces; and a soldier wrote in his diary, "A more drunken and depraved set, I am sure, can never be found". In July, 1847, the veteran ex-editor of the *Washington Globe* said: "My son [Frank P. Blair, who had acted as United States district attorney of the province] represents the state of things in New Mexico as horrible. It seems as if even respectable men at home have become so depraved by the license of the region they are in, that they stick at no enormity whatever." In California, on the other hand, a regular officer, Colonel R. B. Mason of the First Dragoons, had command. Some thought his character hard; but probably all clear-headed persons recognized that it was just, and as a matter of fact he believed in combining strength with kindness. Able, sensible, experienced, honest, and alert, free from yearnings for popularity and political advantage, he ruled successfully from May, 1847, to the close of the war. Malcontents were held in check without harshness. Over-ardent American citizens encountered at headquarters a prudent conservatism. Troops that might easily have made trouble yielded to a quiet pressure. Well-disposed Californians found themselves protected and considered. Entanglements were avoided, difficulties foreseen, and all necessary precautions taken without fear and without excitement.¹⁵

*G. Morgan to Martínez, January 18, 1847, War Dept. archives, Mexico; R. M'Sherry, *El Puchero* (1850), p. 163; *Worth to Ayunt., May 17, 1847, Ayunt. archives, Puebla; **id.* to Guerrero alcalde, August 1, 1846, Adj.-Gen.'s office; **id.* to Bliss, September 28, 1846, *ibid.*; *H. L. Scott to Hughes, January 22, 1848, *ibid.*; *Shields, Orders 3, *ibid.*; Lawton, *Artillery Officer*, p. 17; *Gaceta de Tamaulipas*, July 16, 1846; *Quitman, Orders, Mexico, October 6, 1847, British Museum; *Worth, Proclam., November 16, 1846, War Dept. archives, Mexico; *Gates, Orders, March 30, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office; *H. Wilson, Orders 142, November 29, 1847, *ibid.*; *J. Bankhead, Orders 11, February 16, 1848, *ibid.* (Schools, etc.) *Flag of Freedom*, no. 1, Puebla; *F. de Garay, January 22, 1847, War Dept. archives, Mexico; *Doc. sent by Garay, December 20, 1846, *ibid.*; *American Eagle*, Vera Cruz, May 22, 1847; *Gov. to Ayunt., Jalapa, February 28, 1848, Ayunt. archives; **id.* to First Alcalde, January 17, 1848, *ibid.*; *Shields, Orders, January 1, 2, 1847, Adj.-Gen.'s office. *Worth, Orders 49, October 17, 1846, *ibid.* In regard to these matters the documentary evidence is not complete for every town, but to a certain extent one may safely rely upon analogy.

¹⁵ A list of the documents upon which this paragraph is based would fill

The case of Mazatlán, the principal port of the western coast, offers particular interest, because the navy had charge; and in that branch of the service there were no volunteers, no politics, and with a few exceptions no scheming for popular glory. Commodore Shubrick announced that he desired the people to regard our banner with friendly feelings, and that, so far as he possessed the power, he would confer benefits instead of inflicting mischiefs upon them. A moderate scale of customs dues, commerce with all ports except those of Mexico, the free exportation of gold, silver, and produce, and the free importation of quicksilver, an essential in mining operations, was promised; and an arrangement effected with the city authorities provided that, aside from military affairs, municipal officers should retain their power, all peaceable inhabitants and their property be protected, everything used by the American forces be purchased at a fair valuation, one hundred citizens be organized as a police guard, and the sale of liquor—prohibited so far as men in the service of the United States were concerned—be under military control. The Mexican commander, who had retired a short distance from the city on the arrival of the invaders, fulminated with such protestations and threats against this arrangement, that it was annulled by the quaking city council; but the people met, re-affirmed its provisions, and elected representatives to carry them into effect. The results proved entirely satisfactory. Gaxiola, the Mexican historian of the war in Sinaloa, felt compelled to say: "Regrettable, very regrettable it is to confess as much, but it is a certain fact that after" the Mexican commander and his troops "left this port, order, morality, public security, and all that constitutes the true liberty of peoples were re-established"; only some slight faults, no outrages, were committed; and the Americans behaved "like gentlemen". As a pendant to this may be mentioned Laguna in Campeche, the other principal case of naval occupation. Under American rule it became more flourishing than it had ever been. The officer in command was so popular that he might perhaps have got up several pages, but it seems unnecessary to cite more than a few of them. (New Mexico) G. F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico* (1848), p. 190; *Hastings, *Diary*; clipping from *St. Louis Republican* in Hitchcock Papers, Lib. of Cong.; *Wash. Union*, October 3, November 25, 1846; *Niles' Register*, LXXII. 252, 375; Kribben letters in *Anzeiger des Westens*, 1847; *G. R. Gibson, *Diary*, Mo. Hist. Soc.; *Blair to Van Buren, July 7, 1847, Van Buren Papers, Lib. of Cong. (California) Mason's reports, Adj.-Gen.'s office; Stevenson's order-book and letter-book, New York Hist. Soc.; *House Ex. Doc. No. 17*, 31 Cong., 1 sess.; *House Ex. Doc. No. 70*, 30 Cong., 1 sess.; Sherman Papers, Lib. of Cong. The documents relating to this stage of California history are almost without end.

a revolution on his own account; and when the treaty of peace went into effect, the people begged Commodore Perry to let the American forces remain.¹⁶

On the whole, though much that was deplorable and even without excuse occurred in the north, and unfortunate incidents happened occasionally elsewhere, the history of American rule in Mexico was distinctly creditable to us. Confident predictions of rapine, that were made abroad, fell to the ground. Scott, a man well versed in the annals of campaigns, asserted that his troops displayed "the highest moral deportment and discipline ever known in an invading army". The British chargé d'affaires, after making careful inquiries all the way from Vera Cruz to the capital, stated with reference to our troops, that "Even from the account of the Mexicans themselves they seem to have behaved very well". Gutiérrez de Estrada, a Mexican of high standing, said to his fellow-citizens, that the Americans occupying the country ensured them security of person and possessions and all proper satisfactions better than their own governments had ever done. U. S. Grant, who served in the war, said afterwards: "I question whether the great majority of the Mexican people did not regret our departure as much as they had regretted our coming." And when one considers the relative infrequency of serious outrages and the relatively small number of individuals injured, the great sums of money paid for labor and supplies, the reduced prices of almost all manufactured articles, the prevention of brigandage, insurrections, and civil as well as military extortion, tyranny, and outrages, the promotion of trade and commerce through the removal of excessive taxes upon them, the good ideas of municipal administration often exhibited by the governors of towns, and the fine examples of subordination to authority, both military and civil, presented by all grades of our troops from the private up to the commander-in-chief—when these things are considered, one may well feel that our rule was a blessing to the people who experienced it. Nor did this fail to be recognized broadly. Higher than all opinions on the subject, however conspicuous, towers an extraordinary fact. One of the principal difficulties—perhaps the greatest of all—in the way of negotiating a treaty of peace with Mexico was the desire felt by a large part of the nation that we,

¹⁶ *House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, 30 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1092, 1104, 1109. J. X. Gaxiola, *Invasión Norte-Americana en Sinaloa* (second ed., 1891), pp. 168-169, 176-177, 181, 217, 223. R. S. Semmes, *Service Afloat and Ashore* (1851), pp. 85-87.

their victorious adversaries, though never in reality their enemies, should subjugate and permanently rule the entire country.¹⁷

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¹⁷ London *Times*, January 4, 1848; Scott, *Memoirs*, II. 396; *Doyle, no. 1, January 13, 1848, P. R. O.; J. M. Gutiérrez de Estrada, *México en 1840 y en 1847*; Grant, *Personal Memoirs* (1885), I. 118. (Desire) *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 52*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 207, 241 (Trist); *Bankhead, nos. 42, 43, April 30, no. 58, May 29, 1847, P. R. O.; Letter from Mexico, London *Times*, May 10, 1847; Ramírez, *México durante su Guerra con los EE. UU.* (1905), pp. 239, 248, 275; *"B." to Moses Y. Beach, undated, Relaciones archives, Mexico; *Mexico Ayunt. to governor of Fed. Dist., September 3, 1847, Ayunt. archives; Tampico letter, London *Times*, November 6, 1846; *House Ex. Doc. No. 60*, 30 Cong., 1 sess., p. 1047 (Scott).

THE NEWSPAPER PROBLEM IN ITS BEARING UPON MILITARY SECRECY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

IN every modern war the control of the agencies and channels of publicity has presented a serious problem. According to the regulations in use in the present European war, correspondents must keep their distance from the scene of action, and the public must be content with such "hand-picked" news touching military movements as the belligerent governments see fit to issue. The journalistic profession may complain of the curtailment of correspondents' privileges, the occasional suppression of papers, the governmental control of communication, the censorship of casualty lists, the restrictive instructions and regulations of official press bureaus, the exclusion of generals' names from war reports, the lack of definiteness in official *communiqués*, and the heavy penalties enforced against offending papers. Yet where these safeguards are absent, there is a serious weakening of military effectiveness. When one contemplates the full result of a loose policy toward newspapers during war, the case for some form of news control becomes a convincing one. The American Civil War presents a significant field for study in this connection, for the double reason that a period of remarkably keen journalistic enterprise coincided with a time of laxity in the matter of press control. Acting under no effective governmental restraint, the newspapers of the North, though in many ways deserving of admiration, undoubtedly did the national cause serious injury by continually revealing military information, undermining confidence in the management of public affairs, and giving undue publicity to the virtues of ambitious generals and the sensational features of the war. The present article is offered with the hope that there may now be an element of timeliness in the consideration of the military consequences of newspaper activity during that period.

In dealing with the novel question of censorship and news control enough was done by the Washington authorities to show that they realized the seriousness of the problem. During the gloomy days of April, 1861, the telegraph lines from Washington were brought within the exclusive control of the government, and an extra-legal censorship of a sort was established. The censor, H. E. Thayer, was instructed by Secretary Seward to prevent the issue

of all telegraphic messages from Washington relating to "the civil or military operations of the government", and it was understood that only a bare statement of the essential facts without extended comment would be allowed in the despatches. No mention of the criticism of General Stone for the Ball's Bluff disaster was permitted; the press was not allowed to say that senators and others of influence had urged Sherman's removal; a report of the dissatisfaction of the people of Minnesota at the withdrawal of their troops from the Mississippi Valley for the defense of the Atlantic river line was withheld from the wires, and the papers were to be silent regarding cabinet objections to Secretary Cameron's official report. There was a free censorship of despatches of a political, personal, or general sort, and correspondents were deterred from sending messages whose publication seemed improbable.

It thus appears that from the outset of the war a censorship existed. Its habitat varied, for at different times it resided with the Treasury, War, and State departments. Though this censorship was so partial and feeble as to be ineffective, yet the inevitable outcry from the newspapers, with the equally inevitable echoes of sympathy in Congress, arose. The newspaper men complained of unreasonable strictness in the censoring of their despatches, of an unequal policy which benefited some papers at the expense of others, and of an occasional looseness which resulted in unfortunate "leaks". It was regarded as an outrage that a communication to the New York *Tribune* professing to give advance information as to the President's annual message to Congress should be "killed", while a despatch to the New York *Herald* with the same data should be allowed to go. Considering the instructions under which the censor was to keep back all news regarding the Trent affair prior to the publication of the official correspondence between Seward and Lyons, it was considered unpardonable that the unpopular Russell of the London *Times* should be permitted to use the wires in transmitting to a friend intelligence that proved useful in stock trading. In harmony with complaints of this sort from the newspaper world, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, charged with an investigation of the telegraphic censorship, reported that wholesome political discussion and criticism were restrained, that numerous despatches were suppressed, that the censor was unequal to his position, and that the censorship had been carried too far.¹

As early as August 2, 1861, an attempt was made to obviate the necessity of undue official interference by the establishment of a

¹ Report of House Committee on Judiciary, March 20, 1862, *House Report No. 64*, 37 Cong., 2 sess.

sort of "gentlemen's agreement" between the government and the press. General McClellan had a conference with the representatives of the leading journals, and an understanding was reached whereby the papers were to refrain from publishing any information that would give aid or comfort to the enemy, while the government was to afford facilities for the transmission of suitable information. This well-meant experiment, which Russell cynically called a "curiosity",² proved a failure, for it placed too great a strain upon the consciences of correspondents and gave too great an advantage to certain less scrupulous papers which did not subscribe to the agreement.

After considerable experimentation, an administrative policy of news control was ultimately evolved. The censoring function was transferred from the State to the War Department, and it was ordered that, beginning with February 2, 1862, the President, by virtue of congressional authorization, would establish a military supervision of all telegraphic lines in the United States. All telegraphic communications touching military matters not authorized by the Secretary of War, or the commanding general of the district, were forbidden; no further facilities for receiving information by telegraph or transporting their papers by railroad were to be extended to journals violating the order; and for the general supervision of telegraphic business a special officer was appointed with the title of Assistant Secretary of War and General Manager of Military Telegraphs.³ In the sifting of news the American Telegraph Company co-operated with the government, requiring oaths of secrecy and allegiance from employees and allowing no access to the messages or the operating rooms except to those duly authorized by the government telegraph manager. No unofficial messages conveying military information were transmitted by wire, and news-writers were forced to bring in their war stories in person, to employ a messenger, or to use the mails. As a further precaution communications were sent in code, the cipher operator constituting at all times an important medium between officers.⁴

Though these various precautions indicate that the government regarded secrecy as an important consideration, yet they were but half-way measures, and at no time could it be said that the news channels were effectively closed. In the early days of the censor-

² W. H. Russell, *My Diary, North and South*, August 5, 1861; see also July 10.

³ *House Report* (above cited); *Official Records, War of the Rebellion*, second series, II. 40; third series, I. 324, 394.

⁴ J. M. Schofield, *Forty-Six Years in the Army*, p. 169.

ship, the transmission of "contraband" intelligence through the telegraph offices of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York was not prevented. Information of a highly confidential character might be suppressed in Washington and then sent over the wires from other points.⁵ When for instance a *Tribune* writer found that the Secretary of War had ordered the censor to suppress all news from Fredericksburg, the forbidden article was sent by messenger on a night train.⁶ Even after the control of the telegraph became general, messages could be freely sent by mail and this became the regular method by which news reporters conveyed their "copy". Excessive caution had to be exercised to prevent official despatches from being intercepted. Through a mysterious "leak" in the staff of General Pope, his telegrams to Halleck were immediately sent to New York and published. In consequence of this situation an order from Halleck to Pope directed that reporters be removed, and that no telegrams be sent over the wires except those sent by Pope himself.⁷ Everywhere throughout the war unauthorized news was continually finding its way into print through numerous unsealed channels.

In striking contrast with the feebleness of the censorship was the activity of the various news-gathering agencies. It is doubtful whether any war has ever been as fully "covered" as the Civil War. The leading New York dailies spent huge sums on their "war departments"—half a million being spent by the *Herald* alone—and an army of "specials" was placed in the field whose stories form a notable record of adventure and activity. We read of correspondents facing the battle-fire while writing from the field, carrying the confidential messages of men high in authority, making desperate rides to bring the first news of important events, entering the service as nurses or signal officers in order to secure the best opportunities for observation, adopting clever ruses to evade the guards or outwit rivals, writing steadily all night as sheet after sheet of "copy" was handed to the printers, and, in short, leading lives of thrilling excitement and of exacting strenuousness. The stories of Richardson and Browne of the *Tribune* running the blockade at Vicksburg, of Osbon, the *Herald* correspondent, hoisting Farragut's signals as the Gulf squadron ran the gauntlet of the Confederate batteries at New Orleans, of Henry Villard bringing to Washington and to the *Tribune* the news of Fredericksburg after a perilous night ride through a "sea of mire", of Stedman, after

⁵ *House Report No. 64*, 37 Cong., 2 sess.

⁶ F. Lauriston Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents* (London, 1914), p. 396.

⁷ *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. XII., pt. 3, pp. 608-609.

two days of furious riding, inditing a six-column report for the *World* with his feverish head tied in towels—these stories will bear many a retelling and will always command applause and respect.⁸

Usually the correspondents were accorded the most liberal privileges. Government passes were put into their hands; they had the use of government horses and wagons; they were given transportation with baggage privileges on government steamers and military trains. They enjoyed the confidence of admirals and army commanders, and were seldom at a loss to obtain the information they desired. Staying behind the lines as they usually did, they heard an immense deal of officers' talk, and could pick up not only the camp gossip but also many telling snatches of military information. One of the *Herald* correspondents possessed a pass which entitled him "to accompany naval expeditions in any staff capacity to which the commanders might appoint him provided they did not interfere with the regulations of the Navy".⁹ At Antietam a special writer for the *Tribune* carried several of General Hooker's messages and orders.¹⁰ In their own estimation these newspaper men constituted a privileged class, and indeed the treatment they often received bore out the opinion.

From the standpoint of the government and the generals all this newspaper activity was highly pernicious. Not only was valuable information constantly exposed, but discontent in the army resulted from an airing of petty complaints, the names of generals and lesser officers were paraded to gratify personal ambition, sensational news-writing was unduly stimulated, and the very elements out of which war is engendered—hatred and misunderstanding—were intensified. Good "copy" for a day's reading being the object, truth and accuracy became altogether secondary considerations. The average reporter, under the pressure of a constant demand for news, would just as soon chat with a disgruntled subordinate officer and print his story as to search for reliable information from a safe source. Besides, the safe source would not talk. As the "specials" were in nearly every case civilians without military expertness, they often incorrectly interpreted what they saw; and of course erred grievously when they presumed to foretell coming movements. Partly because everything was written under headlines, and partly because each day's issue must contain something important, the news-writers fell into the inevitable habit of exaggerating their stories and spreading their pictures on huge canvasses. In the case of local papers

⁸ Bullard, *Famous War Correspondents*, ch. XIV., *passim*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

with limited constituencies there was the further necessity of playing up the exploits of favorite sons. Their little heroes became big fools, as Sherman observed, when these accounts were copied in the metropolitan dailies. No sooner was a battle fought than every colonel and captain in it became illustrious. For a month after Shiloh the average newspaper reader in Illinois and Missouri would have supposed that McClelland's and Lew Wallace's achievements on that field were far superior to Sherman's, whereas in reality their parts were quite subordinate.¹¹ It was, indeed, the hard-headed and efficient general who was most likely to be written down, while those who achieved dazzling glory were almost always of second-rate quality.¹² Because the laconic Grant would not disclose his plans to visitors, the newspapers denounced him as idle, intemperate, and incompetent, such men as Frémont and McClelland being designated as suitable successors.¹³ So desperate did Grant become at one time because of the use of the press against him by his rivals that he planned to return home, and his purpose was only altered by Sherman's strenuous persuasion.¹⁴ It was not uncommon for disappointed correspondents to vent their spite by misrepresenting generals and falsely reporting conditions in the army. When General Cox in his West Virginia campaign declined to allow correspondents to be taken into the officers' mess and given military rank, they proceeded to write down the general and to describe his army as a rabble of ruffians and plunderers incompetently commanded.¹⁵ In addition to these evil effects, popular impatience for victory was voiced through the press, and unnecessary bloodshed

¹¹ M. A. De Wolfe Howe (ed.), *Home Letters of General Sherman* (New York, 1909), p. 227.

¹² The generosity which General Rosecrans, not without ulterior motives, exhibited toward correspondents is well presented in the *Memoirs of Henry Villard*, war correspondent of the *New York Tribune*. Rosecrans received Villard with profuse cordiality on slight acquaintance, invited him to his mess, and offered to furnish sleeping quarters, horses, and servants. In his conversations with Villard the general freely criticized his superiors (suggesting, for instance, that Halleck and Stanton should be got out of the way) and gave intimations as to his plans. He even allowed the newspaper representative to read his reports in advance of their transmission to Washington, and to copy them for publication. Villard declined the proffered privileges, and refused to be Rosecrans's mouthpiece, but W. B. Bickham of the *Cincinnati Commercial* showed no such scruples and served as the general's publicity agent. Thomas, the successor of Rosecrans, was much more cautious and reserved in his dealings with correspondents. *Memoirs of Henry Villard*, II. 212 ff.

¹³ *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, I. 458.

¹⁴ *Home Letters of General Sherman*, pp. 227-228.

¹⁵ R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, I. 141-142.

resulted from ill-advised engagements fought in deference to public clamor.

Sherman was, not without reason, the most emphatic in his strictures against newspapers. Early in his career, Northern journals kept harping on his "insanity", and so desperate were the general's feelings because of this abuse that he, like Grant, contemplated resignation. A Cincinnati editor, when asked why he repeated the slanders against Sherman, declared that it was a news item of the day and that he had to keep up with the times.¹⁶

Sherman had only disdain for the "cheap flattery of the press", which aspirants for public applause could secure by favors shown, at public cost, to correspondents. In his various campaigns the general did what he could to eliminate that class of men "who will not fight, but who follow our army to pick up news for sale, and who are more used to bolster up idle and worthless officers than to notice the hard-working and meritorious whose modesty is equal to their courage". This puffing of some officers and pulling down of others plays into the hands of the enemy, he said, by sowing dissension, and "encourages discontent among the officers who find themselves abused by men seemingly under the influence of officers high in command".¹⁷

In an indignant letter to his brother, Sherman declared:

To every army and almost every general a newspaper reporter goes along, filling up our transports, swelling our trains, reporting our progress, guessing at places, picking up dropped expressions, inciting jealousy and discontent, and doing infinite mischief. . . . The press has now killed McClellan, Buell, Fitz-John Porter, Sumner, Franklin, and Burnside. Add my name and I am not ashamed of the association.

Again he exclaimed:

Who gave notice of McDowell's movement on Manassas, and enabled Johnston so to reinforce Beauregard that our army was defeated? The press. Who gave notice of the movement on Vicksburg? The press. Who has prevented all our secret combinations and movements against our enemy? The press. . . . What has paralyzed the Army of the Potomac? Mutual jealousies kept alive by the press. What has enabled the enemy to combine so as to hold Tennessee after we have twice crossed it with victorious armies? . . . The press. I cannot pick up a paper but tells of our situation here, in the mud, sickness, and digging a canal in which we have little faith. But our officers attempt secretly to cut two other channels . . . whereby we could turn . . . all the strategic points on the main river, and the busy agents of the press

¹⁶ *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman*, I. 243-246.

¹⁷ *The Sherman Letters* (New York, 1894), pp. 187 ff. (This volume contains the correspondence between General W. T. Sherman and his brother, John Sherman.)

follow up and proclaim to the world the whole thing, and instead of surprising our enemy we find him felling trees and blocking passages that would without this have been in our possession, and all the real effects of surprise are lost. . . . The only two really successful military strokes out here have succeeded because of the absence of newspapers or by throwing them off the trail. Halleck had to make a simulated attack on Columbus to prevent the press giving notice of his intended move against Forts Henry and Donelson.¹⁸

It is no wonder that the general gave the position of emphasis on the concluding page of his *Memoirs* to a denunciation of newspaper correspondents. They are the "world's gossips", he said, gradually drifting to the headquarters of some general, who finds it easier to make reputation at home than with his own corps or division. They are also tempted to prophesy events and state facts which, to an enemy, reveal a purpose in time to guard against it. Moreover, they are always bound to see facts colored by the partisan or political character of their own patrons, and thus bring army officers into the political controversies of the day.¹⁹

By far the most serious count in the indictment against newspapers was their constant revelation of military information. It would seem that the copy for the papers underwent no sifting to eliminate contraband news, for we find casualty lists with full data as to the location of military units, statements of expected reinforcements, revelations of the amount of force commanded by various generals, speculations as to plans, reports of the location and strength of batteries, and many other similar items. An account of Grant's movements, selected at random from the *New York Daily News*, gives the course of march of a division of cavalry, refers to reinforcements from Meade, and proclaims the assembling of Generals Grant, Meade, and Butler at General Burnside's headquarters.²⁰ This is but typical of the sort of detailed information which the papers constantly supplied. At the time Lee did not know that Burnside was still with Grant.²¹

In another copy of the same paper one could read that heavy trains were continually running to and from City Point, transporting supplies and forage for men and animals, and that preparations for a permanent occupation of City Point were being pushed.²² The *New York Times* of November 10, 1864, published a statement of Sherman's exact strength and of his intended programme. Grant

¹⁸ *The Sherman Letters*, February 18, 1863.

¹⁹ *Memoirs of General Sherman*, II. 408.

²⁰ *New York Daily News*, July 2, 1864. (The report was dated near Petersburg, June 28.)

²¹ *Lee's Confidential Dispatches* (New York, 1915), p. 272.

²² *New York Daily News*, July 11, 1864.

complained to Stanton of the publication of this "contraband news", and in an answering telegram Stanton admitted that the department could not prevent such disclosures.²³ After certain Memphis papers had published the location of guns which Grant had secretly placed for his operations against Vicksburg, a Confederate major, while conferring with Sherman over the exchange of prisoners, facetiously requested that the Federals should not "open those batteries to-morrow night", explaining that it was his intention to give a party and he did not wish to be disturbed. Grant was furious at this disclosure, but it was the sort of thing that one should have expected, considering the laxness of control over such matters.²⁴

While Sherman was operating in Georgia, the *Indianapolis Journal* published a statement that Sherman had returned to Atlanta on a given date with five corps of his army, leaving two corps in Tennessee to watch Hood, that he had destroyed certain sections of railroad, and was marching for Charleston. Sherman sent a hot telegram asking the authorities to catch "that fool" and have him sent to work on the forts, advising further that misleading accounts be published to produce mystification as to his programme.²⁵

So bitter was Sherman's feeling against newspapers that he is said to have refused an introduction to Greeley, explaining that Greeley's paper had caused him a heavy loss of men in his Carolina campaign of 1865. By clever feints he had concealed his plans until the Confederate general Hardee got hold of a copy of the *New York Tribune* which contained a most obliging editorial. At last the editor "had the satisfaction to inform his readers [General Hardee was one of the readers] that General Sherman would next be heard from about Goldsboro because his supply vessels from Savannah were known to be rendezvousing at Morehead City". This disclosure cost the Union commander a fight which he had hoped to avoid.²⁶

There is ample evidence of the close scrutiny of the Northern papers by Confederate generals. This was particularly true of General Lee, who constantly perused the columns of these journals with the eye of a military expert on the lookout for information as to developments within the lines of the Army of the Potomac. On one occasion he noted a statement of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* regarding McClellan's movements which convinced him that a with-

²³ *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. XXXIX., pt. 3, pp. 740, 749.

²⁴ *Home Letters of General Sherman*, p. 247 (April 10, 1863).

²⁵ C. A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, pp. 216-217.

²⁶ *Memoirs of General Sherman*, II. 292; editorial, *Army and Navy Journal*, March 10, 1917, p. 885.

drawal of troops from Richmond was a safe measure. On another occasion he read in the same sheet that the Army of the Potomac was being reinforced by a heavy contingent under Pope. Again he found in a Philadelphia paper an admission of Sherman's failure at Kenesaw Mountain with the extent of his loss and a statement of Federal losses in other engagements. From the *Wheeling Intelligencer* of January 23, 1865, he learned that ten or fifteen thousand of Thomas's troops were in Bellaire awaiting transportation on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, from which he concluded that Grant was bringing his troops east with the intention of moving upon Richmond at the first favorable opportunity. As indicated by his confidential despatches, it was Lee's custom after reading these papers to pass them on to President Davis, with comments on those items that possessed special interest. At the same time that Lee was reaping the benefit of these disclosures, the leaders of the Northern army were generally quite mystified about his own forces in Virginia. He also appears to have seen through certain misleading statements which were published in Northern papers with the intention of throwing the enemy off the trail.²⁷

For a glimpse into the typical methods of journalists in handling military information, one may turn to the accounts bearing on the combined land and sea expedition which left Hampton Roads for Wilmington, N. C., in December, 1864. In the first place the importance of Wilmington as a Confederate base was made thoroughly public by references in Southern and English papers to the extensive commerce of the place, and the large amounts of government property deposited there.²⁸ These accounts were republished in Northern journals and may well have been of influence in attracting attention to the port as a profitable point of attack. At the time the expedition started the *New York Times* (of the morning of December 16, 1864) came out with a prominently headed article on the first page. These were the headlines: "Highly important—A new and formidable expedition—Its departure from Fortress Monroe on Tuesday—Where is it going?" Then followed a detailed account from their special correspondent, dated off Cape Henry, December 13. The next day the *Tribune* editor wrote a teasing editorial, declaring that the secret was as formidable as the expedition and speculating as to whether this pro-administration newspaper would be closed for publishing such highly contraband news. On the 19th the *Times* published a statement that the fleet had been

²⁷ *Lee's Confidential Despatches*, pp. 51, 223, 265, 331.

²⁸ J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, July 26, 1864, and January 3, 1865.

sighted off New Inlet, N. C., and gave a full list of the vessels. The *Times* articles had given no disclosure of the fleet's destination, the editor facetiously remarking that it was "starting for some point on the rebel coast between Norfolk and Galveston", but the New York *Daily News* of the 20th gave further details, reporting that the expedition had reached Cape Hatteras on Saturday, that Admiral Porter and General Butler were the commanders, and that an attack on Wilmington was the purpose. On the 22nd the Confederate Secretary of War telegraphed in cipher to Lee declaring that Wilmington was threatened, and might be attacked at any time, and asking Lee to meet the necessity.²⁹ The exasperation of the Federal Secretary of the Navy, Welles, is shown by an indignant outburst in his *Diary* in which he declared that the papers were disclosing confidential circumstances pertaining to the expedition which should by no means be made public. The matter was regarded as of sufficient seriousness to merit consideration in cabinet meeting, and the President was in favor of making an example of the offending correspondent, but no arrest seems to have been made, owing to friction between the official heads of the War and Navy departments.³⁰ By the time the first attack on Wilmington took place, December 24, 1864, the enemy had been amply warned, so that in this unsuccessful engagement and also in the bombardment of January 13 and 14 which resulted in the capture of Fort Fisher, the Union forces were denied the advantage of surprise.

When we turn to a consideration of the Southern press we find something of the same laxness, but there were less serious disclosures of information, partly because of greater discretion, perhaps, on the part of Southern papers, and also because control was stricter and the sum total of newspaper activity far less. As the Confederate papers came frequently within the Union lines, besides being copied in Northern news columns, the information they contained was at all times available to Union generals. Under these circumstances it was recognized that silence was the only feasible policy. Accordingly the publication of newspaper statements as to movements of troops was prohibited, correspondents were ordinarily excluded from the lines, reports of military operations were submitted to the appropriate commanding officer before publication, and severe penalties were enforced against editors who disclosed army secrets or published statements likely to impair confidence in the officers. Warnings and confidential instructions were from time

²⁹ *Lee's Confidential Dispatches*, p. 310.

³⁰ *Diary of Gideon Welles*, II. 205-207.

to time issued to the papers, and the practice of silence and caution was carefully fostered.

In the attainment of military secrecy and editorial restraint the results at the South, while not ideal, were at least generally satisfactory. When the Confederate General Early was operating in Virginia in 1864 with a force so limited that secrecy was absolutely essential to success, warnings were sent to the papers "not to allude even by implication" to the movements of troops. The correspondent of the Richmond *Inquirer* had information of Early's movements, but, with a degree of self-control that was rare in his profession, wrote his paper not to make the information public.³¹ Even news of victory was sometimes withheld from an eager people lest the enemy should derive the first intelligence of their disaster from Confederate papers.³² Sherman at various times testified to Confederate success in guarding military information, and declared at one time that while everything his own army attempted to do was paraded, yet he looked in vain for scraps in Southern papers from which to guess at the disposition of the enemy's forces. At another time he referred to the South moving "their forces from Virginia to Mississippi and back without a breath spoken or written".³³ The problem of keeping the enemy mystified seems to have been carefully studied, and at times spurious information was furnished. For instance, in 1862, when Jackson was on his way to Richmond to support Lee, Confederate editors published accounts of reinforcements sent to Jackson in the Shenandoah valley.³⁴

³¹ *Lee's Confidential Dispatches*, July 15, 1864, pp. 240-241.

³² Jones, *Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, October 11, 1864.

³³ *Home Letters of General Sherman*, pp. 238, 240.

³⁴ This information was published at the request of Lee, who knew of McClellan's habit of reading the Richmond journals. Reinforcements had actually been sent earlier, but at the time the newspapers had maintained silence. While Lincoln and McClellan were exchanging telegrams concerning the reinforcement of Jackson, the latter was already half-way to Richmond. The importance of secrecy in Jackson's movement lay in the fact that the Confederates were greatly outnumbered, and the true Union policy was to concentrate against Richmond. It was Jackson's diversion in the valley and the panicky dread of an attack upon Washington that caused the Federal authorities to retain McDowell's army corps which had been promised to McClellan, to divert part of McDowell's troops into the valley, and to withhold the forces under Frémont, Banks, Milroy, and Shields, which ought to have co-operated in the Richmond campaign. A disclosure of Jackson's movements, by newspaper indiscretion or otherwise, would have completely upset Confederate strategy. McClellan, at the time, conceived himself to be confronted by an army far superior to his own, and this belief, as well as his clamoring for reinforcements, was published in Northern papers which reached Richmond. This known timidity on the part of their adversary emboldened the Southern generals. *Richmond Dispatch*, June 18, 1862; Rich-

Besides guarding secrets, the Southern press did much to develop and preserve a high morale among the people and the soldiers. In reporting the many indecisive engagements near Richmond, the editors of the South would always claim victory while the Northern papers were exaggerating Union disasters or complaining that the successes achieved by Federal arms were not more conclusive. To use a familiar athletic term, the men in the field were well supported "on the side lines". With admirable cleverness the best interpretation was put upon Southern reverses. When the earlier promises of moving on to Washington and New York failed to materialize, the papers began to preach the theory that the whole purpose was the defense of the Southern capital. Thus Gettysburg and Antietam were heralded as defensive victories. Always the superior fighting power of Confederates over Unionists was assumed in the newspaper comments, and that fighting spirit which goes with an air of invincibleness was engendered.³⁵

In spite, however, of all this caution there were occasional breaches of discretion on the part of Southern papers. The "rebel war clerk" Jones declared that the enemy "seemed to have speedy and accurate information from Richmond not only of all movements of our army, but of the intentions of the government. . . . They know every disposition of our forces from day to day sooner than our own people!"³⁶ The publication of his army's movements at times frustrated Lee's plans, as for instance when the papers heralded the sending of Longstreet to the Western army, which was intended to be a secret.³⁷ Beauregard, who suffered at various times from reporters, complained in 1861 that the real extent of his numerical strength as well as his intended operations were revealed by newspapers and requested the Secretary of War to exclude reporters from the vicinity of his army.³⁸

In the last desperate months of Southern resistance, some interesting disclosures came from a quite unexpected source. President Jefferson Davis, after the fall of Atlanta, visited Georgia to stem the tide of opposition led by Governor Brown. In speaking at Macon he explained that reinforcements were not sent to Georgia from

mond *Enquirer*, June 19, 1862; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, IV. 36; G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*, II. 4, and I. xiv, 314, 413, 415; T. N. Page, *Robert E. Lee*, pp. 136 ff., esp. p. 157.

³⁵ Grant on Wilderness Campaign, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, IV. 149.

³⁶ Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*, March 1, 1865.

³⁷ R. E. Lee, jr., *Recollections and Letters of General Lee* (New York, 1905), p. 416.

³⁸ *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. LI., pt. 2, p. 152.

Virginia because the troops were sorely needed to oppose Grant. He referred to the alarming proportion of men who were "absent without leave", and called upon the deserters to return. To freshen the hopes of his people he announced the plan of harassing Sherman's communications by cavalry raids and declared that soon the enemy would be driven beyond Chattanooga.³⁹ The various speeches made on this visit were published in Southern and copied in Northern papers, so that Sherman could anticipate the promised attacks and take the proper precautionary measures. Here and there we find other news disclosures at the South, and occasionally in the issuing of a sharp order reference would be made to the unfortunate publication of valuable information, but it appears that, on the whole, the South surpassed the North in the discretion of its editors and the effectiveness of its methods of dealing with the press.

In our consideration so far, we have been taking into view those journalistic faults which are consistent with loyalty and patriotism. In the North, however, during the Civil War, there were many powerful papers whose malignant attitude toward the administration amounted to disloyalty and active sympathy with the enemy. The utterances of such papers as the *New York World* and *Daily News*, the *Baltimore Exchange*, the *South*, the *Maryland Daily News*, the *Columbus (Ohio) Crisis*, and the *Chicago Times* were so vicious that suppression or the arrest of their editors seemed but mild forms of punishment. The publicity which these papers gave to military information was as pernicious as in the case of the "loyal" or "administration" press, and there was the added vice of deliberate purpose to undermine the government's plans. In such sheets the whole conflict was denounced as a "Black Republican" war, governmental measures were characterized as tyrannous attempts to overthrow civil liberty in the North, the President was referred to as an imbecile or despot, and the secessionists were applauded. While continually denouncing the attacks on the "freedom of the press", their unrestrained abuse was itself the best evidence that such freedom had been allowed to proceed to the point of shameless license.

One of the favorite tricks of the *New York Daily News* was to undermine confidence in the official statements touching military

³⁹ *The Proper Relationship between the Army and the Press in War* (Army War College pamphlet, Washington, November, 1915), p. 5. Davis's Macon speech appeared in the *Macon Telegraph and Confederate*, September 24, 1864, and was copied in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of October 8. See also C. A. Dana and J. H. Wilson, *Life of U. S. Grant* (1868), p. 314.

matters which emanated from Washington. Secretary Stanton's reports regarding the operations around Richmond in 1864 were discounted and represented as deliberate falsifications.

It is enough to make me shudder [wrote their Washington correspondent], to read the flaming bulletins of victory that Mr. Stanton has recently telegraphed from here. Is the public to be regarded as thoughtless children . . . that they can be made to believe in victories like these? . . . Is it so long since the great and bloody victories of Grant over Lee, all the way from the Rapidan to Richmond, in each of which the rebel army was annihilated? When the public remembers the glowing accounts of these victories, and how much was promised on account of them, and when they see now that they were of no account at all as affecting the general result of the war, they may be pardoned for incredulity about . . . present victories. [And again] The country is favored with a repetition of the stale report that the rebel army is broken up, and its efficiency destroyed, but the people are not gullible enough to be deceived by it.⁴⁰

Such utterances lead us to conclude that among newspaper "disclosures" at the North we should include the disclosure of editorial disappointment at Union success.

In considering the remedies for newspaper abuses which were available during the Civil War, it should be noted in the first place that correspondents accompanying an army were within the range of military law, and were liable to discipline by court martial.⁴¹ The general principle that camp followers or army retainers were subject to military jurisdiction would perhaps have sufficed to cover the case of news-writers, and in addition there was a clear provision in the fifty-seventh Article of War⁴² against "holding correspondence with, or giving intelligence to, the enemy, either directly or indirectly". Offenders under this article were to suffer death "or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a court martial". As an amplification of this article a general order of the War Department was issued, declaring that all correspondence, verbal or in writing, printing or telegraphing, concerning military operations or movements on land or water, or regarding troops, camps, arsenals, intrenchments or military affairs within the several military districts, by which intelligence might be given to the enemy, without the sanction of the general in command, was prohibited, and that violators should be proceeded against under the fifty-seventh

⁴⁰ *New York Daily News*, December 20, 1864.

⁴¹ *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. XLII., pt. 3, p. 706; *Digest of the Opinions of the Judge Advocates General*, p. 1082; E. S. Dudley, *Military Law and the Procedure of Courts Martial* (second ed., New York, 1908), p. 375.

⁴² An Act for Establishing Rules and Articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States, approved April 10, 1806. *Statutes at Large*, II. 359.

Article of War.⁴³ It was understood that war correspondents as a class were so far under the authority of the commanding general of the army which they accompanied that he might issue rules and regulations to govern their conduct. As in all wars, intercourse with the enemy was interdicted, except under flags of truce or on the basis of special executive permits. A system of correspondence maintained between Northern and Southern papers by means of publications entitled "Personals" was held to be illegal as an evasion of this rule.⁴⁴ Editors might be subjected to summary arrest for disloyalty or under the elastic charge of "resisting the draft", and other methods were available such as excluding correspondents from the lines, withholding facilities for news-gathering, denying the privilege of the mails, prohibiting the circulation of papers, seizing an edition, and, in extreme cases, suppressing the paper.

In a number of instances newspaper correspondents were disciplined by the military authorities.⁴⁵ This discipline usually amounted to exclusion from the lines of a military command. General Canby, in 1864, found it necessary to order the dismissal of two reporters, representing the *New York Herald* and *Tribune*,⁴⁶ because they had disclosed military secrets, and had engaged in a controversy calculated to disturb the harmony of his troops. Grant arrested and dismissed the *Tribune* correspondent whose "false and slanderous" copy had misrepresented Hancock's movements near Petersburg in June, 1864. After the battle of the Wilderness a Cincinnati paper published the untrue statement that Meade had counselled retreat. Under Meade's order the offending correspondent was appropriately placarded and paraded through the lines, and afterward expelled from the army.⁴⁷ Sherman in 1861, finding his operations in Kentucky greatly embarrassed by the publication of his movements in the press, banished every newspaper correspondent from the lines, and promised summary punishment to all who should in the future give information concerning his position, strength, or movements.⁴⁸

Another instance of the more or less constant friction between Sherman and the correspondents occurred early in 1863 during the operations near Vicksburg. A *Herald* writer, T. W. Knox, having

⁴³ *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. XLI., pt. 2, p. 778.

⁴⁴ *Digest of Opinions of Judge Advocates General*, p. 1056.

⁴⁵ Winthrop, *Military Law and Procedure* (second ed.), I. 133, note 4.

⁴⁶ *Offic. Rec.*, first series, vol. XLI., pt. 2, p. 778.

⁴⁷ Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, p. 215.

⁴⁸ S. M. Bowman, *Sherman and his Campaigns* (New York, 1865), pp. 447-448.

entered the lines in violation of Sherman's order, wrote back offensive criticisms of the general to his paper. Sherman, anxious "to establish the principle that citizens shall not, against the orders of the competent military superior, attend a military expedition, report its proceedings, and comment on its officers", took up the case vigorously. He caused Knox's communication to be read to him paragraph by paragraph, showed him the instructions and orders covering the point, and then had him excluded from the Union lines on order of Grant, commander of the department. An appeal was made to the President, but Lincoln declined to act over the head of General Grant and Knox was not readmitted into the lines.⁴⁹ In these instances one glimpses the constant friction between the army and the press, but so utterly lax was the treatment of war correspondents that these few cases of discipline had, after all, but slight effect upon the whole problem of news control.

Action against newspapers in the civil courts yielded no results. In the first place, the whole genius of American law is opposed to the prosecution of journalists for such utterances in their papers as constitute offenses against the government. Editors and proprietors of papers were, indeed, legally responsible for what their sheets contained, but this responsibility could only be made effective by the vote of a jury in an action for libel. It would appear that personal abuse, as for instance the public slandering of a general, would come under the law of libel, but even so the public interest involved obtains no recognition. Moreover, a libel suit is, in practice, usually found to be an inadequate remedy, and American law may be considered both defective and uncertain in the enforcement of responsibility of newspapers. Such laws as we now have requiring the registration of the owners, managers, and editors of publications were not in existence during the Civil War, and it was an easy matter to conceal the actual ownership and responsible management of a newspaper.⁵⁰ When abuse of the government was in question, there seemed to be no adequate way of securing action by judicial process against offending journals. There was, it is true, a law which severely punished anyone who resisted the draft or counselled resistance,⁵¹ and the Treason Act of July 17, 1862

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 447-452; *The Sherman Letters*, pp. 187-188.

⁵⁰ The facts in the libel suit of *Opdyke v. Marble* revealed a studied effort to conceal the real ownership of the *New York World*. *New York Daily News*, October 6, 1864.

⁵¹ For resisting the draft, John Mullaly, editor and proprietor of the *Metro-politan Record*, New York, was prosecuted under the act of February 29, 1864, but was discharged on the ground that the draft had not gone into actual operation. In announcing his opinion, U. S. Commissioner Osborn upheld the right of citizens to criticize governmental measures. *New York World*, August 29, 1864.

(i. e., the second confiscation act), was sufficiently comprehensive to include those who gave aid and comfort to the enemy through the expression of disloyal sentiments. The occasional grand jury indictments against editors, however, brought no results, as none of the cases reached the point of a judicial conviction. In view of this fact, it is hard to agree that the ordinary resources of the law were adequate to deal with journalistic treason.

There is no "seditious libel" law here as in England for punishing extreme abuse of the government, and there is no normal way for the federal government to take the initiative in a prosecution. So effective has been the provision of the first constitutional amendment against laws to abridge the freedom of the press that Congress has only once ventured to restrict editorial independence, and the sedition law of 1798 raised such a storm of denunciation that it was not generally enforced. Had it not expired in 1801 it would certainly have been repealed. In 1832 the law was denounced as unconstitutional by the House Judiciary Committee, and Congress in 1840 indicated its disapproval of the act by refunding a fine that had been imposed upon the Vermont editor Matthew Lyon.⁵²

Considering these limitations upon judicial and legislative action, it became necessary for the Executive to resort to extraordinary constitutional grounds and to the plea of military necessity whenever newspaper abuse reached such a pass as to call for really vigorous action. Though the arrest of editors and the suppression of papers would have been appropriate under a régime of martial law, or in a district under military occupation, yet such action under the actual circumstances was hard to justify, except on the principle that the supremacy of the government was an imperative necessity. The protection under the Indemnity Act of officers who acted under the President's orders amounted to a recognition of the unusual character of these proceedings.

The difficulty of enforcing such measures was well illustrated in the case of the suppression of the New York *World* in May, 1864. The *World* had published on May 18, in company with other papers, a bogus proclamation of the President which implied an admission of Union disaster in recent military operations, set a day for fasting, and called for a draft of 400,000 men. General Dix, under orders from Washington, seized the offices of the *World* and *Journal of Commerce*, and their publication was suspended for three days. The editors protested against this measure

⁵² Report of Judiciary Com., House of Representatives, January 20, 1832, *House Report No. 218*, 22 Cong., 1 sess. Act approved July 4, 1840, *Statutes at Large*, VI. 802.

of military repression in a district not under martial law, and a chorus of indignant denunciation of the act arose in the editorial columns of other newspapers in New York and elsewhere. Proceedings in the city court were instituted against General Dix, and Governor Seymour intervened to have these proceedings pushed. Here was an interesting conflict between state and federal authority, an attempt by a state to hold a high officer of the nation to judicial accountability for what was regarded as a usurpation and an infringement upon private rights. The order of the President, however, was pleaded by the defendant and the case never resulted in a conviction. So strong was the opposition to the suppression that the precedent could hardly be regarded as a fortunate one to follow. When, on resuming publication, the *World* issued a "triple sheet" giving a long detailed account of the affair, which proved to be an excellent "story", the lively demand for copies indicated that the paper had suffered no loss of prestige, and the net result of the incident was to discourage similar attacks upon the press in the future.⁵³

The *Chicago Times* was "suppressed" in 1863 by an unprompted order of General Burnside, the publication of one issue being prevented, but this order was regretted by every member of the Cabinet, according to Gideon Welles, and was immediately revoked by President Lincoln. Senator Trumbull spoke earnestly against this measure, and the Illinois House of Representatives denounced the action as a case of military despotism and an invasion of the sovereignty of the state.⁵⁴

One of the prominent arrests was that of F. Key Howard, editor and proprietor of the *Baltimore Exchange*, which was open in its expression of sympathy for the cause of secession. With other Baltimore editors Howard was seized and placed in confinement with the "prisoners of state" in Fort Lafayette. He assumed the rôle of a martyr to the cause of constitutional liberty and sent a vigorous letter to the Secretary of War demanding instant and unconditional release. Pardon would not satisfy him; he refused to appear before an "irresponsible tribunal", and would not accept a discharge upon the condition of foregoing or concealing his opinions.⁵⁵ After some months of confinement he was released by order of the War Department.

On the morrow of Howard's arrest the *Exchange* declared in an indignant editorial that the unrestricted right of the press to dis-

⁵³ Welles, *Diary*, II. 67; *New York World*, May-July, 1864, *passim*.

⁵⁴ Welles, *Diary*, I. 321; Horace White, *Life of Lyman Trumbull*, p. 208; *Offic. Rec.*, second series, V. 724.

⁵⁵ *Offic. Rec.*, second series, II. 781, 783.

cuss and condemn the war policy of the government is identical with the freedom of the people to do the same thing, and continued to express its disapproval of the war. The attack upon the paper caused it to gain rather than lose in the popular estimation.⁵⁶

A study of the various instances of governmental repression in the case of newspapers will reveal not so much that the penalties were excessive in view of the offense committed as that the means were ill adapted to the end desired. Popular pressure, rather than governmental repression was, after all, the most effective method by which the journals could be kept within bounds. The press of the country is in any case but the reflection of sentiment, and where the sentiment was hostile to the administration any interference with its written expression could have no other effect than to intensify resentment and bring popular sympathy to bear upon persecuted editors. It is the old story of the absolute inability of government to force or supplant sentiment.

There were many in the North, however, who waxed indignant at the thought that while their sons were fighting for the cause of the Union, editors should be unmolested in furnishing to the enemy by their pens a form of aid and comfort which was more effective than guns and ammunition. This popular resentment found expression in numerous attacks upon such papers as were tainted with disloyalty. Editors were worried, threatened, banished, or subjected to personal outrage; newspaper offices were frequently attacked by mobs so that guards were needed to protect property; in some instances papers were destroyed, and other forms of opposition were resorted to.⁵⁷ Officers of the government received numerous petitions directed against disaffected journalists, and such expressions of loyal indignation more than outnumbered remonstrances against interference with journalistic freedom. It may be said that the government did far less than the enthusiastic Union men of the time would have wished in the way of controlling the press. Zealously loyal men had to be disappointed while policy was so trimmed as to avoid offending conservative sentiment.

Viewing the whole period of the war, and taking account of all parts of the country, it appears that the actual governmental inter-

⁵⁶ *Baltimore Exchange*, editorial, September 13, 1861. Other Baltimore papers were summarily dealt with. The *South* was suppressed on February 17, 1862, and the *Maryland News Sheet* on August 14. The *Gazette* (the *News Sheet* under a new name) was suspended from September 28 to October 7, 1863, and the *Daily Baltimore Republican* was suppressed on September 11, 1863. *Check List of American Newspapers*, Library of Congress, pp. 81 ff.

⁵⁷ An interesting summary of incidents showing popular violence against newspapers and editors is to be found in the *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1864, p. 393.

ference with the freedom of the press was comparatively slight, and that voluntary restraint or popular pressure had far greater effect in keeping improper material out of newspapers than official repression. Just as the deep-laid schemes of the conspiracy known as the "Order of American Knights", with its elaborate plans for a Northern uprising in support of the Confederacy, failed without governmental prosecution, so the administration survived the attacks and errors of hostile or indiscreet journalists. There was during the war no real suppression of opinion.

JAMES G. RANDALL.

THE END OF THE ALLIANCE OF THE EMPERORS¹

I.

AFTER having triumphed over two great powers, Austria and France, in the campaigns of 1866 and 1870, Germany in 1879 expected to see them contract alliances intended to revenge themselves for the defeats which they had suffered at her hands. This apprehension occupied in the strongest manner the mind of Prince Bismarck, who, according to Count Peter Shuvalov, Russian ambassador in London, saw on all sides coalitions plotted against Germany. To preserve the empire from all danger, the chancellor deemed it necessary to conclude at least a defensive alliance with one power. He must make his choice between Austria and Russia. An alliance with the latter would, in his judgment, be more solid and more durable, because of the bonds of friendship which for many years had united the two imperial courts, of the monarchical sentiments which were dominant in both empires, and of the absence in Russia of those heterogeneous elements that work upon public opinion in Hungarian, Slavic, or Catholic circles in the Danubian monarchy. Yet despite all the advantages of an alliance with Russia, Bismarck preferred to turn toward Austria-Hungary, for if Germany should join herself to the empire of the tsars, she would more or less sacrifice her relations with the other powers, and would, in the case of a conflict with Austria and France, incur the danger of finding herself, by reason of her geographical situation, at the mercy of Russia. The latter power, placed at the extreme east of Europe, always had the means of escaping from attack. A treaty of alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary was signed at Vienna on October 7, 1879; it was an arrangement purely defensive, in the case of aggression on the part of Russia or of any other power against either one of the contracting parties.

But the chancellor himself had no confidence in the stability and continuance of the alliance with Austria. Uneasy as to the fate of the provinces taken away from France, he sought for the most

¹ Revolutionary events having laid open the archives of the Russian Foreign Office to the use of scholars, down to dates much later than have hitherto been customary, Mr. Serge Goriainov, formerly archivist of that ministry, and afterward senator, has prepared for the *American Historical Review*, from materials found in those archives, the following article.

suitable means of safeguarding Germany against every conflict with her western neighbor. In truth, the Austro-German treaty did not prevent France from allying herself with Russia against Germany. It was necessary to forestall such an alliance, to secure from Russia that she should remain neutral in case of attack upon Germany or Austria. An agreement between the three emperors was arranged, and the document embodying it was signed on June 6/18, 1881, by Saburov, Bismarck, and Széchenyi.

The first article of this treaty was thus expressed :

In case one of the three powers should find itself at war with a fourth great power, the other two will preserve a benevolent neutrality toward it, and will devote their efforts to the localizing of the conflict.

This stipulation shall also apply to a war between one of the three powers and Turkey, but only in case a previous agreement has been arranged between the three courts relative to the results of that war.

In the special case that one of them shall have obtained from one of its two allies a more positive assistance, the obligation of the present article shall continue in full force for the third.

This agreement was concluded for a period of three years. Well in advance of its expiration, the minister of foreign affairs called together a council at Moscow, on May 20, 1883, to deliberate on the question whether reasons of state required a renewal of this treaty. Mr. Peter Saburov, ambassador of Russia at Berlin, held that this *entente* was more advantageous to Germany than to Russia. Three years before, it was sufficient for the needs of the moment ; now, it was no longer capable of securing Russian interests. The first article, while leaving to Germany entire freedom of action in the West, conditioned all action in the East upon a previous agreement with Germany and Austria. For this reason, a renewal of the treaty ought not to be brought about except upon the basis of a perfect equality between the advantages secured to Russia and those secured to Germany, or upon the condition of giving both powers entire freedom, the one in the East, the other in the West, or, at any rate, of making that freedom conditional, in both cases, upon previous accord.

Of these two alternatives, the first seemed more advantageous to Russia, as leaving full liberty of action on both sides. In the case of a disintegration of Turkey, the occupation of the Straits was for us a vital question, the answer to which would have been greatly facilitated by our having procured in advance the assent of Germany and Austria to our acting according to our own desires in the Orient. A complete neutrality on the part of these powers would guarantee us against a European coalition and would isolate England, which would never yield to us the Straits.

The other high officials who took part in the deliberations, Giers, Count Miliutin, Prince Lobanov-Rostovski, while recognizing the force of Saburov's comments, were of the opinion that Bismarck would never consent to the modifications which he proposed.

In a memoir dated in December, 1883, Baron Jomini, first counsellor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, set forth the arguments for renewing the treaty of 1881 for three years, without any modifications. In his view the programme worked out at Livadia in 1879 was a preparation for arriving at our sole objective—Constantinople and the Straits—by the following means: (1) the restoration of financial equilibrium by the retiring of fifty million rubles of bank-notes per annum; (2) the creation of a fleet in the Black Sea; (3) an understanding with our neighbors to make sure of their neutrality. Now as notes to the amount of more than four hundred millions of rubles had been emitted for the last war, we should, if we retired fifty millions per annum, need eight or ten years to re-establish our currency. The creation of an adequate fleet would call for still more time. The result would be that if we should at this time conclude an arrangement with Germany based on a full liberty of action toward France on her part, in exchange for a full liberty of action on our part at Constantinople and in the Dardanelles, Germany would be obtaining an immediate advantage and would be giving us nothing more than an assurance which we could realize only at the end of some fifteen years. It was beyond all question that as soon as Bismarck had assured himself of our neutrality, he would seize the first occasion to finish with France. Without sufficient funds for war and without a fleet, should we be able at that same time to finish with Constantinople and the Straits, in face of England's opposition? And if we could not do it simultaneously, could we reckon upon it that Germany, freed from all fear on the side of France and become all-powerful in Europe, would at any later time aid us in good faith to realize our Oriental programme? If on the other hand we contented ourselves with renewing our arrangements for three years, we should be gaining time, indispensable for our preparations, and we should be fortifying the *status quo*, because Germany, reassured for the moment, would have less reason to precipitate a decisive conflict with France, on which the Emperor William would probably not resolve except in case of absolute necessity; because France, knowing that she could not count on us, would be less disposed to embark upon the terrible adventure of *revanche*; and finally because, since the triple *entente* was based on the maintenance of the Treaty of Berlin, the joint action of the

three courts would be able to prevent any violent shocks of a sort likely to bring on the collapse of Turkey.

About this same time Giers, while travelling from Petrograd to Montreux, stopped at Berlin, where he was very graciously received by the Emperor William and the Crown Prince Frederick. He did not fail to go to Friedrichsruhe and see the chancellor. His impressions of this visit are set down in a letter which he wrote from Montreux on November 7/19, 1883, to his assistant Vlangali:

Bismarck came to meet me at the railroad station, and took me in his carriage to his house, where I was served to luncheon. Arriving at two o'clock, I left Friedrichsruhe at 10 P. M., to spend the night at Hamburg. I began my conversation with the chancellor by telling him of the agreeable impression I had received from my audience with the emperor. "Yes", said he, "one could not sufficiently pray the good God to prolong the days of our venerable sovereign. One can have full confidence in him, and as for me I entirely share his sentiments toward Russia, and his desire to keep up relations of friendship with her. In this I fulfil faithfully my duty toward him." Then Bismarck endeavored to demonstrate to me that during his whole political career he had constantly favored alliance with Russia, though on our side he had not always been rightly understood. He dwelt long on this idea, that it would have been very useful for us to have an understanding with Austria to determine the sphere of our influence in the Balkans. I remarked that the formal delimitation of spheres of influence was quite difficult to achieve; thus, we could not give up either Montenegro or Servia to the exclusive influence of Vienna. Bismarck showed himself entirely ready to enter into negotiations for the renewal of the agreement of the three emperors. From Saburov's explanations, he had drawn the conclusion that we wished to enlarge its scope, to go back to the propositions advanced at Reichstadt, and to take up the questions connected with the fall of the Ottoman Empire. "The problem is very difficult", said he, "but all the same we had resolved, Count Kalnóky and I, to listen to your proposals." "Very difficult, indeed", I replied, "and in fact not very suitable, since we mean to maintain friendly relations with the sultan, but it would be better not to go too fast, and for the moment simply to renew the treaty, making any needed alterations." Bismarck undertook to prove to me the great utility of a *rapprochement*, and even of a close alliance between the three emperors. He said that he would have been ready to propose outright an offensive and defensive alliance between them. It was true that, in view of present circumstances, it could not call itself a Holy Alliance, but nevertheless it would be quite as profitable to Europe as that one, by maintaining peace for many years. This proposition surprised me not a little; I did not consider myself authorized to accept it; moreover its value to Russia, in the actual state of European affairs, seemed to be in truth quite doubtful; therefore I did not dwell upon it, but observed to the chancellor that the situation in the three empires did not appear to me very favorable for attaining such a result.

I then proposed to him that certain corrections should be made in the text of the treaty, among others the omission of the third paragraph

of the first article, which appeared to me entirely useless and which set up a certain inequality between the contracting parties. Bismarck understood me at once. He proceeded immediately to assure me that this paragraph was useful to us, for, in case Russia should ally herself with Austria in a war against Turkey, Germany would be under obligation to hold back England; but when I said to him that such an eventuality would certainly not come about soon and that one might much more probably expect that Germany in alliance with Austria and perhaps with Italy should attack France, he accepted my proposal and promised me that he would uphold it at Vienna.

In the course of the conversation Bismarck declared to Giers that he would abandon his political career after the death of the Emperor William, for the Crown Prince was an admirer of Gladstone, whose system was in no wise suitable to Germany. "Everything will go to pieces then", said Bismarck. This idea pursued him and he was endeavoring to consolidate as firmly as possible the structure he had reared. In Bismarck's opinion the friendship of Russia was one of the guarantees of the existence of the German Empire. The chancellor considered the *entente* with Russia as of more importance than all of the alliances with Austria and Italy. In view of these sentiments of the chancellor toward Russia, Giers sought to be agreeable to him by saying that the Emperor Alexander relied on him to tighten the bonds of friendship between the two empires and to maintain peace. These words pleased the chancellor very much. "I beg you", said he, "to lay me at the feet of his Majesty with the expression of my profound gratitude for his confidence in me and to assure him that I shall use every endeavor to be worthy of it; after the interests of Germany, it is those of the Emperor Alexander that I shall serve the most faithfully."

On his return, Giers stopped at Vienna, where he was received by the Emperor Francis Joseph and had an interview with Count Kalnóky. The visits he had paid to Berlin and to Vienna contributed to the success of the negotiations for the renewal of the alliance of the three emperors. The entire negotiation was confided to Prince Orlov, who was appointed ambassador at Berlin in place of Saburov. The instruction which he received on February 8, 1884, declared that the emperor, persevering in the pacific policy he had announced, desired to keep up relations of friendship with Germany; yet he would have preferred to have his action free from every engagement, that he might use it according to his own conviction with a view to general peace and the interests of Russia. But, under present circumstances, a refusal to renew the previous arrangements or a proposal to restrict their continuance to too short a term, would have aroused distrust, or perhaps even have led to

political combinations which it was important to avoid in order to maintain the pacific understanding between the three imperial courts. That understanding was more indispensable than ever, in order to strengthen the principle of monarchical order in face of the increasing peril of social revolution. This common feeling was the bond which should unite sovereigns and governments in a strict solidarity. But good intentions and fair words would not be sufficient, if they were not translated into facts.

Under this view, the emperor had received with satisfaction two practical assurances that had been given to M. de Giers, the one by Prince Bismarck, the other by Count Kalnóky. The first was that the German chancellor was firmly resolved to preserve peace with France and avoid every provocation, even in case of restoration of the Orleans dynasty, provided that restoration were not brought about upon the programme of a war of revenge. The second was that Count Kalnóky did not intend to press for an extension of the political action of Austria in the Balkan peninsula, nor even to bring about immediately a definitive and formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. France had at Berlin, in Prince Orlov, a sincere friend, and at need, a warm advocate. Undoubtedly the emperor would not have encouraged France to incur the risks attendant upon a rupture with Germany; France, in the situation in which she then stood, could not even be considered as an element in our political calculations. But the emperor would not have wished to see her disappear from the European scene under the blows of Germany or in the convulsions of anarchy. To have a monarchical, strong, and prosperous France would have been for our interest and would have made for the normal equilibrium of Europe; it might have been one more guarantee of general peace and social order. For the moment, the essential end of his Majesty's policy was to obtain several years of calm in the *status quo*; and the advanced age of the Emperor William made this a possibility. What was requisite was to eliminate those external and unforeseen causes which might interrupt this state of things; a renewal of the triple *entente* might contribute to this, on the one side by contenting France, on the other side by reassuring Germany. It was this thought that inspired his Majesty's determination. The triple *entente* was renewed for three years with some modifications in the text of the treaty, among them the excision of the third paragraph of the first article. The act was signed at Berlin on March 15/27, 1884, by Orlov, Bismarck, and Széchenyi.

II.

In his annual report for 1887, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs declared that Russia, in putting herself into accord with Germany and Austria in 1881, had had in view the maintenance of the general peace, which Russia needed after the war which had exhausted her. It was certain that the general peace would be more firmly assured by an *entente* of the three emperors than by a separate alliance of two of them. Such were the considerations which had determined the late emperor to enter into this pacific triple *entente*. But the turn of events in the Balkan peninsula brought out an irreconcilable antagonism between us and Austria. In vain did we, at each renewal of the triple *entente*, exert ourselves to remove the causes of conflict; the result was, definitely, that Austria had entered, without striking a blow, into full possession of the provinces which she had wrested from Turkey, and from them was dominating Serbia and crushing Montenegro, while Russia saw the influence she had so dearly acquired in Bulgaria destroyed by foreign intrigues in which Austria had certainly had a large part. Such results made a disturbing impression upon Russian public opinion. And since under the triple *entente* Austrian policy clearly rested upon the alliance with Germany, the latter was in our country involved in the same disapproval which was visited upon Austria. The Berlin cabinet was accused of bad faith and duplicity; the organs of the Russian press set forth with approval the idea of opposing, to an alliance which had been weakened by want of confidence in the two neighboring empires, a close *rapprochement* with France based upon community of interests. The French press naturally seized upon this situation, and the turbulent elements in France exploited it passionately, to further their plans of *revanche*. The violence of this unrestrained polemic, disturbing the German mind, reacted ultimately upon the governments, and the tension of their states of opinion was shown by a series of military, financial, and economic measures which could not fail to poison their mutual relations. In the presence of such a state of affairs, the tsar deemed it no longer possible to renew the agreement of the three emperors, the pacific purpose of which could no longer be achieved. In fact at the beginning of the year 1887, a bill was introduced in the Reichstag according to the terms of which the strength of the German imperial army on a peace footing would be raised from 427,000 men to 468,000, for the period of the next seven years. In the session of January 11, 1887, Bismarck, going into the tribune himself to support the bill, said:

Not one voice in France has renounced Alsace-Lorraine; at any moment a government may be established which will declare war. It may break out in ten days as readily as in ten years; nothing can be answered for. The war of 1870 was but child's play in comparison with the future war; on both sides an effort will be made to finish the adversary, to bleed him white, that the vanquished may not be able to rise again, and may never, for thirty years, dare even to think of the possibility of turning against the conqueror.

The Reichstag consented to increase the army for only three years instead of seven; it was dissolved, with a view to a new election.

This menacing language of Prince Bismarck and the armament of Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium alarmed France, which, on its side, proceeded to construct cantonments along its frontier, for shelter to the reservists in case they were called, and began a reorganization of its army in accordance with the plans of General Boulanger, minister of war. In a conversation with Baron Mohrenheim, ambassador of Russia, Flourens, who then had charge of foreign affairs, set forth the necessity for France to hold herself ready on short notice, while at the same time he scrupulously avoided giving any handle to false imputation of warlike designs; he repudiated all such in emphatic terms, sincerely and absolutely desiring, and intending, nothing but peace. France would not attack Germany unless the latter were strongly engaged elsewhere.

In reporting this conversation, Mohrenheim remarked that the government of the Republic sought for the moral support of Russia in case Germany should demand disarmament on the part of France. On reading this despatch, the Emperor Alexander III. noted on the margin that in such case France could count upon the moral support of Russia. M. de Giers, on his part, wrote to Mohrenheim, January 22, 1887, that the apprehensions of Flourens, as to aggressive intentions on the part of Bismarck, were exaggerated, for the latter had many times given assurances that Germany would not attack France. The declaration of Flourens that France would not declare war on Germany unless the latter was strongly engaged elsewhere, was worthy of attention; if that were the case the chances for maintaining peace appeared far from being exhausted; and as peace was for the interest of all governments, it could not logically be contrary to their intentions. In M. de Giers's view, of all the causes that might embitter the relations between Germany and France, one of the most potent would be the suspicion of an agreement between France and Russia inimical to Germany, for a strict friendship between Russia and Germany was the firmest security for

France as for all Europe. M. de Mohrenheim was to convey these views to Flourens, assuring him that an *entente* between France and Russia would certainly embitter relations between Germany and France.

The government of the Republic was entirely aware of the cogent reasons in favor of a good understanding between Russia and Germany, and accepted the view that Bismarck, if secure of good relations with Russia, would exert all his efforts to assure to the empire he had created a peaceful development. Eminently desirous to please the Russian ambassador and to defer to his advice, the French cabinet sought a sure means of consulting the imperial cabinet in great secrecy, through a confidential person, sent for that special purpose. The tsar minuted upon Mohrenheim's telegram on this subject the words, "This might be very useful to us, in certain contingencies [*à un moment donné*], and we ought not to discourage them". The person chosen for the purpose was Count Melchior de Vogüé. But Baron Mohrenheim did not deem it necessary at that time to have recourse to this intermediary.

In the course of that same year the secret treaty of the three emperors was to expire. The triple agreement was the basis of the ministerial policy of Giers. Voices were raised in Russia in criticism of it, and in denunciation of it as harmful to Russian interests. Several diplomats, such as Count Ignatiev, Saburov, Tatishchev, and others, won over to their side the publicist Katkov, who undertook a bitter campaign against the minister of foreign affairs. Giers nevertheless was able to obtain the emperor's approval. In a letter of November, 1886, to Count Shuvalov, ambassador in Berlin, he wrote that his Majesty continued to attach value to the understanding with Germany, but that the emperor wished that it should be serious, sincere, and complete. On his part Shuvalov, while appreciating the traditional friendship of the courts of Prussia and Russia and the advantages which our country might derive from it, observed that one did not need to be a great politician to convince himself of the immense profit it was to Germany to be united to us in a strong and durable manner, for the assurances of support, or rather of neutrality, with respect to Bulgaria, which Germany bestowed upon us in abundant measure, cost her very little. In spite of all the outcries in the delegations at Pesth, the Berlin cabinet knew very well that Austria would not dare to undertake anything against us, that she would not go beyond platonic protestations. Germany risked nothing in declaring to us that Austria could not reckon upon her aid nor even upon her moral support. But was it not necessary to

think of other eventualities—by hypothesis, that we should be forced, in spite of ourselves, to be embroiled with Austria? For such a case, Shuvalov asks, if the triple alliance should proceed to crumble, might it not be replaced by some dual arrangement effected before the explosion should take place? Would it not be possible to obtain some understanding that in these conditions would guarantee us on the side of Austria and her probable allies? At the moment there was in existence a triple agreement and also another alongside it, based on interests common to our two allies. Shuvalov questions whether a third might not be brought into existence, between Germany and ourselves, based on interests concerning us especially; *do ut des*. The chancellor, having no other thought and desire than the securing of general peace, could hardly refuse combinations which alone could secure him that result.

To this question of Shuvalov, Giers replied, September 14, that the idea of substituting a dual alliance for the triple alliance was a very good one, and was in all points agreeable to the tsar's desire, which was to strengthen in permanent shape our understanding with Germany. But how bring this about? At the beginning of the negotiations which had resulted in the signing of our secret arrangements of 1881, our intention had been to make them with Germany alone. Our object was to guard ourselves against the danger of the coalitions which the complicated execution of the treaty of Berlin threatened at every instant to raise against Russia, and to deprive Great Britain, particularly aggressive at that time, of every ally in case she should decide to make war upon us. On the other hand it was important to us to cause Germany to share our point of view respecting the principle of the closing of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and to lead her to enforce at Constantinople respect for the treaties in which that principle had been embodied.

Germany on her side asked that we should assure her of our neutrality and of the limitation of the conflict in case she should find herself at war with France, and that we should respect the integrity of Austria, provided the latter did not extend her action into the Orient beyond the limits indicated by the treaty of Berlin, unless on previous arrangement with us.

Such had been, on one side and on the other, the fundamental bases of Saburov's negotiations. But Bismarck had speedily declared that it would be difficult for him to enter into the proposed engagements without associating Austria in them, bound as he was to Austria by previous arrangements. The chancellor moreover considered the participation of Vienna in our treaty as very desir-

able, with a view toward emphasizing the powerful agreement of the three empires in the face of the republican and anarchical tendencies which were devastating the rest of Europe, and also toward reducing the chance that Austria, left at one side and entirely free, should seek, on some turn of events, either to join Great Britain against us or to join France against Germany. This last conjunction was not likely, but it was quite possible that at the least complication Austria should seek alliance with Great Britain against us. Since, moreover, Bismarck had declared that in case of war between Russia and Austria he could not go beyond seeing to it that neither one of the two belligerents was mortally wounded, and since, for our part, we could perceive no chance of war between Austria and Germany, the establishment of a triple *entente* was plainly indicated by the political necessities of the moment.

Undoubtedly this *entente* would be the best guarantee of peace, which Russia needed, especially with regard to her future development. The cabinet of Vienna, directed at this time by Baron Haymerle, had much hesitation in taking part in the alliance which we were preparing to negotiate with Germany. It would have preferred to remain outside, free from any engagement with us. When finally she consented to take part in our engagements, her attention naturally fell especially upon the article framed to guarantee the advantages secured to Austria by the treaty of Berlin, such as the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the clause relating to the sanjak of Novi-Bazar. In order to make the stipulations of this article more precise, it was agreed that a protocol should be joined to the treaty, setting forth the special questions on which agreement had been reached.

But the events which had occurred in Bulgaria in the course of 1886, of which a prince protected by Austria had availed himself to seize power in despite of the treaty of Berlin, without the assent of the other great powers, were not of a nature to encourage the least step toward *rapprochement* between Austria and Russia. Accordingly M. de Giers recommended Shuvalov to consider carefully the idea of an arrangement with Germany alone, which should have as its objects: (1) to surround the maintenance of peace with solid guarantees, indispensable to the development of our military, naval, and financial strength, and to guard us against the danger of European coalitions by sincere and firm alliance with the most powerful of the neighboring states, whose influence was at present decisive in most questions arising in Europe and even in the Orient; (2) to prevent any arbitrary alteration of the territorial *status quo*

in the Balkan peninsula and to cause it to be recognized that a preponderant influence on our part in the two Bulgarias was legitimate; (3) to guarantee as far as possible the inviolability of the Straits by assuring us of the firm support of Germany in proclaiming in decided terms, and in case of need enforcing, respect for this principle on the part of Turkey and of all powers signatory to the treaties in which it had been embodied.

In the first conference, on May 11, 1887, Shuvalov broached to Bismarck the question of a dual agreement. He reminded the chancellor of the words which the latter had spoken some time before. "If France attacks us, we shall do our part to defend ourselves, but we shall not precipitate ourselves against the French fortified lines." The principal object of Germany was, then, to guard herself against aggression on the part of France, relying upon our benevolent neutrality in the case of a war of revenge. Such was Bismarck's understanding; he said:

In case of aggression on the part of France we have your benevolent neutrality. You have ours in the case of a war with any third power, Great Britain, Turkey, Austria. The case of a war between you and Austria is one that would embarrass me extremely because of certain engagements which bind us to that power. What will you have? They are of such a sort that they do not permit us to accept without reservation your first article, in the form which you have given to it.²

With these words, the chancellor took out of his portfolio the secret convention of 1879 between Germany and Austria, renewed in 1884 for five years, and read it in German to Shuvalov, who then for the first time had knowledge of it, and learned positively that it was directed solely against an attack by Russia. Bismarck declared to Shuvalov that he sincerely regretted that the events of 1879 had compelled him to protect himself against us by means of this arrangement, but it nevertheless existed, and it would be disloyal toward us for him to accept the first article of our proposed convention, in view of the disclosure he had just made. Could we not, said he, add to article first the following words: "with the exception of the contingency provided for in the treaty subsisting between Germany and Austria, in case the latter should be attacked by Russia".

Shuvalov replied that such a condition reversed the meaning of the whole article; and moreover, if unexpected complications in the Balkan peninsula should arise to affect our relations with Austria, a difficulty would at once present itself, namely, the difficulty of deciding on which side the aggression lay. In subsequent confer-

² For the first part of the first article, see below, p. 338.

ences the first article was subjected to further changes. Bismarck proposed to add the phrase, "saving the obligations arising to Germany from a defensive treaty existing between her and Austria". It appeared to Shuvalov that this version might be accepted, with the reservation that Germany should equally take account of the Emperor Alexander's desire to promise his benevolent neutrality in case of war between Germany and France in which the former should be the aggressor. He proposed to add the words, "and saving also, for Russia, the case of an attack on France by Germany".

This proposal of Shuvalov was displeasing to Bismarck. He exclaimed with much disappointment that nothing justified such an addition, that if there was any need to speak of certain obligations resting on Germany, it was because they flowed from a regular treaty, while we were not bound to France by any document, and, finally, that the treaty subsisting between Germany and Austria was purely defensive and, in a way, guaranteed France against any aggression on the part of Germany. Shuvalov endeavored to calm the chancellor's irritation by assuring him that no ulterior designs were cherished by us, that the emperor's purpose was to preserve the equilibrium of Europe. Just as his Majesty was ready to maintain a benevolent neutrality in a war of revenge intended to wrest conquered provinces from Germany, so also his Majesty would not be willing to see a mortal blow inflicted on either one of the belligerent parties. The allusion to the possibility of revenge on the part of France angered the prince. He cried, "Not strike a mortal blow? What does that mean? Nobody proposes to annihilate France. Moreover, is it possible to destroy a nationality?"

As it was not possible to agree upon the wording of the additional phrases, Shuvalov proposed to go back to the original draft of the first article, to make no mention of either Austria or France, and to take up this question in an entirely distinct clause and dispose of it, at need, by an exchange of notes, which while explaining and setting forth the obligations of Germany toward Austria should also mention the desire of the Emperor Alexander III. to see France preserved from any mortal blow that might be inflicted under certain circumstances. "Let us come back then", said the chancellor, "to the version which I proposed to you the other day, that is, to rewrite article I. in a sense specially defensive in the case of a war with a third power". Shuvalov would not accept this version. In truth, of what advantage would it be to us to have the benefits of benevolent neutrality only in case of attack by some third power?

Was it our fault if we had more enemies than Germany, which had but one? Could we bind ourselves, in respect to Austria and especially in respect to Turkey, to remain impassive in the face of every threat, perhaps even that of having the hostility of Germany in case we should see ourselves obliged to act in a direction which she might judge to be aggressive?

But then [replied Bismarck] you ask us for our neutrality in case of war between you and England or Turkey or Italy, and you concede to us in return only a half-neutrality, and that merely in case of war between us and France. Let us grant that this half-neutrality is the equivalent of that which we promise you in the case of war between you and Austria; but we should still be undertaking three whole ones besides. Now, is that fair?

Shuvalov refused to follow the chancellor into this discussion. He had been instructed to propose to the court of Berlin a dual arrangement. He knew the ideas of the emperor and of M. de Giers, both of whom looked upon the neutrality of Russia in a war between Germany and France as the equivalent for the reservations which the chancellor made toward us by reason of Germany's obligations toward Austria-Hungary. Moreover, a convention between Germany and Russia without reservations as to the possibility of a dismemberment would have been more than unpopular among us; it was impossible to ignore the disturbed state of Russian public opinion since the treaty of Berlin, which, rightly or wrongly, was regarded as having deprived us of all the advantages which we had attained at so great a cost.

At a loss for further arguments, Shuvalov confessed his inferiority, saying:

I assure you, Prince, that I do not feel strong enough to contend with you. I set things before you as they are. I assure you also that I have no feelings of personal pride about not succeeding in the negotiations which have been confided to me; I make it my sole object to fulfil scrupulously my duty. Therefore I speak frankly, without bargaining or haggling, and if I insist upon the clause concerning France, it is because I know that it is a condition *sine qua non*.

Bismarck took pity on his interlocutor. He collected himself and, after a few moments of reflection, dictated to Shuvalov this form of reservation of article I.: "This provision shall not apply to Austria and to France save in the case that one of the high contracting parties shall be attacked either by Austria or by France".

In the next interview, Bismarck proposed the following language: "This provision shall not apply to a war against Austria or France resulting from an attack made on one of those two powers

by one of the high contracting parties".³ This form was adopted. The reading of the third article of the *projet*, relating to the closing of the Straits, brought out during the discussions the declaration by Bismarck, often repeated by him, that Germany was ready to see us masters of the Straits and established at Constantinople—that we might, in his phrase, possess the key to our own house. But this declaration could not appear in the principal instrument; it must be made a separate stipulation, for any indiscretion respecting it might be fatal to us by disclosing too early our aspirations. Similarly, by Bismarck's advice, the clause respecting the forbidding of entrance into the Black Sea was to be kept secret and drawn up separately. This task Shuvalov carried out; the secret clause was made the substance of one of the articles of the protocol annexed to the convention of June 6/18, 1887. That convention was concluded for three years instead of five as Shuvalov preferred, and signed by him and Count Herbert Bismarck. From the fact that the Emperor William had shortened the term of the convention, and that the chancellor had avoided signing it, by deputing his son to do so in his stead, M. de Giers believed he could infer that this arrangement was more advantageous to Russia than to Germany. On reading this remark of his minister the tsar added: "Perhaps". Austria had been excluded from the negotiation for reasons stated above in the ministerial report.

In the summer of this same year the Emperor William had a meeting with the Emperor Francis Joseph at Gastein. The latter expressed to his ally his regret at seeing Russia withdraw from the *entente* which had united the three courts, but William refrained from breathing a word of the arrangement concluded with Russia. "I shall do the same", said Bismarck to Shuvalov, "when I see Kalnóky".

III.

The document of June 6/18, 1887, is thus expressed:

The Imperial Courts of Russia and Germany, animated by an equal desire to confirm general peace by an understanding designed to assure the defensive position of their respective states, have resolved to embody in a special arrangement the accord established between them, against the expiration on June 15/27, 1887, of the treaty signed in 1881 and renewed in 1884. To this end the plenipotentiaries of the two courts have agreed on the following articles:

Article I. In the case that one of the high contracting parties should find itself at war with a third great power, the other would

³ " Cette disposition ne s'appliquerait pas à une guerre contre l'Autriche ou la France dans le cas où cette guerre résulterait d'une attaque dirigée contre l'une de ces dernières puissances par l'une des hautes parties contractantes."

maintain toward it a benevolent neutrality and would devote its efforts to the localization of the conflict.

This provision shall not apply to a war against Austria or France resulting from an attack made upon one of these two powers by one of the high contracting parties.

Article II. Germany recognizes the rights historically acquired by Russia in the Balkan peninsula, and particularly the rightfulness of a preponderating and decisive influence on her part in Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia. The two courts pledge themselves to permit no modification of the territorial *status quo* in that peninsula without a previous agreement between them, and to oppose, as it arises, every attempt to disturb that *status quo* or to modify it without their consent.

Article III. The two courts recognize the European and naturally obligatory character of the principle of the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, founded on the law of nations, confirmed by treaties, and set forth in the declaration made by the second plenipotentiary of Russia at the Congress of Berlin, in the session of July 12 (Protocol 19). They will take care in common that Turkey makes no exception to this rule in favor of the interests of any government by lending to military operations of a belligerent power that portion of its empire adjoining the Straits. In case of infraction or to prevent infraction in case it is in prospect, the two courts shall warn Turkey that they would consider her, if such were to take place, as having put herself in a state of war with the injured party, and as having deprived herself henceforth of the benefits of security assured to her territorial *status quo* by the treaty of Berlin.

In a protocol signed the same day, it was declared that, in order to complete the stipulations of articles II. and III. of the treaty, the two courts had agreed upon the following points:

1. Germany, as in the past, will aid Russia to re-establish in Bulgaria a regular and legal government. She promises that she will in no case give her consent to the restoration of the Prince of Battenberg.

2. In case the Emperor of Russia should find himself obliged to take over the task of defending the entrance into the Black Sea in order to safeguard the interests of Russia, Germany engages to lend benevolent neutrality and her moral and diplomatic support to the measures which his Majesty shall deem it necessary to take in order to guard the key of his empire.

By the terms of the first article of the convention of June 6/18, 1887, Germany, after having protected herself by the Austrian treaty of 1879 against attack on the part of Russia, protected herself by a fresh agreement with Russia against attack on the side of France. This agreement is known by the name of the Reinsurance Treaty. Yet these diplomatic measures did not satisfy the chancellor's prudence; he did not cease to insist on the necessity of increasing the forces of Germany, and perfecting her armament. The number of soldiers under arms in time of peace amounted to 700,000 men. On February 6, 1888, Bismarck caused the text of

the treaty of alliance concluded with Austria on October 7, 1879, to be simultaneously published at Berlin, at Vienna, and at Pesth, in order to put an end, as was explained in the official *communiqué*, to false interpretations of that treaty, which had a purely defensive character. On the same date, in the session of February 6, 1888, the prince delivered a celebrated speech in which he essayed to prove that Germany must be strong enough to defend herself on both fronts, and so invulnerable that she should have no need to begin the attack. The conclusion of the speech resounded like a defiance to the whole world: "We Germans fear God and fear nothing else in the world".

The agreement between Germany and Russia had been made for three years. In 1889, well in advance of its expiration, the Russian minister of foreign affairs was instructed to study the question whether this arrangement with the German Empire should be renewed, and if so, in what form. The first article of the treaty required Germany, except in the case of our attacking Austria, to observe a benevolent neutrality and to endeavor to localize the conflict in any war which Russia might have with a third great power. This clause was not without value. Furthermore Germany promised not to attack France, and recognized that, if she did, she could no longer count on Russia's neutrality. In the East, Germany confirmed and solemnly recognized the principle of the closing of the Straits, and undertook to see to it that Turkey should not infringe upon it in favor of the interests of any government whatever. All these pledges were distinctly useful to us; and on her part Russia, except for the case of an attack by Germany upon France, agreed only to remain neutral, and to exert herself to localize the conflict, in the case of a war between Germany and one of the other great powers. Now, as aggressive action on the part of France was not at all probable, and a rupture between Germany and the other states still less so, this engagement was nowise onerous. Accordingly, December 19, 1889, by order of the tsar, it was agreed that these arrangements should be renewed, without, however, entering upon negotiations before April, 1890.

On February 12 of that year, in an intimate conversation, Bismarck confided to Shuvalov that it was very difficult for him to continue his functions in connection with the young emperor, and that he would like to resign. He said:

My sovereign, who at bottom has little confidence in his mother, has not been able to keep himself free from certain English influences which she brings to bear upon him. It is a veritable conspiracy of English radicals and German socialists. I had a little inkling of the

state of things when I saw the Empress Victoria return to Berlin. Then I asked myself, "What the devil does she mean to do here?" The instrument she makes use of with her son is Mr. Hinzpeter, his former governor, who, I believe, acts without much suspicion of the rôle he is being made to play. A man of liberal convictions, the empress has been able quite to engross him, and it is he, Hinzpeter, who for the moment is the great counsellor of my sovereign. I now see why I was held aloof, why the emperor sent word almost every day, through my son, to me at Friedrichsruhe, not to disturb myself. They were preparing the blow, and it was just at that time that the labor question was in the condition you know of. In spite of my small sympathy for any sort of liberal campaign, yet as a faithful subject I am under obligation not to abandon entirely to their fate the plans of my king. I have already spoken to you of my intention to retire completely from the Prussian administration. But will that be possible? The presidency of the Bundesrath is so closely bound up with my Prussian activities that it is difficult to preserve the former while resigning the latter. Perhaps the most practical thing will be, when the moment comes, to give up the whole thing.

The remainder of the conversation related, by preference, to foreign politics. Shuvalov made use of the opportunity to hint to the chancellor that the English influence, of which he had indicated the traces in internal politics, was also to be observed in international relations; this might bring about a sudden change in German policy and give rise to entirely new points of view. Then he suddenly reminded the chancellor of the existence of the secret treaty of 1887, and remarked that in his opinion that document, in spite of all the value which had been attributed to it on the one side and on the other, had really of itself exerted but a slight influence upon the good relations of the two empires, and that even without it such relations would without doubt have been maintained. "What do you think about that?" asked Shuvalov.

Oh! [replied the prince] if it is my personal opinion you ask, I shall reply without hesitation; yes, I vote for the continuance of our *entente*. I am quite ready to admit with you that our treaty has not, of itself alone, been indispensable to the maintenance of the good relations between us; nevertheless there it is, a document that defines clearly the policy which we are following and which, in my judgment, ought not to be changed. I have said it publicly, I have said it in intimate conversations with your sovereign, I have repeated it to you many times; my opinions, my sentiments are always the same. I take no interest whatever in Bulgaria or in Constantinople. You can do what you please there; it is not I who will prevent you. It is only the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian territory that we have to defend. You know that. There, in my eyes, is a political necessity. Austria cannot be wiped off the map of Europe; but as for your contentions outside her territory, that does not affect me. People once tried to frighten me by hinting to me that Austria might come to a direct understanding with Russia, and so transact her business without me. To that I replied that

it not only would not be unfortunate, but on the contrary very fortunate, and that certainly it would not be I that would be troubled by it. The disinterestedness that I profess in regard to Constantinople and the Straits would not be at all modified thereby. As for France, I believe that the fear of seeing us eat up that country has had time to evaporate. We should never be such fools as to commence a war that could bring us nothing.

Then taking up, after some moments of reflection, the chapter of hypotheses as to the future, he went on:

Here is how I see things. I do not believe in any deliberate hostility on the part of your emperor toward Germany; I do not even believe that in case of war between us and France you would immediately take up arms to assist that country. You would no doubt have recourse in such case to an armed demonstration, and if the first victories were favorable to us, you would check us by indicating to us that we were not to go farther. We are moreover not greedy for new provinces. Those we now have give us already quite enough trouble, and after all is said, one does not destroy nationalities. I will even go so far as to say that the preservation of France is a necessity to Germany also, in view of certain eventualities that might come forward in our relations with England. When I was at Reims, somebody said to me, "Go ahead and crown your king emperor of Germany and of Gaul". I laughed, and said, even then, "Nationalities are not wiped out by a stroke of the pen, as witness the Polish nationality, which has managed to keep itself in existence in spite of having lost its political unity".

Count Shuvalov observed to the chancellor that the secret treaty defined, in a decisive and unmistakable manner, the point of view of Russia in respect to France; that it was precisely the case of attack that it provided for, and that the integrity of the French territory was an essential condition of the maintenance of the balance in Europe. Prince Bismarck on his part declared that the secret treaty, in his opinion, corresponded so exactly to the situation which the two contracting parties had both desired to create, that even to define its duration would be, strictly speaking, unnecessary, the text of the agreement being, so to speak, the expression of a fixed and unchanging situation.

Count Shuvalov ended his despatch by concluding that the chancellor would ask nothing better than to renew our reciprocal engagements, and the tsar minuted at the end the following words: "I think, in effect, that to Bismarck our *entente* is in some sort a guarantee that no written agreement exists between us and France, and that is very important for Germany".

After an absence of some weeks, Shuvalov on March 5/17 called on the chancellor at the latter's invitation. He found him in a state of great excitement, for the resignation of the prince and of

his son had been accepted. The divergence of opinion between Emperor William II. and his chancellor on internal questions had extended to foreign policy, in which, the prince declared, one of the grievances that the emperor had represented to him was the Russo-phile policy which Bismarck had pursued up to that time. The same imputation is reported by Prince Clovis Hohenlohe in his memoirs.⁴ William II. had no confidence in the foreign policy of Bismarck. He suspected him of having private views which he was concealing, of wishing to abandon Austria and the Triple Alliance in order to join hands with Russia, while the emperor, who had given his word to Francis Joseph to be a faithful ally to him, held to the treaty with Austria-Hungary.

Count Shuvalov wrote that what was then passing at Berlin was more than strange, and that one was forced to ask oneself whether the young emperor was in his normal state. In the night of March 9/21 the ambassador was awakened by a messenger from Emperor William, who requested him to come to his Majesty at eight o'clock in the morning. Scarcely had he arrived at the hour indicated, when he was received by the emperor with a kindness and cordiality beyond all expression:

Sit down and listen to me [he said]; you know how much I love and respect your sovereign. Your emperor has been too good to me for me to do otherwise than to inform him personally of the situation created by the events which have just taken place. Tell his Majesty, then, that I have parted with my old chancellor, for it was truly impossible to keep on working with him in view of the state of his health and the excitable condition of his nerves. Herbert Bismarck told me last evening that you were authorized by your sovereign to pursue the negotiations respecting the renewal of our secret treaty, but that at present you had abandoned them. Why? I beg you to tell his Majesty that on my part I am entirely disposed to renew our agreement, that my foreign policy remains and will remain the same as it was in the time of my grandfather. That is my firm resolve. I shall not depart from it, and you can resume your negotiations with Count Herbert. He wishes to leave me, I believe, but I shall try to keep him at his post.

Shuvalov replied that he had been obliged to suspend negotiations because of not knowing who were the persons with whom he was to conduct them.

I was informed of your conversation with Prince Bismarck [replied the emperor], and the chancellor was also authorized to conduct the negotiations to the consummation that we intended; nothing has changed, then, and I rely upon your friendship to lay the situation before your emperor, assuring him that nothing has changed either in

⁴ *Denkwürdigkeiten des Fürsten Chlodwig zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst*, II. 465-466 (II. 424 of Eng. trans.).

my personal sentiments toward him or in my policy in regard to Russia. . . .

You know [he went on], how many malevolent assertions accompanied my advent to the throne. People attributed war-like tendencies to me, said I was eager for glory, etc., etc. Yet I have done whatever I could for the preservation of peace, and that is what I desire for Germany, that is what I strive for in my foreign policy, just as much as I desire the preservation of order in internal affairs.

After having read Count Shuvalov's despatch, the tsar wrote on it the following annotation: "Nothing more satisfactory could be looked for. We shall see by the sequel whether deeds correspond to words. For the moment it is quite reassuring." On the proposal of Count Herbert, the negotiation of the *entente* was transferred to St. Petersburg and entrusted to General Schweinitz, German ambassador at the court of Russia. He was well acquainted with the affair, while those at the ministry at Berlin had not yet mastered it. General Schweinitz had to wait a long time for his instructions, and when they arrived at Berlin, he found that Germany refused to renew the agreement with Russia.

In making his explanations to M. de Giers on March 26, 1890, the general described the new chancellor's point of view on the relations between Germany and Russia. General Caprivi declared that there would be no change in those relations, that his policy would be simple and transparent, would give no occasion for any misunderstanding, and would cause neither alarm nor distrust. Caprivi's view was that such a policy did not admit of a secret agreement, especially with Russia, where public opinion would be little in favor of such a compact. On the report made by M. de Giers the tsar wrote the following annotations:

In my secret heart, I am well content that Germany has been the first to refuse the renewal of the treaty, and I do not particularly regret the ending of the *entente*. But the new chancellor's views about our relations are very significant. It appears to me that Bismarck was right when he said that the policy of the German emperor would alter from the day that he, Bismarck, should retire.

To Count Shuvalov's mind, Caprivi's refusal to renew the agreement could have two explanations: one, that William counted on the accession of Great Britain to the Triple Alliance, the other, that the new chancellor took the alliance with Austria more seriously than his predecessor had done. Caprivi had said to Shuvalov that he was little versed in the intricacies of diplomacy; his predecessor was strong enough to juggle with several balls at once, while he considered himself lucky if he succeeded with only two.

The arguments which Caprivi used to justify his refusal to re-

new the agreement with Russia seemed far from convincing to M. de Giers. It was true that in a former time relations of friendship could subsist between the two courts without any formal treaty, but since then the situation had become quite different: Germany had contracted alliances confirming the so-called league of peace which under certain circumstances might take on a character far from consistent with good relations between us and the cabinet of Berlin. Under these conditions, the advice of Prince Bismarck respecting the expediency of guaranteeing our mutual interests against every eventuality by means of a treaty seemed to M. de Giers very judicious. Accordingly he did not conceal from Schweinitz his surprise at seeing Caprivi's objections prevail over the intentions and desires personally expressed by his sovereign. He did not wish in the least to doubt the sincerity of the emperor's words, or those of the chancellor, but he would have wished that Shuvalov should have taken pains to clear up this enigma by leading General Caprivi to make a categorical statement in one form or another. Shuvalov might have suggested to him the idea of an exchange of notes declaring that, without renewing the secret treaty of 1887, the two powers desired to confirm the relations of perfect friendship subsisting between them, by stating the continued validity of the bases of their *entente*, both in respect to the question of the Balkan peninsula and in respect to the closing of the Straits.

In dealing with this proposition on the part of the minister, Shuvalov asked himself first of all, what motives might have determined Caprivi not to renew the secret arrangement with Russia. In the first place, the chancellor believed that a *rapprochement* between Germany and Russia would not be in harmony with public opinion on our side. And on general principles he doubted the value of treaties not founded on the real expression of national sentiments; hence his fears as to the consequences which might ensue in case our secret arrangements should ever be disclosed.

At this point in the despatch the Emperor Alexander writes on the margin: "This is more than correct".

There existed also a second consideration which in the mind of the young sovereign militated against a renewal of our agreement. William hoped to win over England to the so-called league of peace. This would evidently be a matter of capital importance for us, for it would touch our secret treaty on an essential side, that of our preponderant influence in Bulgaria and of the possession of Constantinople. Shuvalov had always viewed with suspicion the accord which for two years past had tended to become established between

Great Britain and Germany, in spite of the friction due to the divergent colonial interests of the two countries, especially in Central Africa. Yet, thanks to the spirit of conciliation displayed on both sides, the delimiting of their respective spheres of influence in Africa had had results surpassing in its effect the most roseate expectations, principally by the cession to the Emperor William of the island of Heligoland, so important to Germany by reason of its geographical situation between the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser. In return, Great Britain received large advantages in Africa.

Shuvalov saw in the concessions which the two governments had made to each other clear evidence of their mutual efforts to strengthen intimate and cordial relations. Herein lay, in his view, the motives which had dissuaded the German chancellor from renewing the secret arrangement with Russia. Should we not risk failure if we entered upon negotiations with Caprivi with a view to suggesting the substitution, for our existing compact, of an exchange of notes declaring the continued maintenance of the bases of the old *entente*? So Shuvalov asked himself. The tsar made the following note upon the report which M. de Giers made to him on June 11, 1890:

I am rather of Shuvalov's opinion. Once it appears that Germany is indisposed to renew our secret agreement, it seems to me that our dignity does not permit us to ask why. We shall see what is the matter when the Emperor and Caprivi come here. No doubt a change has come over German policy, and we ought to be prepared for any event.

In another annotation of June 14, the tsar writes:

Count Kutuzov⁵ has just left me and has given me his impressions. They are not reassuring or consoling. From day to day the emperor's nervous state grows worse and those about him are struck with the changeableness of his character and of his ideas. The progressive development of armaments makes the situation more alarming.

Prince Lobanov-Rostovski, Russian ambassador at Vienna, speaking of the refusal of Germany to renew arrangements with Russia, saw in it a very grave event. He had always thought not only that Kalnóky had been kept informed of the negotiation, but also that the check which it had received was probably due to the action of the cabinet of Vienna, which wished to reserve to itself the support of Germany in repulsing any attack on the part of Russia, even in case Austria should be the aggressor, though the latter, said the prince, was very improbable, "but the burden of the military armaments is such that nothing is certain".

⁵ Count Golenishchev-Kutuzov, major-general in attendance, was attached to the person of the Emperor William.

On August 5, 1890, William II. came to Russia to be present at the manoeuvres at Narva, and General Caprivi came in his train. In his conversations with M. de Giers, the chancellor declared that there was a general desire for peace which removed every cloud from the political horizon, a desire which was especially lively and sincere on Germany's part. The predominant idea of the reign of William II. was, said Caprivi, to react against the increasing peril of socialism and to remove all that might threaten internal tranquillity and order. The emperor destined the considerable force under his control to the prosecution of this great object alone, and understood perfectly well that, for the attainment of that object, permanent peace in foreign affairs was absolutely necessary. M. de Giers endeavored to demonstrate to Caprivi that we desired to maintain and perpetuate the traditional bonds of cordial good feeling between the two countries, much less by means of written stipulations than by an uninterrupted flow of mutual confidence. He asked him frankly what was his point of view respecting the matters on which agreement had been established between Russia and Germany, specifically respecting Bulgarian affairs and the closing of the Straits. It appeared to us certain: (1) that after all the sacrifices which Russia had made in order to create Bulgaria she could never consent to sanction the illegal power which Prince Ferdinand was exercising in contravention of the stipulations of the treaty of Berlin; (2) that the principle of the closing of the Straits remained a European principle, incontestably binding on all the powers signatory to the treaties concluded between them. Caprivi recognized that our position on these two points was scrupulously in accord with the treaties in force, and declared that, so far as he was concerned, Germany entirely agreed with that position. The same assurances were received by the Emperor Alexander at the private audience which his Majesty accorded to the chancellor. The details of his conversation with Caprivi were reproduced by M. de Giers in a despatch of August 19, 1890, to Count Muraviev, Russian chargé d'affaires at Berlin, who was instructed to communicate this despatch and to obtain from the chancellor a written confirmation of all that had been said on that occasion. Caprivi was much surprised at such a request.

Why [said he], that seems to me entirely useless. I am completely resolved not to write down anything. You have been instructed to read me a despatch which, I agree, reproduces very faithfully the political views exchanged between M. de Giers and me; you have done so; but to address anything of the sort to you in writing, no; I have not the political strength of Bismarck, but I am loyal, and you can rely upon our loyalty, which will never fail you.

Count Muraviev hastened to say that he had acted on his own motion. The chancellor replied :

I know it well. M. de Giers could never have charged you to ask it of me, since I have often told him that I would absolutely refuse to give him anything in writing relating to our exchange of views on political questions. . .

I was about to rise [writes Muraviev], when the general said to me in German: "You, who have lived in Berlin a number of years, know better than anyone else, with what serious difficulties the government is obliged to contend in internal affairs. These difficulties are enormous, and in smoothing them out our sovereign, even if he were eager for triumphs, would find enough laurels to gather on this field, to make his reign, even if it were very long, much more glorious than if he should wish to make it illustrious by victories won on the field of battle. We desire peace above all things, and you ought to be convinced of it."

At the very moment that the Emperor of Germany and his chancellor, in their conversations with the Russian diplomats in Berlin and at St. Petersburg, were assuring the latter that their sole desire was to preserve the peace, William II., in opening the new session of the Reichstag, May 6, 1890, delivered a speech in which he declared in similar terms that the consolidation of universal peace upon durable bases was the object of all his efforts; to secure it the alliances which Germany had concluded, for her defense, with Austria and with Italy, must be maintained; but the surest means of guarantee lay nevertheless in the development of the military resources of the empire. According to the emperor's declaration, every change in the relative position of states endangered the political equilibrium and the prospects of success in all the efforts made for the maintenance of peace. Therefore Germany must be strong enough to have the upper hand in Europe and to make use of her preponderance to maintain equilibrium among the states. In line with these declarations a bill was introduced in the Reichstag increasing the peace strength of the army by 18,574 men. The supplementary proposals for the military budget were raised to eighteen million marks per annum. The minister of war, Verdy du Vernois, declared that this was but the first step in this direction, and that the German High Command would not stop in its course before it arrived at its objects. The general looked forward to the necessity, in time, of calling to the ranks of the army all the Germans liable to military service, without any exception, which would have increased the effective strength of the army in time of peace not by eighteen thousand but by fifty-five thousand men. This plan was supported by Field-Marshal von Moltke, who vindicated the urgency of this measure by referring to the armaments

made by the states bordering on the west and the east. The minister of war went still further; he declared that Germany ought to develop her military strength to such a point that it could not be either equalled or surpassed by any other power. By the superiority of her armament she counted on maintaining general peace in Europe and extending her rule without encountering resistance in the other quarters of the globe. Already Germany had taken possession of immense territories in West, Southwest, and East Africa, and of several groups of islands in Oceania and had founded colonies there. German expansion, especially in East Africa, had brought the Germans into collision with the English. This dispute was proving an obstacle to *rapprochement* between the cabinets of Berlin and London on general political questions.

As we have seen above, an accord was reached, to the great contentment of both of these powers. William II. in particular ardently desired such agreement. In a speech at Berlin on March 21, 1890, at a dinner in honor of the Prince of Wales, Albert Edward, and his son George, the emperor recalled the fact that the English and German armies had fought side by side at Waterloo and expressed the hope that the English fleet, joined with the German army and fleet, would devote itself to the preservation of peace in the times to come. In such a speech the Emperor William could have in view no other adversary than Russia.

This speech was delivered by William II. at dinner on March 9/21, the same day on which, early in the morning, he had received the Russian ambassador in special audience and had assured him of his sincere desire to renew the secret agreement with Russia, as well as of his fixed determination to follow the policy of his grandfather in his relations with foreign powers.

It was not without reason that the tsar Alexander III. noted at the foot of Shuvalov's despatch this remark: "We shall see by the sequel whether deeds correspond to words".

SERGE GORIAINOV.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CHAPTER ON THE GREEK MIDDLE AGE

FOR more than a decade the Minoan Age has been a familiar term; its leading characteristics are now common knowledge, and the problems involved in its treatment are clearly formulated. Less progress has been made with the period immediately following, which Eduard Meyer designates as "Middle", but which he has incompletely set forth. The lack of progress in the historical reconstruction of this age is typified by Beloch's treatment in the second edition of his *Griechische Geschichte*, in which he has limited himself to Homer and the scantiest use of archaeology. Meanwhile material from excavations has rapidly accumulated. Most important in recent years are the British explorations in Laconia (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, beginning with vol. XI.; see also *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, beginning with vol. XXVII.) and the German in Miletus (*Milet: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und der Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899*, in course of publication by Reimer, Berlin), to which should be added the lesser "finds" from various parts of the Aegean area.¹

The period begins about 1200 B.C., when the Minoan decorative style has yielded to the geometric, and extends to about the middle of the eighth century, when written documents begin. It resembles the European Middle Ages in that both followed the inroads of barbarians and that both were marked by a vast decline and an incipient recovery of culture.

The aim of this article is to present in systematic order the topics appropriate to a chapter on the period and to indicate briefly how in the opinion of the writer they should be treated. The reader will understand that the interpretations are not necessarily final.

In this period the colonial movement from the Greek peninsula eastward to the Anatolian coast, begun in the preceding age, was completed. The chief feature, however, was the blending of the northern invaders with the native Minoans, and through it the formation of the Hellenic race and of Hellenic culture. We discover

¹ See especially F. Poulsen, *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* (Leipzig, 1905); D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* (British Museum, 1908, 2 vols.); and the reports on the excavations at Samos in *Abhandlungen Berlin. Akademie*, beginning in 1911.

the process of assimilation at various stages. In Crete were communities of diverse speech existing side by side; in Ionia the mingling of peoples was under way, whereas in Attica and in Laconia we come upon the completed blend. Within the Aegean area the Minoan civilization had been most intense from Crete and Laconia northward to Attica and the Cyclades, in other words the region which in the Middle Age came to be occupied by the Dorians and the Ionians. A map of Hellas in the Middle Age accordingly will show this area fundamentally Minoan, though necessarily modified by external and internal forces. The historian of the age will therefore treat of the Dorians and Ionians as a cultural unit, though exhibiting local differences, whereas the contrasts of later time arose mainly from the greater progressiveness of the Ionians. For example, there prevailed throughout the area a nearly uniform social structure, in which the great lord commanded the labor of a multitude of serfs, whose rights and duties were clearly defined by customary law. The *mnōitae* of Crete, the Laconian *helots*, the *hectemori* of Attica, and the *gergithae* of Ionia seem to be remnants of Minoan serfdom. In Ionia, too, as in Crete and Laconia, the citizens ate at public tables.

The leadership in the fine arts at first belonged to Crete but soon passed to Ionia. The Phoenicians were also heirs of Minoan culture. Their chief contribution to civilization was neither in art nor in navigation, but in the transmission of writing from the Minoans to the Hellenes of the Middle Age. In the view now most probable the Minoan linear script through wearing and selection gradually grew simpler, the Cypriote syllabary being a stage in the process. A further simplification took place in northern Syria when the number of characters was reduced to twenty-two. This system the Ionians adopted and by further changes made phonetic. The Greeks were far more creative than the Phoenicians and gave that people more than they received from them. From the ninth to the seventh century, accordingly, it was not the Phoenicians but the Ionians who were leaders in the geometric and the "Orientalizing" art that extended from the Euphrates to Etruria.

Perhaps no external feature of life so characterizes the classical Greeks as their loose, graceful dress. From this point of view their ancestors of the Middle Age seem foreign. Among the laborers the Minoan waist-cloth continued far down into historical times. An innovation, however, was the *chiton*, probably of Oriental origin. Its tightness is reminiscent of Minoan conditions. Woman's dress was more conservative. Doubtless the grand lady, like

Artemis Orthia of Sparta, wore a low-cut waist with shoulder straps, a belt, and a tight skirt of strongly Minoan aspect. The introduction of the fibula, however, was bringing about a revolution in dress. This method of fastening was used in the peplos, which gradually prevailed over other styles and became the Doric gown of the historical age. Garments of both sexes were elaborately adorned with inwoven or embroidered patterns of the prevailing geometric style. The hair of women and men alike grew long, and hung down in several heavy strands on both sides of the face, and was held in order by a band encircling the head. Although these styles of dress began to appear early in the Mycenaean Age (about 1500 B.C.), it was not till the Middle Age that they displaced the Minoan patterns.

One of the most important constructive elements in the new civilization which gradually emerged from the decadence of the old was the rise of an iron industry. The controversy over the place of its origin is now definitely settled by documentary evidence in favor of the Hittite country in eastern Asia Minor (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, XVIII. 61, n. 1). This industry, including the process of hardening to steel, must have flourished as early as the fourteenth century. In the thirteenth it made its way to Crete, whence it passed more slowly over the disturbed Aegean region to Laconia, Attica, Thessaly, and their colonies. While the metal was still scarce in Laconia, it began to be used as money. It is unnecessary here to dilate on the increased efficiency brought by the use of iron and steel to every walk of life.

No human activity felt the impetus more keenly than warfare, which at the same time was affected by new economic and political causes. The clumsy chariot was consigned to the archaeological junk-heap and horse-back riding was substituted for it. Meanwhile the extension of prosperity, involving military and political aspirations, to a wider circle of the population brought into existence a body of troops which we may describe as heavy-armed, though their shields were lighter than the Minoan. It was mainly the introduction of steel swords and lance-points that compelled the strengthening of the defensive armor. The round or oval targe, reinforced by a central boss, became the normal shield. At the same time the warrior protected his head with a helmet topped by a high bronze crest, his body with a hauberk of metal plates, and adopted bronze greaves for the legs below the knees.

In religion, too, great changes took place. Among the Minoans the burial of the unburned body, involving a worship of the dead,

prevailed with but the slightest trace of cremation. The custom of burning the dead, now introduced by the Northerners, doubtless weakened the belief in the power of ghosts and in the need of ancestor worship. Gradually, however, inhumation reasserted itself; and henceforth the two forms existed side by side, yet with inhumation more common than burning. It is a curious fact that within this sphere of thought and usage historical Greece preserved more than half of its Minoan heritage. The work of analyzing the greater gods of Hellas into their Minoan and Indo-European elements has scarcely begun, and yet enough has been done to warrant the assumption that in all probability no single historical deity of Greece is in character and attributes wholly Indo-European or wholly Minoan. The motive to the amalgamation and something of the process are ascertainable. The immigrants to Miletus, for example, were as receptive of native cults as of native blood. The desire to secure the protection of the local deities and the good-will of the Carians went hand in hand with greed for the properties of these gods. Identifying their own sky-deity Zeus with the god of the double axe, they converted the shrines and sacred domains of the Carian deity to their own service. No less than six altars to Zeus Labraundios accordingly have been found in Miletus. In like manner their Artemis usurped the property and various attributes of the Anatolian Great Mother. The character and functions of Apollo, especially his healings, purifications, and oracles, seem to be in considerable part Minoan. These are but suggestions of a vast and intricate amalgamation which cannot as yet be analyzed in detail. The prevailing tendency to-day is to assign to the invading people the sunnier aspects of religion, while leaving to the natives the gloomy features, including magic, the worship of ghosts, the doctrine of sin, and its purification by washing in blood. This contrast seems justified but should not be pushed to extremes. The great deities were mainly goddesses as in the Minoan past; and correspondingly women occupied a high place in society.

It has long been known that there were two types of Minoan palace: one, which we may call Mediterranean, centred in an open court, whereas the nucleus of the other, described as European or as "northern", was a great hall with a central hearth and a gabled roof. The earliest and simplest form of Greek temple, distinguished as *in antis*, developed from the second type. The earliest now known to us is that of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, erected probably in the ninth century B.C. It consisted of a wooden frame with walls of unburnt brick resting on a foundation of stone. The

apex of the gabled roof was supported by an inner row of wooden columns running lengthwise through the centre. It was a small building, less than fifteen by thirty feet in extent, designed mainly as a shelter for the deity and her utensils and gifts, whereas in her worship the community gathered about her great altar outside. It was not till the latter half of the seventh century that large stone temples began to be erected.

This is but a hasty view of the Ionian-Dorian civilization during the Middle Age. With due appreciation of the danger of attributing too much to the brilliant Cretans the present writer cannot escape the conviction that the life of this area in the period under consideration was more Minoan than Indo-European. The case is quite different with the Aeolians, who inhabited Thessaly and Boeotia and colonized Lesbos and Chios with the neighboring Anatolian coast. These people were not affected by Minoan culture till its late decadent stage, and then but superficially. They were men of new blood and fresh ideas, whose life, in all probability, is pictured by Homer. For many years it has been widely assumed that Homer was an Ionian and that the civilization he presents was mainly that of Ionia, approximately in the period from 1000 or 900 to 700 B.C. It was the merit of Andrew Lang (*World of Homer*) to prove that this could not be, that, for example, in an important group of religious ideas the Ionians of that time were Minoan, whereas Homer was in this respect Indo-European. Without following Lang farther let us notice that the Aeolian colonies of Asia Minor, to which the most distinct tradition assigns Homer, were Indo-European, as stated above. The poems, however, are a complex of tradition, environment, and fancy; and their analysis into these elements is not easy. The environmental element, when ascertained, gives to the picture of the age the life and movement that is lacking in archaeological material.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.²

² By reason of the sudden death of the learned author, on December 13, this last of his valued contributions to this journal is printed without inspection of proofs by him.

DOCUMENTS

The American Minister in Berlin, on the Revolution of March, 1848

ANDREW JACKSON DONELSON (1799-1871), author of the despatches which follow, was a nephew of the wife of General Jackson. Educated at Cumberland College, at West Point, and at Transylvania University, he was for several years a member of Jackson's family, and was for some time the President's private secretary. Employed by Tyler to negotiate the acceptance by Texas of his plans of annexation to the United States, he acquitted himself of that task in such a manner as additionally to commend him to Polk, of whom he had already been a constant friend and ardent political supporter. A considerable portion of their correspondence, ranging in date from 1843 to 1848, has been printed by Professor Sioussat in 1917 in the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, III. 51-73, and other portions of Donelson's political correspondence, of 1844 and 1845, in the same volume, pages 134-162. Of the former group, the letters on pages 70-73 relate to Polk's appointment of Donelson as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Prussia. He was nominated on March 5, 1846, as successor to Henry Wheaton, the celebrated authority on international law, who on a hint from Polk had resigned after nineteen years of diplomatic service to his country. Donelson was commissioned March 18, 1846, and soon after sailed for Prussia. In August, 1848, after the events recounted in the despatches printed below, he was further commissioned as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the short-lived federal government of Germany. He took leave from his post at Berlin in June, 1849, and returned to America, where the chief events of his subsequent career were his activity in the Nashville campaign of 1850, his brief editorship of the *Washington Union*, and his nomination by the American Party in 1856 for the office of Vice-president.

Although Major Donelson was not a trained diplomat and had no such knowledge of persons and conditions in Berlin or in Europe that his observations add greatly to our knowledge of the events which marked the "Märztage" of 1848 in Berlin, nevertheless a considerable interest attaches to the recital, by an intelligent and experienced American politician, of what he saw going on before

his eyes in the Prussian capital at a time when a democratic revolution seemed to threaten the continuance of the Hohenzollern monarchy. Present conditions obviously heighten this interest.

The following despatches, addressed in March, 1848, to Secretary Buchanan, are printed from the originals in the Department of State in Washington, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Prussian Despatches, volume IV. Donelson's drafts of these despatches, differing but slightly in text from the despatches actually sent, may be found among the Donelson Papers lately acquired by the Library of Congress.

I.

No. 60.

BERLIN, March 4th, 1848

Sir,

Since my despatch of the 26th ult^o. the great events at Paris are announced here, and have astounded all classes of Society. It was foreseen that M^r. Guizot would fall, but not that a monarchy would be succeeded by a Republic. The disposition of this King¹ on the occasion is marked by his calmness and is in accord with the policy demanded by his personal interests and the views of Germany. He proposes no aggressive movement, but is understood to take the ground that France must be undisturbed by foreign force unless she invades the jurisdiction of other States. His regular troops are kept in a state of immediate preparation for action, but the reserves of the Landwehr are not called for, nor is it supposed that more will be done on the Rhine than to supply the Fortifications with ample provisions.

You will see in the German and English papers the proclamation made by the Germanic Diet, in which the idea of interference with France is disclaimed, whilst the necessity of union among the German States is strongly urged.

It may be safely said that this Government will use its influence to prevent war, neither intervening to restore Monarchy in France, nor to influence her deliberations in respect to her new form of Government. It may be also confidently anticipated that the King of Prussia will take measures to quiet the complaints of his subjects in regard to the petitions which were debated in the last assembly of the States.² This he can do with the more grace as the most important of them was reserved for deliberation. Biennial convocations of the chambers, their right to vote on the budgets and to be consulted on all the questions of taxation, are demands which he can concede, and which will remove discontent.

The point of the greatest danger in the present state of affairs is the Austrian connection with Italy, and the obstinacy with which Prince Metternich may seek to maintain the old doctrines of 1815. If he expects to revive a contract in which Monarchs, as contradistinguished from the people, will assist each other in supporting their personal pretensions, he will be disappointed, as I cannot think that England, or Prussia, or even Russia, would be willing to wage a war for a principle so utterly opposed to the spirit of the times. It is ap-

¹ Frederick William IV.

² The parliament of April 11—June 25, 1847.

parent that the great question is one of locality, between each people and their existing form of Government—a question to be settled by each for itself alone, without foreign intervention. Pope Pius rallies the influence of Catholicism to this mode of solving the question, and now that France mingles her enthusiasm with his it is obvious that a different course of action would produce a general war.

You are aware however of the inflammability of the materials now on the surface, and as none were prepared for the scenes at Paris, so there may be none who foresee what may be their consequences. It is to be hoped that France will adhere to the declaration that she will not interfere with her neighbors.

Among the circumstances contributing to the preservation of peace is the general want of sympathy for Louis Phillipe. Being put in by a revolution, those Monarchs who claim their Thrones by divine right, would not object much to see him put out by a revolution, were it not for the conviction that it is the effect of a principle which will in the end reach them.

There is another security for peace in the totally different character of the French and the Germans. The Germans do not like to make a reform by means of a revolution. They love the substance but prefer to receive it as a concession from the King, without the risk of civil war. French Enthusiasm is perhaps the most needed to improve the latin and southern races, German patience the best calculated to carry reform into the Slavonic nations. The field for each is great and extensive, and if occupied in the right manner, may soon exhibit the fruits of civilization and liberty.

But I fear to trust to anticipations so cheering to an American heart. When I look at the condition of Europe—its thousands dying for want of bread, its millions without a conception of that personal independence on which our system rests, its territorial divisions, nationalised by the accidents of brute force, with but little regard to homogeneousness of character and interest, or to the principles of political equality, it seems unreasonable to indulge the hope that France will rise superior to the combinations which may be formed against her.

I shall not trouble you on this occasion with the probable effect of present events on the commercial questions of the Zollverein. Yet it is obvious that in this point of view they are deeply interesting, whether there be peace or war.

I am very respectfully
Your obdt. servt.

A. J. DONELSON.

Hon James Buchanan,
Secy. of state, etc.

Since writing the above I have good authority for saying that Prussia and Austria have agreed to render each other reciprocal support, if the dominions of either are invaded.³ The success of the prin-

³ The American minister had probably heard some version of what General von Radowitz had written from Vienna, March 4, as to the good results already obtained by the special mission on which he had been sent from Berlin March 1, at Metternich's request. R. Koser, "Friedrich Wilhelm IV. am Vorabend der Märzrevolution", in *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 56, quoting from this despatch. *Mémoires du Prince de Metternich*, VII. 597.

ciple of the French movement depends upon the ability of its leaders to keep it from becoming aggressive.

A. J. D.⁴

II.

No. 63.

BERLIN, March 18, 1848.

11 o'clock at night.

Sir,

Since my enclosure of the Proclamation of the King, which convoked the assembly of the States for the 27th of April, and recommended a congress of all the German Sovereigns to be held at Dresden on the 24th inst.,⁵ the revolution in Austria has occurred, and has given additional excitement to the population here and to the Southern portion of Prussia. Troops from the adjoining cities and fortresses, even so far distant as Magdeburgh, have been marched to Berlin, and those stationed in the city had been under arms night and day for the last 56 hours. Yet the people have not been deterred from petitioning the King for concessions as liberal as those granted by Bavaria and the other Southern Powers. This morning March 18th at 10 o'clock he so far yielded as to issue a new proclamation which is enclosed,⁶ but an unfortunate occurrence similar to that which caused the explosion at Paris had the same effect here. A pacification was supposed to have been effected, and the King had presented himself to the multitude assembled in front of his Palace, when some disorder, mistaken by the officer commanding a Troop of Cavalry for an insult either to the King or his Troops, caused the fatal order to charge, and at the same time two muskets were fired. The people dispersed as they could, but went to work instantly to erect Barricades. The church bells commenced ringing about 4 o'clock, the Thousands of Troops were stationed at the most suitable places for attack, and the city has presented the whole of the evening the most awful scene of bloodshed. Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery have dealt their murderous power upon the crowds who were behind the Barricades, and their fire has not yet ceased. What is the sacrifice of life I have no means of ascertaining yet, but will subjoin the report of the morning. The contest is most unequal, because the people could get but few arms, and they seem to have commenced their resistance without the slightest organization or method.

A deputation from Cologne was in the city, and are said to have been instructed to inform the King that if he disappointed the demand for an immediate convocation of the Diet, and the abolition of the censure of the press, and generally for the concessions which have been made by the other German Governmts, that the Rhine Provinces would secede from his dominion. They were probably content with the Proclamation which was then issued, and which assembles the diet on the 2d of April instead of the 27th April, and promises to submit all the other reforms to the decision of the Diet.

⁴ After this point, signatures and addresses are omitted.

⁵ Proclamation of March 14. Text in *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*, March 15, accompanying the despatch. It may also be found in *Reden, Proklamationen, etc., des K. Friedrich Wilhelm IV.*, pp. 4-5.

⁶ "Patent wegen beschleunigter Einberufung des Vereinigten Landtages", in *Extra-Blatt zur Allg. Preuss. Zeitung*, March 18; also in *Reden, etc.*, pp. 5-7. Extracts are printed in the *Annual Register* for 1848, p. 377.

I cannot yet venture an opinion as to the immediate issue of the contest, as one of force between the soldiery and the people, but it is not to be doubted that the latter will gain many of the rights for which they are petitioning. The blood they must shed will be a great misfortune—a misfortune still more to be lamented if it have the effect, which is now probable, of lessening the influence of Prussia in the new combinations which will be the consequence of the revolution. It seems scarcely possible that the German States can adopt immediately a representative principle founded as ours is upon the will of the people. It is therefore desirable whilst they maintain the Monarchic form, that Prussia, the strongest power of them all, should be able to guide them, and secure their counterpoise as a nation in the scale of the other great powers. At present she is in danger of losing this ascendancy, because if France upholds a successful republican experiment, and maintains an amicable feeling toward her neighbors, the tendency will be to union with her, and not with a system which will sympathise with ancient absolutism.

But I defer the expression of the views suggested by this interesting event until the conflict of arms ceases. At present all the world is in a state of panic, particularly the Foreign ambassadors. Business has been suspended for many days—some innocent visitors at the Capital have shared the fate of crowds which they could not avoid—there are none that do not feel the insecurity which belongs to mobs, vengeance, and desperate civil strife. One of my American friends has been cut with a sabre, and 4 or 5 others have made narrow escapes, but I am happy to say that they are compromised by no partizan connection with the struggle. They see the Republican flag occasionally rallying a street assemblage, but they are content to sympathise with it, and feel that the distance which separates it from their happy union, great as it is, is not so great as that which separates the institutions of the two countries.

12 oclock March 19th.

Peace is not yet restored. Another Proclamation is out from the King⁷ inviting the people to send him another deputation and dictated apparently by a spirit full of compromise. It is enclosed. Messengers are also out announcing that the Military will be withdrawn to the Barracks, if the Barricades are abandoned. The dead and the wounded are borne by the wagon load through the streets, but no one can tell yet the number actually lost. The fire was kept up the whole of the night. It was rendered less fatal by the shelter which the houses afforded, but terrible examples were made of the poor fellows who were caught with arms in their hands. They were dragged from garrets and third stories and shot without mercy.

I hope that the withdrawal of the Military may take place, and that then judicious mediators may be found in the ranks of the Burghers and Magistrates, who, possessing the confidence of the people, will have the means of arresting further bloodshed.

The whole spectacle is a humiliating lesson to us all. We see on

⁷ The proclamation "An meine lieben Berliner"; a facsimile of the same broadside that is folded in Donelson's despatch may be seen in Hans Blum, *Die Deutsche Revolution 1848-49* (Leipzig, 1897), opp. p. 186. See also *Reden*, pp. 8-9. A translation is in the *Annual Register* for 1848, pp. 378-379.

the one hand that great curse of the age, a large standing army, ready with its terrible power, to crush the people, the guilty as well as the innocent. We see on the other both the monarch and the people, when this force is withdrawn, incapable of maintaining order. Happily we are exempt from such spectacles. We have only the people. May we avoid the misfortunes which produce either armies or Kings.

3 o'clock.

The military are withdrawn—the barracades are many of them being removed—And there is but little reason to fear a repetition of last nights work. I have walked over the scene of the most bloody collisions between the parties—have seen no threatening crowds. Still there is not absolute certainty that order will be restored, until the Diet convenes and exerts its salutary influence in giving effect to the reforms which will make the Monarchy of Prussia constitutional.

The last arrivals from Vienna and Italy confirm the hope that the revolution confined to the nationalities of the separate people[s] will continue its peaceable form. Whilst this is the state of the question there can be no general war. The strength of the movement lies in the determination of each people to reject intervention—to claim the right of settling their greivances without the aid of foreign powers. It is better for example that Prussia or Saxony should remain unreformed in their Government than that a precedent should be set by which an unfavorable influence could be brought to act against the Democratic tendencies of France and the other German States. When permanent progress is once recognised as the legitimate part of their free systems, it will not be long in communicating its spirit to the Governments, now unwilling to yield to it.

On the whole, looking at the general state of Europe, there is nothing yet to alarm the friend of true reform.

III.

No. 65.

Sir,

I have still time to add another Proclamation of the King announcing a change of his Ministers.⁸ As you read german, I will not trouble you with a translation⁹ and must reserve for the next packet the observations due to so important a movement.

March 19, BERLIN.

at 4 o'clock.

IV.

No. 66.

BERLIN, March 20, 1848.

Sir,

As by mailing this direct to Liverpool there is a possibility of its reaching the Steamer for the 24, I avail myself of another moment to tell you that the people have been successful. At the date of my despatches yesterday, the question of withdrawing the soldiery, if the people would abandon the barricades, was under consideration. By 12 yesterday, the regiments had left the city, and it was announced that

⁸ Proclamation of March 19, broadside, enclosed.

⁹ Yet in an instruction to Donelson of August 14, 1846, Buchanan writes, "Not understanding the German language myself, I was obliged", etc. *Works* (ed. Moore), VII. 60.

the people should have arms, if they would call for them at the Arsenal. By sunset the city resounded with acclamations, declaring that now that the King had given his confidence to his subjects, they would defend him as well as themselves. At dark there was a spontaneous illumination of the entire city, and instead of the heartrending spectacle presented the night before, innocent discharges of musquetry in the hands of the people, and deafening huzzas went up from every street and avenue.

A Prussian officer has told me that he estimates the number of loaded cartridges discharged by the soldiers in the course of last night at 100,000. Yet the people maintained the most of their barricades, and exhibited astonishing courage and skill. The fire did not cease at some points until 8 o'clock in the morning, when it was manifest that the spirit of resistance to the royal authority had not only increased, but was prepared to renew the battle no matter what the sacrifice of life. The determination of the King therefore to change his ministry and throw himself upon the loyalty of his subjects, was the only course he could pursue to save the crown.

As an evidence of the character of the contest I may mention the following incident. A commanding officer of one of the regiments led it to one of the barricades near the palace. As he advanced to the charge, a citizen mounted the barricade, and crying out to his countrymen, calling them his children, said, "*My first fire shall be at the commanding officer*". He pulled the trigger and the officer fell dead, but the brave man was soon cut to pieces by a volley from the soldiers. The houses in the neighborhood of this barricade were literally riddled by the musquet balls and grape shot directed at the people within. Yet it was defended from 6 o'clock in the evening until 3 in the morning, by means of tiles from the roofs, stones and brickbats, and the few arms that could be procured.

It would seem impossible, from the length of the struggle and the quantity of Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry, employed, that so few lives should have been sacrificed, were it not for the fact that the people generally had no arms, and, when not sheltered by the barricades, betook themselves to the houses, from the upper windows of which, as port holes, they could hurl their missiles.

I need not say to you that the house of the legation was most brilliantly illuminated. Independently of the tribute which was due to the noble and gallant conduct of the people, it was also just to the King, who is now placed on a firmer footing, and who may, if sustained by a wise ministry, possibly still regain the ground he has lost by withholding too long the constitution and reforms demanded of him.

V.

No. 67.

BERLIN, March 21st, 1848.

Sir,

I enclose you my correspondence with Baron Canitz, on the occasion of his retiring from the ministry. His successor,¹⁰ who is not yet in communication with the Diplomatic Corps, was distinguished as a speaker in the last assembly of the Diet. But, although then deemed a fair type of the reforms which the national sentiment called for, he seems to be regarded as scarcely equal to the present crisis. He has

¹⁰ Graf von Arnim-Boytzenburg (1803-1868), minister of foreign affairs March 19-21, succeeding Freiherr von Canitz.

great wealth and intelligence, and probably looks to the formation of an Aristocratic branch in the new Constitution of Prussia, analogous in its tendencies to that of Great Britain. At this moment the tendency of the public opinion is to a more liberal infusion of the Democratic spirit, and the formation of a federal power, supported by a union of states, and broad enough to take in all the people of Germany. This idea has been announced in many of the public meetings of the Rhine States; and as the revolution progresses, it acquires more force. Being indefinite in the mode of its realization, this plan is interpreted to suit the views of each locality. To Poland it holds out the hope of compensation for the past wrongs she has received—it is not inconsistent with the wishes of others to establish a republic—and it presents to the monarchs of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony, the image of an imperial crown, which may restore to Germany its ancient power, upon principles more in harmony with the spirit of modern reform.

It may be natural to a Spectator, just from the tranquil scenes of our country, to imagine that appeals to the people can be the safe resort for the efficient introduction of a system of liberty and order in the old monarchies of Europe. When he is permitted however to look in upon the terrible movements which are now presented in Berlin, he cannot but be confounded with the greatness and uncertainty of the issue. Yesterday, after the date of my Despatch, the Poles who had been confined and sentenced for political offences, being set free by the enclosed Proclamation of His Majesty,¹¹ were borne in triumph to the palace amidst the huzzas of countless masses. Without any of his ancient guards, defenceless as the poorest malefactor of the prisons, it was melancholy to look at the King obliged to present himself, and see the gathering of spirits which an accident, in word or action, may make his executioners. Every moment gives fearful strength to this unregulated power. The withdrawal of the army, the flight of those who fear the incendiary and the robber, make room for the accession of much larger numbers, who come in from the surrounding country, attracted by the desire to take part in the revolution or to gratify an awakened curiosity.

The King is however in the hands of the national guard, and he seems to possess a sufficient hold upon their good will to justify the belief that, whatever may be the concessions necessary to restore order, the lightening of the revolution will be turned from his head.

12 o'clock.

Since writing the above, a new Proclamation is out, and you will find it also enclosed.¹² The King now goes into the crowd waving the new flag of freedom, promising unconditional acceptance of the constitutional limitations which the representatives of the people may demand, putting himself ahead of the new movement, and imploring his subjects to put faith in his royal words. New flags wave over his palace. The burghers write on all the public buildings: "the people's property".

¹¹ A brief proclamation of general amnesty, March 20. More than a hundred Poles were released by it from prison in Berlin, where they had been confined on conviction for insurrection at Posen in 1846. Text in *Reden*, etc., p. 9.

¹² Proclamation of March 21. *Allgemeine Preussische Zeitung*, March 22; *Reden*, pp. 9-10; see also *Annual Register* for 1848, p. 380.

These facts show the efforts of the Burghers to master the storm. There is nothing more in the shape of concession to do, short of the destruction of the monarchy. In the mean time the army, withdrawn from the city, can no more be an actor nor a spectator in the great drama.

Tomorrow comes the great test of the strength of the appeals the King has made. The dead are to be buried. The people are to see once more the bodies of those who have fallen in their defence. The cries of the widows and the orphans are to be heard. These hundreds of bodies borne through the streets, are to pass the palace, and the King will be obliged to attend the sad ceremony in which a nation will declare its solemn protest against his orders.

3 o'clock.

I have passed through the main avenue of the city, and have seen Prince Albert,¹³ walking from the palace. He has followed the example of the King in trusting himself to the national guard, and he has been in a like manner greeted by the masses. Numerous other Proclamations are placarded in the streets, copies of which will be found enclosed.

My impression is that the crisis is passed and that it will be possible to effect a union between the military and the national guard. It is proposed by the King to bury together the dead of the soldiers and of the people. He has made a speech in which he speaks of them all as the soldiers of the same liberty, though arrayed against each other by an unfortunate accident. And the Burghers or national guards are willing to try the experiment of receiving a part of the Army at the gates of the city and permitting them to participate again in the effort to preserve order. All parties are beginning to feel the necessity of the union of the Army and the Burghers, in order to be sure that the solemn scene of tomorrow may not revive the appetite for blood. But it is necessary to secure this object that the soldiers of the Army as they reenter the city, be sworn to support the new Constitution, an oath which they will doubtless cheerfully take. After this event mens minds will return to a state of composure, and all parties will feel that it is not in the clash of arms that a new Government can be organized.

The Prince of Prussia¹⁴ is with the Troops, or at least is out of the reach of the population. He is held responsible for the conflict, and could not return to the city without being torn to pieces. As the right of succession is in him it is unfortunate that he was led to take part in the attacks upon the people. The crowd give credence to the most exaggerated statements of his efforts to keep the King from giving way. Time may possibly reinstate him; but there is a great probability that serious attempts will be made to perpetuate the succession through some other branch of the family.

6 oclock, 22d. March.

The burial of the dead has taken place, but the arrangement suggested for the fraternization of the soldiers of the king and the national guard, was not carried into effect because of the apprehension that the

¹³ Prince Albrecht of Prussia (1809-1872), youngest brother of Frederick William IV. and of William I.; cavalry general.

¹⁴ The king's brother, afterward King William I. of Prussia and German emperor; arch-conservative.

people could not yet bear the sight of the uniforms of those who had fired upon them so long a time. The dead bodies to the number of about 200 were deposited in the church of the Gendarme Place.¹⁵ They were received at 2 o'clock by citizens previously formed and grouped as mourners bearing various banners and emblems. Many hours had been previously necessary to form the order of procession, but it was at length put in motion in the slow and solemn time of the funeral chants which the Germans so well know how to make impressive. The bodies were distributed in alternate numbers so that each section of the marching column as a mourner could witness the king who stood uncovered in the balcony of the Palace, and obliged to pay his homage to each corse as it passed him. Not a soldier was to be seen. The national guard could be scarcely distinguished in the vast crowd, which after the performance of this sad duty dispersed about dark. Besides these bodies it is said that there were some 100 more who were not buried in this public manner. The dead of the Army were buried by it out of the view of Berlin.

A deputation from Breslau and Lignitz has been received by the King. The principal object of their mission is to obtain an Electoral Law similar to that by which the national Assembly in France will be chosen. The reply of the King is among the enclosed papers. He could do no more than say he would submit the subject to the Diet. He can go no further without yielding the title to the monarchy. The Proclamation calling the Diet has shortened the period to the 2d. of April, which is barely time enough to allow the members to assemble.

It is interesting to calculate the effect which may be produced by this revolution upon Poland. Many anticipate that Cracow¹⁶ will assume at once the Republican garb and that the whole of Poland will take up arms for her ancient nationality. Russia, prepared for this event, has placed her Army on the war footing, and will doubtless strike an immediate blow upon the slightest attempt against the integrity of her dominions. He¹⁷ never had faith in Louis Philippe. When told of his flight from France, he said he had rather deal with a genuine Republic, than with a monarchy neither the one nor the other. But at the same time he took the ground distinctly that he would not interfere with the Revolution if it made no attack upon him. Will he give up Poland rather than maintain a position which may make him a warrior for the fallen Monarchy of all the other states of Europe? This is the aspect events are taking: and it begins to be apparent that the Democratic tendency will claim the authority to *mediatize* some of the existing Princes,¹⁸ if such a step becomes necessary in making Monarchy subordinate to written constitution and to Federal Germany.

I have spoken to you before of the growing popularity of the idea that the German states might adopt a Government like ours. Such a project is now openly avowed in many places, to consist of an Upper House corresponding to the English House of Lords, with a House of Commons elected on a larger popular basis—an Emperor, or Presi-

¹⁵ The Gendarmenmarkt, a few squares south of Unter den Linden.

¹⁶ Cracow had been a free and independent republic from 1815 to 1846.

¹⁷ The tsar Nicholas I.

¹⁸ As in 1803, 1806, and 1815, when many of the minor German princes, previously sovereign as holding immediately of the emperor, were deprived of their sovereignty and *mediatized* by being placed under that of other sovereigns.

dent, to be elected every four years out of the number of Princes or Heads of states which may be established by their respective populations. This Federal power to take charge of the foreign relations, the import duties, coinage, navigation laws, and Post office regulations of the states which are parties to the union. In a word a Federal central Government defined as ours is by a written Constitution. Such a system, suggested in the midst of panics, and of the most astounding changes that ever occurred in Europe, will be almost accomplished if the right to make a movement in its favor be admitted. Not that it can be expected to be perfected immediately, but that as a conductor of the electricity of revolution, it will be felt as a universal good, and will acquire a prestige sufficient to protect the statesmen and patriots who will be engaged in adapting it to the true interest of Germany when the minds of men become more settled.

VI.

No. 68.

A. M. 9. o'clock. 23 March, 1848.

Sir,

The Bishop of Posen reports to the King that his authority is not maintained in that Province.¹⁹ There is of course a question of the measures proper to that emergency. Fears are also expressed that by the time the Diet can be assembled it may consider itself incompetent to represent the nation, and that thus the King may lose this intermediary in giving a legal form to the demands of the people. The military forces are in the mean time becoming uneasy. If, obeying the orders of the King, they become odious, it is easy to foresee that they must in the end follow the example of the King and take shelter under the popular cause. It is also ascertained that a new minister is to take the place of Count Arnim in the office of Foreign affairs.

March 23. 3. o'clock P. M.

I enclose you a copy of the correspondence I have had with Mr. Arnim,²⁰ the gentleman who takes the place of the count of the same name. This gentleman was the recent minister at Paris, and has probably been selected on account of his experience of the troubles there. Although liberal in his opinions, it is not however certain that he is the character which can master the increasing complications of the revolution.

The discussions of the newspapers, relieved of the censure which formerly existed, display, as was to have been expected, new causes of apprehension. One article, in particular, has produced a panic. It purports to speak the sentiment of the lower classes as distinguished from the Burghers who have been enrolled in the national guard. It insinuates that these classes have not yet had their rights. The vagueness of their demands created the fear that a practical organization of the party of the communists had been effected. The consequence is the flight of many citizens from the city, whose fears increase as the assemblages of crowds in the various streets become frequent. My belief

¹⁹ Archbishop Przyluski came from Posen with an immense Polish deputation, to represent the demands of the Prussian Poles.

²⁰ Heinrich Alexander, Freiherr von Arnim (1798-1861), minister of foreign affairs March 21-June 20, 1848; not closely related to his predecessor.

is that there is no cause for such alarm, and that what is seen is but the natural effect of the withdrawal of restraints.

11 o'clock at night.

It is impossible to describe the agitation of the city. About a hundred armed men are in front of my dwelling who say that they are sent by the authority in command of the watch to leave a guard at the houses of the foreign ministers. As I cannot suppose the republican flag in need of such protection, I ascribe the movement to the desire of some other families in the same building. I occupy the 1st floor—Count Lerchenfeldt the 2d—an aid of the Prince of Prussia, the 3d—and the chambellan of the Princess another wing of the same house. Two armed men are left at each set of apartments. If such a precaution has been generally taken in the city, it is enough of itself to frighten all those citizens who can conveniently depart; and I doubt not that such will be the case if the guards continue to spread an apprehension otherwise so natural.

As I have been brought to my writing table at this late hour of the night, I will continue some of the reflections which are suggested by the extraordinary events that are passing. Ever since my arrival in Europe, I have been in a state of amazement at the confidence which seemed to inspire the councils of its monarchs. At the opening session of the last Diet which assembled here, when this King, surrounded by such men as Humboldt, declared that he would never permit a written constitution to exist between God and his people,²¹ I almost doubted the evidence of my senses. I felt that, if such a sentiment could be hailed by the applauses of an enlightened assembly, the hope was faint indeed of seeing the condition of Europe ameliorated by the example of the American system of liberty—yet the conviction could not be abandoned that there was a feeling in the German community which sympathised with our doctrines, and that it would soon make itself felt in the councils of Kings. Hence I have watched with profound interest the agitation of all the surrounding countries, which has not surprized me by the track it has taken, altho. it has been more sudden, and threatens to be more destructive, than was anticipated. In less than one year the King can scarcely retain his seat on the throne. The standing army, which, I have so often said, if seen in any American city, in time of peace, would produce a revolution, has been obliged to fly from Berlin; and even foreign ministers do not feel easy if seen in the streets attended by their *liveried* servants.

So wonderful a change has never been exhibited to the world. It is pregnant with great consequences, and must produce combinations political and social that will be felt every where.

The general peace of 1815 was, on the part of all the European states, a compromise with the French revolution, Russia alone excepted. Monarchy was preserved, but with the understanding that it must be limited. The Holy Alliance became a kind of guaranty for the principle of intervention, by which the power of all the states were pledged to resist any attempt to alter the balance of interests then established. Thus secured, the monarchs went to work to repair the damages of war, but they adhered to its precautions, preserved large standing armies, and instead of withdrawing the restrictions which experience proved to

²¹ In his celebrated address to the United Prussian Diet at its first meeting, April 11, 1847.

be inconsistent with the developments of peace and civilization, they distrusted the people, and run into the error of supposing that their strength and safety consisted in strengthening the principle of intervention and forming new personal alliances with each other. Thus Louis Philippe courted the influence of Russia, and Prussia and Austria misled by the same feeling thought it their policy to keep out danger from the East, or to adopt the doctrines of the Emperor Nicholas. England in the mean time pursued her commercial aggrandizement in the East Indies, confident when the day of reaction overwhelmed the states of Europe that her position should be that of neutrality and ability to fill up with her manufactures the vacuum which a general war might make. Such is the present condition of Europe. Her capital flies to England—her manufactories languish—her shipping decreases—her commerce falls before the level of war—her state stocks lose their value—and all the Governments, whether revolutionized into republics or remodelled as monarchies, will find their expenditures greater than their revenues, and they will meet unregulated masses crying for work and bread ready to confound their efforts to establish order.

In the face of this state of facts stands Russia, able to combine her resources without regard to the other portions of Europe, and to control that mysterious power possessed by the Slave race during all the changes of the last 5 centuries. Extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this sovereignty, as impenetrable as the ice of its mountains, stretches its arms into all the civilization of the world: and the other nations of Europe, instead of uniting their interests for the purpose of defence against it, have given it Poland and the doors of the Baltic and the Mediterranean. It is now felt too that the type of this Slave race in its progress to civilization, was Poland—and that she must possess again her nationality before the other nations of Europe can have a guarantee of peace. It is true that Russia was the active agent in the partition of that Kingdom, because it was her influence that was to be appeased, but France, Austria, England and Prussia permitted it, when they might have prevented it. They all now see that the atoning vengeance which that crime against humanity calls for, if it falls upon the party permitting, and not upon that committing it, will not be less just—That it is in this manner Providence punishes nations as well as individuals, when they permit that which it is their duty to prevent; and that if the instrument of justice is the apparent author of the crime, it is not the less to be respected.

My impression then of the present revolutionary movement in Europe, as an effort to extend liberty, is, that it brings into direct conflict the Germanic and French races, and the Slave race—that Russia will regard it as an attack upon her—and that the indispensable condition of its success is that Poland shall be reinstated as a nation. Poland possesses twenty millions of people, and is the lever by which the great bulk of the Russians may be pacified or neutralized, so far as civilization is concerned. But as I do not think it probable that the Emperor Nicholas will agree to retrace his steps as a party to the Partition Treaty, war seems to me inevitable—first by Poland, where the republican flag will be again raised—and then generally by the friends of reform, who will be anxious to defend Germany against the further extension of the Russian empire.

12 O'clock. March 25th.

The great event of to day is the abdication of the King of Bavaria, in favor of his son.²² Affairs here are more settled, so much so that the King of Prussia has visited Pots-dam, from which place he has issued a proclamation appointing Count Arnim his Commissioner to open the new diet. The King has paid all the pawns of the poor below five dollars, and has done much in other respects to alleviate individual distress. In this manner the public temper is wisely conciliated. If this had been the reliance, instead of the use of arms against the people, the willingness manifested to limit the monarchy, and make it subordinate to the general will of the German Nation in favor of a Federal Government for all the States of Germany, would have placed the King in a most enviable position as the friend of a great reform. As matters stand he will have competitors for this distinction; and will have given a considerable momentum to a Republican party, which if not successful in one sense of the term, will have a powerful influence in making the new Government.

As evidence of the consideration which is now paid to the United States I mention the fact that two applications have been made to me for our Federal Constitution to be put into the hands of two gentlemen, one of whom I know to have the confidence of this Government.

VII.

No. 69.

BERLIN, March 28th, 1848.

Sir,

Since my last, No. 68, Berlin has exhibited no violent opposition to the civil authorities, but the aspect and tone of its society are entirely changed. The streets and public places, freed from the soldiery, are filled with animated throngs, who discuss freely the public policy, and avail themselves of the absence of all restrictions upon the press, which is subjecting to its salutary examination the conduct of the government. Many deputations have arrived from the provinces, which demand immediate access to the King. They state with boldness the wishes of the people; and in some instances call for the dismissal of two members of the present cabinet, the counts Arnim and Schwerin.²³

But the most important occurrences of the last two days, are the petitions from Posen (Polish) for a separate government, the application from the Duchies of Sleswick Holstein for a Prussian army in support of its wish to secede from Denmark; and the appointment of delegates to the congress at Frankfort to consider the measures proper to secure to Germany unity and safety. A member of the Russian legation here has also told me this evening that the Emperor Nicholas had an army of 300,000 men near the Prussian frontier.

This last event is most important as an indication of the extreme measures which will be adopted by Russia to overwhelm Poland, if the revolutionary movement, so successful every where else, is attempted there. It confirms the probability, expressed in my last despatch, that there will be war. Russia has also an interest in favor of Denmark which will doubtless be exerted to put down the effort of Sleswick to attach itself to the Germanic Confederation, and there is strong rea-

²² King Ludwig I., giving place to King Maximilian II.

²³ Baron Arnim is meant, not count (see notes 10 and 20); and Graf Schwerin, Kultusminister March 19-June 13.

son for believing that Sweden and Norway will be found acting with Russia in this contest.

In the Austrian part of Poland, the feeling for a separate Government is stronger than it is in the Prussian part: and although it may not be gratified, neither the Emperor of Austria nor the King of Prussia has now the power to arrest the reforms which these Provinces will obtain in common with all the other Germanic States. This of itself will be depositing on that frontier an influence which Russia will deem dangerous, and which, in the present state of the political relations of these three Kingdoms, cannot but produce collision. The Poles who were recently liberated here were in fact to be punished rather for what was intended against Russian, than Prussian jurisdiction.

Austria and the Rhine States of Germany having declined to participate in the Congress proposed by the King at Dresden or Potsdam, give, in this manner, a very expressive indication of the distrust which is felt of the power of Prussia. Yet the latter has determined to send a commissioner or delegate to the assembly at Frankfort. The gentleman named is Professor Tahlmann [Dahlmann] of Bonn, who has been distinguished for his support of liberal principles, which lost him, some years since, the patronage of the King of Hanover.²⁴

This Government has not yet made public its decision upon the application recently made by the committee from Cologne who object to the constitution of the Diet, which the King has convoked for the 2d of April. They desire a Diet to be chosen on the largest suffrage basis; and are understood to have connected with it a demand for the formation of a Ministry more in accordance than the present with the public opinion. If this committee are not disappointed, and I do not see that they will be, Prussia will have been transformed in the brief period of a week from an absolute monarchy into a state almost as free as any one of the United States, as far as words can secure such a blessing. But although such may be the phases of the revolution, we cannot suppose, even if there be no war to interfere with the existing sentiment of the country, that the constitution which will be formed, will not be at least a continuation of power in the hands of the King and nobility, as great as that possessed by the English crown. If this be the fruit of this revolution, it will be a glorious era in German history. Accomplished without a free press, without a periodical legislative representation, and without the habitudes of public discussion and in the face of the best disciplined standing army in the world, it is a high guaranty that the future will witness the rapid attainment of all that is necessary to give to the institutions of Germany solidity and freedom.

It is to be remarked however that all speculation upon the influence of present events on the immediate relations of the German States to each other, must be unsatisfactory for some period to come. The wish for a Federal government strengthens. This system, so difficult in its completion with us, is complicated by a thousand obstructions here, from which we were free. These states have always had a monarchy or a power equivalent to one. Monarchs are yet on their thrones, and however unpopular they may be in some instances they have connexions

²⁴ F. C. Dahlmann (1785-1860), the celebrated historian, banished from Hanover by King Ernest Augustus in 1837, called to Bonn by Frederick William IV. in 1842.

with the property, rights and habitudes of the people, which would be thrown into great confusion by a system immediately displacing them. Yet to give sufficient effect to a Federal government demands the almost entire suppression of monarchy, particularly if the attempt to establish it commences when the political atmosphere is charged with the excitement of the French revolution, the pervading spirit of which is to found on the ruins of monarchy a republic entirely democratic. The progress and prestige of such a system, when it is once started, will be a triumph over the opposite, which cannot be expected to submit quietly. Here then is a cause of war, which, if Russia were not to interfere, is enough to involve in utter uncertainty the issue of the present agitation in Europe. In this aspect of affairs it would be doubtless the true policy of the Congress at Frankfort to propose only such general measures as are necessary to unite the German States in a plan of common defence, leaving for future arrangement the formation of the proposed Federal Government. Stopping now at this point France will have the opportunity to put into execution her new government, and assured of the friendship of Germany, her people will be more sensible of their responsibility to the world; and it may be hoped that the anarchy with which they are threatened will disappear in the progress of their work. A moral force may be thus combined which even Russia will be willing to respect, and it may thus be possible to restore to unfortunate Poland her independence with the consent of the parties who dismembered her.

There never was such a field open to the patriot statesman and soldier of Europe. A character more like Washington than the great Frederick, is wanted to give coherence and unity to the noble movement of Germany. A genius equal to Napoleon, but without his ambition, is necessary to conduct the military operations, if Russia's army of a million is poured into the centre of Europe. The cause will not be that of Dynasties but of liberty and free institutions, and the patriotism to secure it a triumph, must be as far ahead of that of the 30 years war, or the French revolution, as the civilization of the present, is ahead of that of those periods. I thank God that our beloved country is not an immediate actor in these events, but is imparting by her example a moral support which is equally effective, and which, if not now sufficient to command the victory, will ultimately give it to the friends of liberty and reform.

P. S. I enclose duplicate of my correspondence with Monsieur d'Arnim.

VIII.

No. 70.

BERLIN, March 30th, 1848.

Sir,

I have translated the document submitted by the Deputation from the Rhine Provinces of Prussia to the King, and his reply thereto, which I enclose for your perusal.²⁵ It is a fair expression of the new thought of Germany. Relieved of the presence of the standing army, and possessed of the freedom of the press, and the right of meeting together to discuss questions of public interest, the people of Berlin remind one of those of New York on the eve of an election. Their public school

²⁵ Address, Cologne, March 24; king's reply, Potsdam, March 28, *Reden*, pp. 16-17.

system, more practical and universal than that of any other in Europe, is now exhibiting its fruit; and it is gratifying to see how it concurs with those of rail roads and telegraphs to strengthen the reforms which are necessary to break down the barriers raised by the errors of former ages. I have not attended any of these public meetings, but have been told by some Americans who have, that they are conducted with order, and that speakers are found in the classes of the tradesmen and mechanics, who are capable of comprehending the great movement of the age, and of inspiring their comrades with the determinations which are necessary to secure their civil and religious freedom. The King in the mean time is powerless. Disarmed as by magic of his guards, and of the ceremonial which gave so much apparent splendor and dignity to his Court, he sees disappear as a dream all that mystic inheritance which he has received from his Fathers, and by which he has believed that his authority was of divine right. Highly instructed, sincerely pious, a discriminating patron of merit, he has been still unable to comprehend the force of the great moral truth that all men are born free and equal—and that they can confer no political distinction or power which is divine—that if they have heretofore acquiesced in Governments which they did not constitute, their governors, however named, possessed no title so sacred as that of the superior right of the people themselves to establish their own institutions. The queen also, the worthy partner of the King, contributes by her very goodness to strengthen this veil of mysticism. She makes her palace the hospital of the wounded, there is not an institution for the relief of the poor in the Kingdom, which has not been benefitted by her charity, and all classes of her subjects recognise in her retired influence a steady protection of morality and peace. Should not such virtues as these reconcile my people to the House of the Hohenzollern? This is the excited thought of the King. He sees not that other thought which imbodies the people in the support of a just political principle, and before which his personal merits, whatever they may be, must sink in the great tide of events, and float with it. He cannot comprehend that these virtues, at the time when they are most conspicuous, are designed by Providence to illustrate the advent of a reform which is to give Europe better governments and a better people—an era in which absolutism falls, not that Kings are bad men, but that the system is no longer suited to the wants of society.

Sir Strafford [Stratford] Canning, the English ambassador to Constantinople, has taken this city in his route.²⁶ He had an interview with the King yesterday: and was doubtless instructed by his government to state the policy which Great Britain would pursue in reference to the present agitation in Germany. A monarchy, formed on the English model may be supposed to have been suggested as the resting place for Prussia: but it is less easy to define the change which will be effected in that model by the growing disposition for the United States of Germany, and the auxiliary tendencies to republicanism supplied by the American example, as well as by the present experiment in France. It is now more fashionable to call for our Federalist and Constitution than for any thing British as a form of government. But the fact is that England is not so much interested in this political transformation of Ger-

²⁶ Minister to the United States 1820-1823, ambassador in Constantinople 1825-1829, 1841-1858.

many as she is in its commercial effects; and it is rather in this point of view that we may understand her position in the troubled waters of the continent. A United States of Germany with a strong federal government, exercising exclusively the rights to lay taxes on foreign imports, and performing the other general functions in respect to the interior and exterior defence, may do much to lessen the control which England has heretofore exercised on the continent by her commercial intercourse. A distrust derived from this cause made her unwilling to see the Zollverein extended. Her influence was paramount at the Hanse Towns, which nothing but a revolution like the present can ever attach to a system that will make them German sea ports. Hence it may be supposed that a successful union of the German states, with a Federal Government, regulating their navigating and foreign commercial intercourse, will not be aided by British influence. A union with less power associating the states for military defence, and breaking down only the barriers in the interior to a free circulation—in other words without the power to pass general discriminating and protective duties—would better suit her manufacturing ascendancy in the present markets of the continent. Our interest on the contrary is in harmony with our political sympathies. With a United States of Germany, possessing a federal authority, we can make better Treaties, and can calculate upon a larger commercial intercourse than we can with the same states regulated by independent systems. If as a whole these states adopt a protective or discriminating law, it will not be operative against us. It will be intended to increase the direct trade with us. If as a whole they adopt the free trade system, we shall still have an advantage over any European nation, because we have the raw productions and can sell them cheaper than any other nation: and our shipping can compete with that of any other.

Hence I infer, less from Mr Cannings visit, than from the evident interest of Great Britain, that the Congress which will be charged with the question of a German parliament, or Federal Government for Germany, will encounter serious opposition from foreign causes.

March 31st.

A most important decree was yesterday sanctioned by the King which you will see in the enclosed paper.²⁷ It establishes the responsibility of the Ministers and was so self evident a necessity, that we have all been astonished by its delay. Under the old regime the King united in himself all the functions legislative and executive. The consequence was that Ministers were cyphers. No act could be done without the King's personal examination and decision, and a complaint against it was an attack upon the Royal authority. Not so now—the Ministers will receive the deputations, must make up a decision for which they will be responsible to the nation, and the Legislature may maintain its authority without the risk of agitations which attend the overthrow of the Monarch. Now the King instead of being harrassed to death by the thousand forms in which the public sentiment shews itself, can retire to his palace, and consult quietly that constitutional and legal tribunal which the people themselves will recognise as indispensable to the pres-

²⁷ Decree of March 30. The paper enclosed is the *Königlich privilegirte Berlinische Zeitung* of April 1; see also *Reden*, p. 18.

ervation of order and the administration of justice. A government is in fact forced into existence, although provisory at present, yet fulfilling the essential character of the one in France. It will meet the Diet on the 2d instant with a Royal concession providing a new electoral or constituent basis for the Legislative Chambers which will as soon as possible be thereafter assembled, and which will resemble the American conventions, where fundamental changes, first proposed by delegates, are afterwards ratified by the people. These chambers will find their powers defined, in the same Chart that establishes the authority and limits of the Crown.

Simultaneous with this decree the Burghers have consented to the introduction of a part of the old army, for the purpose of assisting in the suppression of riots. It was found that the Burghers could not stand the interruption of their daily business caused by their duties as a permanent guard. All classes, Barons, Counts and noblemen, have been reduced by the events of the 18th of March to the same level with the common citizen. A nobleman worth a million has been seen by the side of the poor man, keeping the watch, and marching under the orders of some militia sergeant or corporal to the post of duty. The permanent effect of all this will be an armed and national militia, the subordination of arms to the authority of the magistrate, and the gradual formation of a public opinion capable of appreciating and defending free institutions.

I am gratified to state to you these symptoms of returning order. How far they may be interrupted by the deliberations at Frankfort, where the influence of the king of Prussia has been lessened by his unwise delay in granting reforms, time alone can determine. Or how far all present calculations may be upset by the growing feeling in favor of a Republic, no one can foresee. The prestige of Monarchy has fallen. Hereafter it will be subordinate to limited constitutions, but at the same time the separate nationalities will retain their separate prejudices, and it is not to be supposed that they will be ready to make the sacrifices and compromises which are necessary to a safe and powerful union for the common defence.

It is my aim in the present excitement, to keep myself out of the contest, but not to mistake the prevailing influences, or to withhold friendly suggestions where I see an opportunity to aid the cause of national²⁸ reform and liberty. I will give you a faithful account of all that I do, and of the measures which may seem to me proper to secure to the United States their just participation in the benefits of the great revolution.

²⁸ "Rational" in the draft.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Golden Days of the Early English Church from the Arrival of Theodore to the Death of Bede. By Sir HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., President of the Royal Archaeological Institute and Trustee of the British Museum. In three volumes. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1917. Pp. xciv, 384; viii, 517; viii, 443. \$15.00.)

"It was many years ago", writes Sir Henry Howorth in the preface to his latest work, "when I used to discuss early English history with Mr. Freeman . . . that I formed the intention of some time trying to analyse its early sources and to unriddle its difficulties and obscurities in greater accordance with modern scientific methods than do some popular guides". Sir Henry soon discovered, however, that before the civil history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms could be written, it would be necessary to explore more thoroughly the ecclesiastical history of the age. "This, then, explains the object and purpose with which, at the close of an exceptionally strenuous life . . . I have written five volumes of closely packed matter dealing with the beginnings of the English Church during less than a century and a half of its early career."

The first of these five volumes, a biography of *Saint Gregory the Great*, appeared in 1912. This was followed the next year by a life of *Augustine the Missionary*. The remaining three volumes have been published during the present year (1917) and profess to carry forward the narrative of early English church history "from the arrival of Theodore to the death of Bede". This period the author calls for no very evident reason *The Golden Days of the Early English Church*. It was no doubt an age of much missionary enthusiasm and constructive effort along Christian lines; but it was also a period of much pagan resistance without the new church and much pagan influence within; and, if we are to believe Bede, the closing years of this "golden age" gave evidence that the earlier fervor had passed away.

There can be no quarrel with the author's statement that his volumes are closely packed: they contain a vast amount of information, most of which appears to be reliable. But that the matter always relates to the history of the English church is not so evident; and it may also be doubted whether the work is in real accord with scientific methods. One is amazed to find that three volumes aggregating more than 1500 pages have been written about the Church in England during the years

from 669 to 735; but on closer examination it is found that Sir Henry's narrative is not so extended as it appears to be. About one-third of the first volume is made up of a lengthy preface and a somewhat longer introduction in which the author gives a critical discussion of the sources of the period under examination. The greater part of the third volume is given over to a series of extensive appendixes, notes, and corrections, and an index. Furthermore, the narrative of the first volume is largely introductory and deals with the generation before the coming of Theodore. If we were also to eliminate the materials that may be regarded as of doubtful relevance, the work would be reduced to quite reasonable limits. No doubt the student of Anglo-Saxon times should know the contemporary history of the Byzantine Empire and of the Frankish kingdom; perhaps conditions in England in the seventh century may be rendered more intelligible by a study of the monastic rules of Saint Basil, Saint Cassian, and others, or by accounts of the debates and decrees of church councils in Spain, Rome, and Constantinople; but ordinarily one does not look for all this information in the history of the missionary activities in far-away England. It is at best difficult to tell the story of the involved relations of the Old English kingdoms; but when a writer digresses as far and as freely as Sir Henry does, his account becomes very confusing.

A graver fault than the author's mode of presentation is a tendency to state a probability and later to treat this probability as an established fact. In discussing the marriage of Eadbald of Kent to his step-mother Bertha, Sir Henry concludes: "It would seem more probable that he apostatised, and possibly did so in order to marry Bertha" (I. 241). On the next page we read again of Eadbald and Bertha, "to secure whose hand he is said to have apostatised". In his account of the division of the bishopric of East Anglia by Archbishop Theodore, the author states his belief that "to this date . . . we may with every probability assign the remains of a primitive church, which still exist at South Elmham" (I. 310). Then follows a detailed description of this church closing with the following remark: "So much for the church founded by Theodore at South Elmham" (I. 316).

Sir Henry Howorth's long labors in this rather barren field have, however, not been wholly fruitless. His conclusions, though often based on flimsy or very slight evidence, are always interesting and often of real importance. He minimizes the importance of the Roman mission in the first half of the seventh century and places the emphasis where it seems to belong, on the activities of Saint Aidan and his Celtic associates. Though King Oswy at the synod of Whitby finally declared for the Roman view with respect to the Easter controversy, he continued faithful to the Celtic priesthood and a "persistent opponent of the Italian Church". Sir Henry also holds that the Celtic influence in the English Church persisted long after the debate at Whitby.

The work is naturally concerned very largely with the careers of the

great saints and churchmen of the age, Saint Oswald, Theodore of Tarsus, Saint Wilfrid, Saint Aldhelm, Saint Cuthbert, and the Venerable Bede. With the coming of Archbishop Theodore, Sir Henry believes an important Greek element was added to the ecclesiastical system of the Angles. With Saint Wilfrid and his ultramontane principles the author shows little sympathy; he also assumes a very critical attitude toward the work of Æddi, Wilfrid's famous biographer. For the Venerable Bede and his great history Sir Henry has profound respect; but he is inclined to believe that on several important points the great historian was in error, and that certain parts of the *Ecclesiastical History* in its present form were probably not written by Bede but are later interpolations.

In tracing the careers of the early English saints Sir Henry does not stop with their departure from this life but continues with lengthy accounts of their relics and the miracles that these are said to have performed. Thus about twenty pages are devoted to "the fate and doings of Oswald's remains after his death", and at least fifty to similar tales from the story of Saint Cuthbert. The reviewer wishes to question the propriety of filling the pages of what professes to be sober history with legendary materials; still, he appreciates the force of the author's retort that those who ignore the history of relics and "their reputations as magical and medieval remedies . . . fail to understand the very large place these things filled in the minds and imaginations of their ancestors in the seventh century".

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Giordano Bruno: his Life, Thought, and Martyrdom. By WILLIAM BOULTING. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Company, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1916. Pp. viii, 315. \$3.75.)

It is not an exaggeration to say that in the writings of Giordano Bruno, one of the most amazingly fertile of thinkers, are to be found the germs of all subsequent vital philosophic thought. But so saturated are his writings with the peculiar qualities of his impetuous personality that no cold rationalism may serve adequately to understand him. Sympathetic appreciation is here indispensable. Notable, then, is this book, not only because of its subject, but also because unmistakably its preparation and writing have been a work of solicitude of the heart as well as solicitude of the mind.

The book is admirable both in its plan and in its execution. There are chapters that deal with Bruno's birth and parentage, with his boyhood, and with his monastic life in the south; there is a satisfactory account of his early reading (in the classics, in the scholastics, in the Neo-Platonists, and in the writings of contemporary thinkers) and of his first wanderings, which were an inevitable consequence of that reading;

a chapter is devoted to an analysis of the budding philosophy of his early works; the renewed wanderings are recounted; the seven books printed in London are explained; the further travels are retold; the final books are outlined; and then the trial and death of the restless and daring thinker are described. Thus the reader is given the biographical details of Bruno's life in their chronological order, and the analyses of his various books are presented in the most appropriate places, the respective periods of his life in which the books were written. The pathetic story of the troubled life, with its brief sojourns in capitals and at courts, in academic centres and in theological citadels, is told with subtle and suggestive sympathy; while the careful and skillful dissections of the books reveal the difficult process the author has spared his readers but would not spare himself. It is these things that constitute the chief value of the book—the veracity and sufficiency of the biographical detail, the unusual expository power, and the singularly sympathetic understanding of the man and his thought.

The faults of the book, which is at once the story of an age and a soul, are few, and most of them are superficial. Bruno is constantly described as a monk, whereas, of course, he was a friar. All the Anti-Trinitarianism of southern Italy is labelled as Arianism, whereas its tenets were surprisingly diverse. It is stated that Bruno influenced the thought of Spinoza, but one could wish that a brief though definite exposition of the character and consequences of that influence had been given. It would have been well had Bruno's position as the first of modern pantheistic thinkers been made clear. Some attention is paid to Bruno's style. We are informed that his impassioned prose reveals his personal characteristics, and that frequently, when the thought is unusually daring, poetry invades his pages. But the fact that he was the first writer to restore the artistic form of philosophy has been left unnoticed. And surely this is a service not to be forgotten. The long dominion of the scholastic architectonics, the twilight of the mystic rhapsodies, and the enervation of the humanistic dilettantism, had left the philosophy that was at once rational and imaginative in need of a style in which matter and form are organically related. Bruno was the first artistic philosopher of the modern world, a type of which Plato remains the supreme example, and it is only just that this position should be recognized and acknowledged. Andreas Osiander, the theologian who surreptitiously inserted an anonymous preface in the great work of Copernicus, is ambiguously described as a "priest". And the usefulness of the book would have been greatly increased had it been provided with a critical bibliography of the literature relating to Bruno. This omission is all the more regrettable in that the author frequently shows wide and intelligent reading in that literature.

By a marvellous sweep of the imagination, Bruno, for the first time, and without the aid of the confirmatory evidence subsequently furnished by Galileo, extended the Copernican theory to all the hosts of heaven.

He declared that the physical universe stretches as far as infinity and is eternal in its duration. And he even dimly guessed at Newton's great discovery. From this conception of the cosmos he was inevitably impelled to a new philosophy, and, indeed, to a new religion. The universe, which can neither increase nor decrease, whose constituent things change their aspects in ceaseless flux but are never extinguished, receives unity from a soul immanent in every wayside flower, in the most distant star, and in the heart of man. With this infinite and eternal spirit man is actually and veritably one. Why, then, whatever vicissitudes of change he may suffer, should he fear death? Unending progress is his only prospect. This was the philosophy that all the theologies of the time banned with equal disapprobation.

Bruno and his work are clearly revealed and described in this book. The importunate personality, the intrepid zeal for truth, the relentless reason, the synthetic thought, the soaring imagination, and the flamboyant eloquence—all these things have been understood with unerring instinct and unfolded with loving and intelligent explicatory labor. We have here the whole of the man and the thinker, a glint of each facet of his varied genius. All through his life Bruno burned with the fire of a wild spirit, and in his tragic death he burned in a flame that was not more ardent. But he had done his work. With his winged thought he had pierced the fixed firmament of the scholastic heavens. And he had helped to transpose religion from the perishing realm of creeds and dogmas into the undying domain of feeling and aspiration.

EDWARD MASLIN HULME.

Akbar, the Great Mogul, 1542-1605. By VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., M.R.A.S. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. Pp. xv, 504. \$6.40.)

THE author of this book has had the good fortune to be the biographer of the most eminent rulers in India. In 1901 he published the life of Asoka; in 1904 the history of Alexander's campaign in India; and now he gives us his long-planned *Akbar*, happily delayed, for since Mr. Smith first spoke of the importance of such a work, twenty years ago, materials for Akbar's life have accumulated. A few years since appeared the memoirs of Manucci; in 1906 was found the long-lost manuscript of Father Monserrate, a Jesuit visitor at Akbar's court; besides which have been published a reliable edition of Jahangir's memoirs and other less weighty but still valuable authorities.

The prime source for Akbar's life and times will always be the court chronicle of Abu'l-Fazl, but that courtier's *Akbarnama* is always discreetly hazy when his master's character is affected. The records of less fulsome flatterers, foreign and native, are therefore indispensable both for this biography and for the *Ain-i-Akbari* or Institutes of Akbar, which the same courtier with the help of a staff of attendants compiled

under the emperor's supervision.¹ Mr. Smith has also drawn upon a store of archaeological facts hitherto not utilized.

To the meticulous historian the most valuable part of the present life will be the rectification of dates, to the general reader the estimate of Akbar's character and of the economic and religious reforms instituted by him.

Akbar, whom careless writers have called an Indian and even "an Indian of the Indians", was half Persian, quarter Turk, and quarter Mongolian.² He was born November 23, 1542 (officially registered as October 15).³ His name, Jalalu'd-Din (Muhammed) Akbar, he afterwards utilized to his spiritual glory in such a way as to imply that he was divine, Akbar being the title of God. At the age of seven months, says Abu'l-Fazl, he revealed a "mystery of God's power" to his nurse. Other miracles also haloed the child, who in later years asserted that he "remembered perfectly" what took place when he was one year old. Oddly enough Mr. Smith accepts this as a fact and explains it as due to Akbar's "exceptionally powerful memory". But children often "remember" (from later years) what has been repeated to them since they could really remember.

Akbar was crowned ("enthroned") February 14, 1556 (another disputed date), at a time when war and famine had devastated the land and his adherents were few, a Hindu general and other rivals disputing his claim to the kingdom. Kabul was independent; Bengal had been so for two hundred years; the Rajasthan princes of the west held unchallenged possession of their lands; Malwa and Gujarat had long since defied Delhi.⁴ To Akbar remained a little territory in the Punjab and a few adherents. The fourteen-year-old boy won his first battle, pressed on to Delhi, and after a brief period of boyish indifference awoke to the sense of power. Hitherto he had been under a Protector. This Bismarck he soon told to "make the pilgrimage to Mecca", and at the age of eighteen took the kingdom into his own hands. Like Alexander he delighted in feats of bravado, slaying a tigress with his own hand, racing a mad elephant over a bridge of boats, and even "fighting his sword", by running into its point, though he was probably drunk at the time, for, like all his family, he was apt to drink too much as well

¹ Akbar could neither read nor write but nothing escaped him in his court chronicles; in fact his life was revised by himself.

² He was descended from Tamerlane, but also from Chingiz Khan, on his father's side; his mother was a Persian. In ferocity a Turk, in physiognomy Mongolian, in education and culture a Persian, he was Indian only in accepting Hindu civilization and in recognizing Hindus as deserving of high office in the state.

³ See on this point *Indian Antiquary*, November, 1915. Most authorities give the wrong date, following Abu'l-Fazl. Mr. Smith settles the point definitively.

⁴ Akbar treated Agra rather than Delhi as his capital but Delhi generally represents the state. Fathpur Sikri, "Akbar's city", was built for a whim and abandoned for the same cause.

as to take opium. One of the boy-emperor's first appointments was that of a (heterodox) Shia to the office of chief justice, a significant appointment in that it foreshadowed his later repudiation of orthodox Muhammadanism.

Space forbids an extended survey of Akbar's exploits. Suffice to say that at the climax of his career (1581) he ruled all India (as far as he knew), to Ahmednagar, to Kabul, to the hither side of Baluchistan, and to the western sea. At this period he thought himself more than man and discarded one by one the religions he had previously affected, Zoroastrianism (1578), Christianity (1581), as well as the Hindu and Jain faiths. To each he had shown such favor that each regarded him as a convert, when he suddenly proclaimed his own religion, an eclectic monotheism tinged with sun-worship, pantheism, and (Jain) antipathy to eating meat. The shibboleth of his own religion, *Allahu Akbar*, means either "God is great" or "Akbar is God", and the doubtful meaning represented the furtive ambition of the emperor who dared not openly proclaim himself divine.

To Akbar's credit he insisted that no Hindu woman should be forced to commit suttee. His economic reforms are accepted at their face value by modern Hindus who like to contrast his taxes with those of the English Raj. Mr. Smith thinks that the system of revenue adopted by Akbar was a grievous failure resulting in "shocking oppression". The empire was administered by officers directly responsible to Akbar instead of the Jagirdars of former emperors. This saved much "hand-greasing", but the peasants were still robbed and even sold for taxes. Akbar was the richest monarch in the world. At his death he left in hard cash a sum which Mr. Smith estimates as the equivalent of two hundred million pounds sterling. The peasants whose wealth made his were not treated too easily. He was always a Turk, vindictive, relentless to brave but conquered foes, an assassinator by proxy, fond of brutality; but very urbane and courteous even when most treacherous.

Mr. Smith, who hides no lights under a bushel, gives himself due credit for first proclaiming Jain influence upon Akbar and for discovering that the greatest poet of India flourished under this emperor. He also says (on slender authority) that Akbar was an epileptic as well as a mystic, who, like Muhammed, saw visions. We thank the author for the reference to the Jains; we doubt the imputation of epilepsy; and we regret that Sir George Grierson's opinion of the poet Tulsi Das should have been followed so uncritically. Three stanzas are cited to show that this poet did not write conventional verse. One of them is a well-known classic in modern dress! Tulsi Das wrote under Christian influence, but even were his ideas original he was certainly not "the most important figure in the whole of Indian literature". In short, we prefer Mr. Smith's judgment in chronology to his obiter dicta regarding matters not purely historical. Thus we follow him (and will not accept other accounts) in dating Akbar's death as occurring October 27, 1605,

and his son Daniyal's death in 1604 (repudiating 1605). This Daniyal, by the way, as an example of Mogul clemency raised the former assessment of Khandesh, when it was annexed, just fifty per cent.⁵

Those interested in prices and exact dates will find Mr. Smith's analyses and computations admirably lucid. Those who skip statistics will enjoy a well-written narrative giving a clearly defined authentic picture of one of the great lords of earth, once awful and always picturesque.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

The Beginnings of English Overseas Enterprise: a Prelude to the Empire. By Sir C. P. LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. Pp. 203. \$2.90.)

THERE has been much study and writing on special periods in the history of the English chartered commercial companies, but almost no attempt to give a continuous narrative of the whole career of any one of them. The work of Sir Charles Lucas, which endeavors to tell the story of three of the earliest companies, is therefore a welcome and important contribution to the literature of the subject. These three are the Merchants of the Staple, the Eastland Merchants, and the Merchant Adventurers. The first is perforce, for lack of materials, very brief, and the second a slight, almost an outline sketch; the work is therefore practically a history of the Merchant Adventurers of England from their obscure origin in the Netherlands in the fourteenth century to their dissolution, after at least four centuries of continuous existence, at Hamburg in 1808.

In this account there is much of interest concerning the affairs of the company itself, much concerning its relations to occurrences in general history. The author uses almost entirely printed sources, but among them are to be found a number of pamphlets and other materials not previously drawn upon for such uses. Although there seems little probability now that the actual records of the company will ever be discovered, there is doubtless much still in manuscript in England and abroad which will ultimately be made to throw light upon the many parts of this history which are still obscure. An actually definitive history of the Merchant Adventurers will obviously have to wait for the use of these. Sir Charles Lucas is familiar with two of Dr. Lingelbach's contributions to the subject; it is unfortunate that he does not seem to have known of his printed edition of the *Laws and Ordinances* and other documents of the Merchant Adventurers. The main document in this collection gives full insight into the organization and practice of the company at what was probably the period of its greatest extent and prosperity, the beginning of the seventeenth century.

⁵ Prices have risen 600 per cent. in India since Akbar's day. At that time an Englishman could live there, travel, and return with "something saved", for "tuppence" a day.

It is a pity that American historical work is not better known in England, since it would often serve to enrich excellent but necessarily not exhaustive English monographs. This work, for instance, is described as being written "from standard sources". Yet in the two minor essays in it, both of which are, according to the author's own statement, far from satisfactorily complete, he has not utilized and evidently has not known of the existence of Miss Jencks's careful thesis on the origin and successive locations of the Continental and domestic staples, or Miss Deardorff's study, made almost entirely from new manuscript sources, of the origin of the Eastland Company and its establishment at Elbing. This criticism is not intended in any way to derogate from the interest and significance of Sir Charles Lucas's volume. It is written with the ability and mastery of the trained historian who has contributed so much to our knowledge of the British Empire in its various aspects. It has also a wider appeal than its subject might indicate. The fact that the author feels called upon to draw a lesson from this chapter of British history, is probably one of the many reflexes of the Great War. Before the war we were satisfied, as a general thing, to study and write history for its own sake, simply as one part of the great work of the discovery and recording of knowledge. Now we feel that history should have some lesson to teach, some contribution to make to the settlement of world problems. The author's special contribution in this case is the use of his narrative as a demonstration and illustration of the continuity of the growth of the British Empire, and as a proof of the desirability of that "co-operation between state authority and private enterprise which has been the greatest of all factors in the make up of the British Empire". To this thesis the author comes back again and again, and uses it as alike the clue to the significance of the great commercial companies and a justification of the empire.

It may be worth while to point out, however, that the overseas empire of which these companies were the actual beginning was a trading not a colonial empire; and that it reached its culmination by the close of the sixteenth century, before the first permanent colony of England had been founded or acquired. By that date there were English companies holding extensive rights by charter from their own government and concessions from the governments of the countries in which they traded, in Russia, Poland, Germany, Venice, Turkey, Northwest Africa, and the East Indies. It was a veritable trading domain, with its settled system and its distinctive characteristics. The temporary sojourn of its merchants in these foreign countries, the system of agents and apprentices, the problems of individual trading of its employees, the joint stock that was, in most places, established from the beginning or early developed, the meetings and self-government of its members abroad, the national diplomacy that these trading relations necessitated, all marked a distinctive type of external empire, based on trade, not on either colonization or control of territories outside of England. The

beginnings of colonization came later as an offshoot and almost as a casual development from the trading empire.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea. Edited by R. G. MARSDEN. Volume II., 1649-1767. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. L.] (London: Printed for the Navy Records Society. 1917. Pp. xxxiii, 457.)

THE present volume, like its predecessor, is in large part made up of extracts from original records, particularly those of the prize courts. The editor states that the prize records are in a fair state of preservation, but that, as they were framed in the same bare and technical terms and contained little beyond the bald order of condemnation or of restitution of the ship or goods, they are disappointing as regards the light which they might have been expected to throw upon the growth of prize law. Sometimes, as we had occasion to remark concerning the previous volume, one may wish that the entire text, instead of an extract, of a certain record had been given, since even formal recitals may now and then convey, when read in connection with a judgment, a meaning more readily discoverable by an expert in our subject than by an expert in another. The editor, however, prints the full text of a considerable number of orders in council, of letters of marque and reprisal, of royal instructions to men-of-war and privateers, and of other and cognate documents; and he reproduces from the printed text in the *Collectanea Juridica* (I. 133) the celebrated report of the British law officers, Sir George Lee, Dr. Paul, Sir Dudley Ryder, and the solicitor general, W. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, on the case of the Silesian loan.

We have more than once had occasion to deprecate the widely prevalent but uninformed supposition that the questions of maritime law raised during the present great international conflict are in the mass essentially new. Even the most cursory and inexperienced perusal of the present volume should suffice to dissipate such an assumption. In respect of numerous important questions, the contents, fragmentary though they be, carry us back to a time antedating by more than a century the wars growing out of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars.

Worthy of special notice, as indicating that present conceptions are by no means so far advanced over those of earlier times as is generally assumed, is a neutrality proclamation issued by Charles II., February 8, 1668 (p. 70), which forbids any act of hostility in English waters or any hovering there for hostile purposes, and, in case men-of-war or a man-of-war and a merchant ship, of the opposing belligerents happen to be in port at the same time, requires one of the men-of-war to be detained for two tides after the other man-of-war or the merchant ship shall have departed. A foreign privateer having prize property in its possession is forbidden to stay in port more than twenty-four hours,

unless constrained by "contrary winds, blocking up by enemies, or other distress", or to sell or leave behind prize goods. Not only are English ships that shall "victual, furnish, or recruit themselves for voyages at sea" to be detained where the "provision or furniture" is suspected "to be designed for any other than trading or fishing voyages", but English subjects are forbidden to enter the martial service of any foreign state, or to accept and execute any commission of war or letter of marque and reprisal. It is interesting to find, under date of July 5, 1712, an inquiry ordered upon a complaint of the Swedish minister that a ship fitting out at Bristol, manned with English sailors, and alleged to be an English ship bound for the Mediterranean, was in truth designed for the Czar of Muscovy.

On the other hand, as indicating that the capacity to "blow hot" and "blow cold", according to interest, is not peculiar to any age, it is curious to contrast a sentence of the Court of Admiralty, in 1653, condemning a Dutch ship for having traded at Barbados contrary to the act of October 3, 1650, which forbade foreign ships to trade with any of the English plantations or islands in America without a license from Parliament or the Council of State, with the instructions given to Captain Ming in 1662 to force a trade upon the Spanish West Indies, the trade with which the King of Spain, their sovereign, had, so the instructions declared, endeavored to engross "contrary to use and custom of all governments and the lawes of nations" (pp. 19, 41). In connection with these two documents, it is instructive to read the commission given in 1729 to a Spanish *guarda costa* (p. 270).

Several documents and extracts from documents are printed which serve to illustrate certain phases of the centuries-old controversy as to the stoppage of provisions destined to the enemy. Under date of May 17, 1665, we have a communication from the Council of State to the judges of the Admiralty urging them to treat as contraband not only naval supplies, such as canvas, masts, pitch, and tar, but "also wine, oil, brandy, fish, corn, salt, flesh, and all other things that tend as provision unto the support of life", since his Majesty would "in vain attempt the reducing of his enemies, if they shall enjoy the freedom of such unlimited supplies". The judges, it appeared, had forborne to go so far (p. 57). On June 27, 1694, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty ordered Admiral Berkeley to send some of his ships, "together with two fire ships", to seize a number of Danish and Swedish ships, proceeding under Swedish convoy and laden with "corn, naval stores, or contraband goods", and to bring them into an English port (p. 160). Fifteen years later (April 28, 1709) an Order in Council was issued for the "stopping" and bringing into an English port of all neutral ships laden with corn and bound to France. The immediate occasion of the order was the receipt of information that there was then "great scarcity of corn" in France; and in these circumstances it was declared to be of the "highest importance . . . to distress the enemy as much as possible

by taking the most effectual methods for preventing their receiving such supplies at this juncture" (pp. 210, 211).

The next document bearing upon this question is a brief extract from an opinion of Sir Dudley Ryder and Mr. Murray (later Lord Mansfield) of May 10, 1746 (p. 323). We can only regret that the letter in which the extract was found, if it could not be textually reproduced in a foot-note, was not summarized with legal understanding and precision. Even the descriptive heading apparently betrays a misapprehension of the nature of the legal questions involved. A similar comment must be made upon the singular statement (p. 342), regarding a Dutch *placaat* of 1747 forbidding the export of "warlike and shipping stores", that the "absence" of such an order in later times led to the "armed neutrality". Nor can one help doubting whether the framers of the *placaat* would have accepted the editor's description of the list of articles, whose export was prohibited, as a "list of contraband", in the usual sense of that phrase. Again, in a foot-note to an extract from a document of 1758 (p. 382), relating to the controversy concerning the Rule of the War of 1756, the question of contraband is mentioned in a very brief summary of another document evidently relating to the same controversy. The precise sense in which the author of the second document supposed the contraband question to be involved is not disclosed. The full text of both documents probably would be very instructive.

Sentences of condemnation are produced in 1672 (p. 82), in 1695 (p. 169), in 1709 (p. 209), and in 1767 (pp. 399-400), clearly showing the belligerent character and rights attributed by the British Admiralty to non-commissioned British armed merchantmen in time of war. In conformity with the established law, their captures were condemned as prize, the condemnation being for the benefit of the crown, which then as an act of grace would remit to the captor a part or the whole of the proceeds. The case in 1767 was that of the French ship *L'Indien* taken by the East India Company's armed ship *Revenge*. After the condemnation, the crown, upon a petition of the company, setting forth that the *Revenge*, while on a voyage from Bombay to Bengal, did "attack, seize, and take" the *Indien*, carrying twenty-four guns and 225 men and laden chiefly with military stores for Mauritius, where "the French ships and forces were then assembled in order to attack the said Company's settlements", ordered "the said prize ship and cargo" to be delivered over to the company as its absolute property.

J. B. MOORE.

Freedom after Ejection: a Review (1690-1692) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales. Edited by ALEXANDER GORDON, M.A. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXX.] (Manchester: Uni-

versity Press; London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. vi, 396. 15 sh.)

THE discovery in 1912 of a manuscript register of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers and churches for the years 1690-1692, brought to light a document of interest in the history of Dissent. The register—known otherwise as a “review” or a “survey”—is printed in full in this volume. It extends to 150 pages of text, and forms the principal part of the contents of the book. The editor contributes a commentary or exposition of the circumstances under which the survey was made and used. But his chief concern has been the preparation of an exhaustive index. This covers two hundred pages, and gives notes upon the towns, congregations, and ministers mentioned in the register; in all some two thousand titles.

The survey was compiled in the year of “freedom” following the Toleration Act. It was drawn up county by county at the instance of a London committee of the two denominations, organized to give financial aid to the poorer preachers in the provinces. For each county the review distinguishes between “ministers that have a competent supply” and “ministers that may want a supply”; to which is added, to make the survey complete for each county, an enumeration of “places that had or where there may be an opportunity of religious assemblies”. The joint committee broke up soon after the “happy union” had been formed, and the combined register of the two denominations, as far as its original purpose was concerned, was of use no longer. Fortunately it was not destroyed nor lost, but stored in the archives of the Presbyterian board, where it remained for over two centuries until found accidentally a short while ago. Its publication makes a welcome addition to such material as the Evans, the Neal, the 1717, the Thompson, and other manuscript lists or directories of Dissent of a later date.

Those interested for biographical or genealogical reasons in the Nonconforming ministers of the seventeenth century—there are scattered New England connections referred to in the notes—will find that this register may conceivably be of service in testing isolated facts pertaining to the years included in the survey. The index makes the volume in this respect most convenient for reference, for it is really a series of condensed biographies. Also, as one of the few sources available for studying the distribution of Dissent from time to time, this review has especial value from its having been made almost on the morrow of the Toleration Act.

The editorial work is disappointing in one or two slight particulars, more noticeably so in the attempt to offer figures for the numerical strength of Dissent at about the time the survey was taken. The editor, using an Episcopal Return for 1688, sets down the number of Nonconformists at 108,678 “souls” (p. 188). That figure, it happens, is not for “souls” at all, but represents the total of freehold estates held by Nonconformists in the ecclesiastical provinces of Canterbury and York. There is no determinable ratio between freeholds and souls; though there

is reason for placing the number of Nonconformists in 1688 at something under three times the number of freeholds. But statistical conjectures aside, the inherent interest of the register itself, and the comprehensive index, will give the volume a permanent place in the material for the history of Dissent.

C. E. FRYER.

The Expansion of Europe: the Culmination of Modern History.

By RAMSAY MUIR, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xii, 243. \$2.00.)

HAD Professor Muir written his book before the war, he might have been more appreciative of the fact that nations other than Great Britain have had a highly important share in the spread of European civilization over the world. Had he written it after the United States became associated with Great Britain in the struggle, he might not have cavilled at this country so much.

The general purpose of the work is to "survey . . . the sources and character of the great process by which, during the last four centuries, the whole world has been subjugated by the civilisation of Europe, and its bearing upon the problems of the Great War". In the presentation the "predominant place is given to the British Empire", not only because of its territorial extent, but because "the variety of types which it includes makes it the most interesting political structure which ever existed in the world, while the principles upon which it has gradually come to be directed are of the highest significance and value, and have not been sufficiently analysed".

While it is perfectly obvious that in any account of the expansion of Europe the British Empire must be accorded the largest share for both size and achievement, the tale could have been unfolded with much less national self-glorification and with fewer bland assertions of superiority over the rest of mankind. Some allusion might have been made to the fact that, more than was the case with any other great colonial dominion, the British Empire was built up by conquest on the ruins of what had been acquired earlier by Continental European states. Perhaps it might have been desirable not to intimate quite so strongly that "force and fraud" were characteristic of the modes of securing colonial territory by all European countries except Great Britain. It may be doubted, furthermore, whether the principles to which Professor Muir alludes have not been "sufficiently analysed"—by Seeley and Dilke, for example.

The work is divided into ten chapters, of which the first is given over to an explanation of the "meaning and motives of imperialism", and the last to conjectures about the present war and its outcome. About one-fourth of the contents is devoted to the period up to 1763. Of the remainder the chapter on the transformation of the British Empire between 1815 and 1878 is easily the best in the book. Here the reasons for

the tolerant attitude that Great Britain adopted toward its colonies, and notably toward those of the self-governing type, are summarized with much skill and cogency.

In a work on so comprehensive a theme one would naturally expect to find something more than an explanation of the process of territorial and political expansion of Great Britain and incidentally of other European states. A proportionate account should have been furnished of the social, economic, moral, and intellectual results of the contact of Europeans with non-European lands and peoples, including the influence exercised by way of reaction upon the European type of civilization itself. Of all this there is hardly a trace. In fact, the reviewer is inclined to doubt whether Professor Muir has ever made a careful study in all its phases of the actual work of expansion carried on by the several European nations, which would enable him to estimate accurately the accomplishments of each as compared with those of Great Britain alone. Had he done so, he would have fallen into fewer errors alike of concept and of statement, such as that the defeat of the Armada "threw the ocean roads of trade open . . . to the sailors of all nations" and "established the Freedom of the Seas" (page 22).

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

La Question d'Orient depuis ses Origines jusqu'à la Grande Guerre.

By ÉDOUARD DRIAULT. Septième Édition. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. xv, 432. 7 fr.)

The Eastern Question: an Historical Study in European Diplomacy.

By J. A. R. MARRIOTT. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 456. \$5.50.)

M. DRIAULT's book, now appearing in its seventh edition, has for nearly twenty years served as the standard summary in the French language of the history of the question of the Near East. Mr. Marriott presents a new study, intended to provide the English-speaking world with a similar summary. The two works are, however, by no means parallel, because of M. Driault's broader conception: he has taken for his theme the "retreat of Islam" in Europe, Africa, and Asia, meaning the shrinking of the total area ruled by Mohammedan governments; Mr. Marriott limits himself strictly to "the gradual disappearance of the Turkish Empire in Europe" and its causes and consequences. Each gives about three-fourths of his space to the events of the last hundred years. Both writers strive to be impartial, but Mr. Marriott, despite the fact that he produced his entire book during the Great War, succeeds somewhat the better in avoiding particularistic points of view. On the other hand, he confines himself more to the recital of events, without arriving at so many clear generalizations and illuminating interpretations as M. Driault. This is, perhaps, only saying that one writer is French and the other English.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the nine-tenths of M. Driault's book which is verbally identical with former editions. It contains the same errors of fact and questionable points of view, and the same condensation of style and rapidity of transition which have been noted by previous reviewers (as, for example, Stanley Lane-Poole in the *English Historical Review*, XIV. 805-806). M. Monod's preface stands as written in 1898, with some statements which read prophetically, and only a few which have not been realized; it is still impossible to predict the solution of the Question, which is more than ever left "au dieu des batailles". M. Driault has written a new "Avertissement" (pp. iv), in which he says conservatively of the Eastern Question: "Elle est en vérité aussi vieille que le monde, et elle durera autant que lui, car on se disputera toujours la possession de ces pays qui sont historiquement les plus prestigieux de la terre". He has failed to learn from recent investigations that the Ottoman Turks did not come in any considerable numbers from Eastern Asia, that they did not close the roads between Europe and Asia and so cause the great discoveries, and that they did not ruin Damascus and Bagdad, which they found already ruined. He expresses his faith that the present struggle will complete the process of the destruction of the Ottoman power, and that the Orient will then enter upon a more brilliant period than any in its previous history.

His historical additions are noteworthy for the restraint with which he holds the narrative of recent events to the proportion of the whole book. He describes the Turkish revolution of 1908 and the Balkan wars (pp. 281-295), the Russo-Japanese War (which is really outside his subject), and the Anglo-Russian *entente* (pp. 325-329), and the Great War as seen from the Orient (pp. 378-398). Finally he brings down to date his views as regards making an end of Turkey (pp. 410-418). In 1898 he thought that the future of Asia and of the Levant rested with the Franco-Russian alliance. He tolerated perforce the English in the Mediterranean, and ignored the Austrians. He was convinced that the extinction of Turkey was certain and near. Now he must reckon with the thrust into the Orient of Germany, whom he portrays as an "eleventh hour" heir, coming in to despoil those of long standing and prescriptive rights. He feels that the Teutons have no place in the Mediterranean, and predicts their complete expulsion, and the division between France, Russia, England, and Italy, of the lands remaining to the Turk. A strictly impartial view, if such be now possible, would see that Germany is no farther away than England from the Mediterranean, and that Austria has no less direct a relation to its waters than Russia. It is interesting to observe M. Driault's opinion that France has held a preponderance everywhere in the conduct of the Great War (p. 394). Willing to leave to England the control of Egypt, he desires the genuine internationalization of the Suez Canal (pp. xii, 374). This is his only glance toward a solution of the Eastern Question by the superior authority of a world government, which as a plan for the establishment

of permanent peace in that region is immeasurably superior to his scheme of wholly independent Balkan states whose boundaries and whose hegemony are endlessly disputable, and a Western Asia partitioned between rival European powers acting on the principle of national self-interest from far-away capitals.

M. Driault's book is totally lacking in maps, notes, genealogical tables, and indexes. A few references to French writings are the only bibliographical indications, since the imperfect lists of the first edition have been omitted. Aside from these, the only apparatus is an unusually full and well-organized table of contents.

Mr. Marriott is apparently more scientific, since he introduces all the above-mentioned features which M. Driault has omitted. (His bibliographical material is given at the foot of the chapters, a proposed general list having been stricken out.) The book is, however, not superior to that of M. Driault in its use of primary material. Nearly all the facts, and even many of the citations and the maps, have been obtained by careful selection from good secondary works. In his introduction he separates the Question as he contemplates it into six threads: the part played by the Ottoman Turks, the position of the Balkan states and adjacent territories, the problem of the Black Sea and the Straits, the position of Russia in Europe, that of the Hapsburg Empire, and the "attitude of the European Powers in general, and of England in particular, towards any and all of the questions enumerated above". All these ideas he follows through consistently, though the first and the last are less fully developed than the others.

He agrees with M. Driault that "the lands which fringe the Eastern Mediterranean . . . have possessed a significance in world-history incomparably greater than any other". He also develops emphatically the obsolete view that the Ottoman Turks "blocked" the roads across the Old World, and forced the circumnavigation of Africa (p. 20). Furthermore, he seems to believe still that the fall of Constantinople caused the Italian Renaissance (p. 64). The narrative is on the whole well planned and carefully proportioned. There is some repetition, however, and in places too many details are introduced.

Errors are not unusually numerous for a work of such complexity. A few may be corrected: it is inexact to say that the Rumanians "have never actually submitted to a conqueror" (p. 44); Bulgarians probably have only a small proportion of Tartar blood (p. 46); the Crimea was taken by subduing the Tartars and not the Genoese (p. 75); one would like to see the proof that Suleiman the Magnificent became master of "much of the coast of Persia and even North Western India" (p. 82); Selim II. was not the eldest of Roxelana's sons (p. 88); the Bug and the Dniester were not "Russian rivers" in 1711 (p. 123); the statement that "Selim III. was as feeble and reactionary as Abdul Hamid had been vigorous and enlightened" (p. 144) should be reversed; Ibrahim, son of Mehemet Ali, and not Mahmoud II., crushed the Wahabis (p. 192,

corrected on p. 206 without noticing the error); the *Tanzimat* gave more than merely military reform (p. 275); Crete was not the last acquisition of the Ottoman Empire in Europe (p. 331). Smaller errors are the use of "Bajazet I." and "Bayazid II.", "Thorgond" for Torgoud, "Oglon" for Oghlou, "Bushan Eddin" for Burhan ed-Din. In general the transliteration of Oriental names is unsystematic.

The few blemishes detract little from the great positive value of the book, which like much of the work of Englishmen succeeds remarkably well in preserving the true historical spirit in a time of warlike passions. Mr. Marriott does not believe that England "put her money on the wrong horse" in 1854, nor that her part in the Treaty of Berlin was wholly a mistaken rôle. He is able to understand if not to sympathize with the Austrian desire to hold Trieste and reach Salonika. He appears to see no fault in the Italian seizure of Tripoli. He realizes, however, not only the Greek and Serbian claims on Macedonia but also those of Bulgaria and perceives (p. 399) how Bulgaria lost the game in 1912 by the necessity of throwing her forces toward Constantinople, while Greece and Serbia were taking possession of Macedonia. As regards the Great War, he sees as its "dominating motive . . . the realization of the dream of a great Central European Empire stretching from the German Ocean to the Bosphorus" and beyond.

Looking to the future, Mr. Marriott considers it essential to enduring peace that the Eastern Question be solved satisfactorily. The Balkan peoples must be freed from German influence, and then must live side by side "on terms, if not of precise mathematical equality, at least of mutual forbearance and goodwill". As to how the second proposal may be effected, he goes a step beyond M. Driault, to federation after the Swiss model, with "constitutional readjustment, neutralization under an international guarantee, and a confederate citizen army". An international guarantee of neutralization is not enough; the cantons of Switzerland had not before federation cut each other's hearts out as have the Balkan peoples; for a long time to come there is need among the latter, after the establishment of just boundaries, of a compulsory peace maintained by a world authority. If the setting up of such a power seems remote, it is nevertheless far more conceivable than a self-sufficient Balkan federation.

A. H. LYBYER.

Science and Learning in France, with a Survey of Opportunities for American Students in French Universities. An Appreciation by American Scholars. (The Society for American Fellowships in French Universities. 1917. Pp. xxxviii, 454. \$1.50.)

THERE is no greater tribute to heroic France than this splendid volume prepared by some ninety-seven devoted admirers, and sponsored by nine hundred and eighty-six sympathetic American scholars and scien-

tists who were aroused to offer this unique token of their regard by contemplation of the moral and spiritual heights to which France has risen in the present war. This book is at the same time a tribute and a compendium of information. For each field of knowledge there is a chapter regarding French scholarship for the past century, the achievements of its leaders, and the lines of progress they have followed. The scholars of to-day, their contributions, and the courses which they offer in the several French universities are briefly but judiciously described. Special schools, laboratories, libraries, and archives, in fact nearly all the French facilities for research are explained. An introduction by President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot discusses those qualities of the French mind which have interested and attracted foreign scholars since the Middle Ages. Some eighty pages of appendixes explain to the prospective student the organization of the French universities, the preparation required, the mystery of the various degrees, the fees, and all customs as to residence and attendance. All this is done with sympathy as well as full understanding. In the words of the excellent editor, Dean John H. Wigmore, "the authors believe that they are not only pointing the youth of our country to splendid sources of knowledge and wisdom, but are also serving to strengthen and confirm that comradeship of scholars which symbolizes the enduring friendship of the two nations".

No thinking person, however prejudiced, could read this record of scholarly and scientific accomplishment without realizing the sober intellectual power, the strong moral fibre of the French people, and no one who had grasped that fact before the war could have talked glibly, as many did, of France regenerated by the ordeal of battle. Nor can the French people be separated spiritually from their leaders in science and scholarship, as if the latter were a class apart. It is not without significance that Pasteur was declared by popular vote to be the greatest of Frenchmen, and that the statues of Leverrier, of Arago, and of other scientists were erected by national subscription. The soul of her intellectuals is the soul of France. During my sojourn in the French provinces during the year before the war, I wrote repeatedly to friends that the French were the most earnest, serious people I had ever lived among. Whence had sprung the idea of a frivolous people, given to levity, idle wit, and persiflage? Partly it was due, perhaps, to the character of mere passing epochs in French history, partly to travellers' impressions of Parisian boulevards, and, in part, to impressions drawn from badly selected literature which pictured the worst and not the best or even the characteristic in French life. But whatever the prejudice in the past, the world sees now, when France stands at the highest level of her moral attainment, how baseless was the charge of decadence. In the eloquent words of George Ellery Hale in this book, "The ignorant depreciation based on an imperfect knowledge of the French people and an inability to perceive their deeper qualities . . . all this, occasionally

heard in the past, has been forever silenced by the War, revealing a devotion to the state, a quiet but unyielding persistence in the defence of national ideals, which no opponent can overcome".

Nor is France an intellectual desert with one great academic oasis in Paris. There is a natural assumption by the uninitiated that the best of the French scholars and scientists are gathered in Paris, but one is deeply impressed, as one passes through a series of French provincial universities, with the number of men, having achieved international repute, who are found within their less renowned walls. On my return from giving the Harvard Foundation lectures in the French provincial universities, in 1914, I asked Professor Legouis in Paris why certain very famous men whom I had found in the provinces had not been called to the Sorbonne. He replied, "Great as the Sorbonne is, it cannot embrace all the talent of France". There was no boast in this but the simple truth. And it is for this reason that the student coming to France for the first time and going very properly to the provincial university to become familiar with the language and the people need have no fear that he will not meet professors worthy of his talents. Nor does the ambitious student need to fear lest France, impoverished by the war, will be unable to provide her scholars and scientists with the most modern implements of their learned vocations. Not from the equipment but from the spirit and genius of the men will come the inspiration which is to reward the young seekers after knowledge. In the year before the war the crushing financial burden of preparation against the menace of militaristic Germany seemed to force the government to starve the laboratories and libraries of the provincial universities. As compared with American laboratories, richly dight, those of the provincial universities looked poor and bare indeed, but in these stinted workshops scientific men were doing and scientific men had done things whose fame went round the world. There, in truth, the mind was not to be changed by place or time, but, through the sheer genius of the French investigator, rich discoveries issued from the shabby workroom. There is no shore of the French intellectual sea which has not been touched by the argonauts of this splendid volume, but in a review meant for the historical gild the explorations in the regions of history and political science require special attention. Here the authors found much that was worthy of their consideration. Merely to catalogue the institutions, such as the Sorbonne, the École des Chartes, the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and the libraries like the Bibliothèque Nationale, the archives such as the Archives des Affaires Étrangères and museums like the Musée de Cluny and the Musée Carnavalet—merely to catalogue these is to impress the reader with the French facilities for historical study and research. But greater far is the revelation of opportunity that comes at the mention of such French historical scholars as Lavissee, Aulard, Seignobos, Bémont, Diehl, Lot, Hauser, and Mathiez, and polit-

ical scientists of such note as Renault, Luchaire, Gide, Lapradelle, Jèze, and Berthélemy—a list, indeed, made up of only those names best known to the reviewer. These men and their great predecessors are among the foremost investigators and writers of history and political science in the world, and they have not been content with mere accumulations of historical detail, but with no sacrifice of thorough research, they have developed qualities of order, clearness, and literary finish which are unrivalled in the historical field.

The authors of the history section have closed their survey with such sound advice, that it is worthy of quotation here. It applies in my opinion to all foreign study in history.

On the whole it is the advanced student of history and not the beginner, who will derive most advantage from a sojourn in France, and especially Paris. The immature youth, who has not secured a good grasp of the essential facts of history, who has not received some substantial training in investigation, and has not some clear ideas concerning the nature of historical study and the reasons why he is pursuing it—a man of this sort is ill prepared to work wisely amid the multiplicity of special courses and the manifold distractions of the French capital. . . . His place is being taken by a growing number of mature students—professors on leave, travelling fellows, newly-made doctors, and others—who desire to continue work already begun here. During their residence abroad these men will no doubt increase their stock of historical information and learn valuable lessons in historical method. But their greatest profit will come from access to great collections of historical material, from the stimulus of contact with new teachers and new ideas, and from first-hand knowledge of the monuments of the European past, and the life of the European present. To such students France offers a warm welcome and a wide opportunity.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Das Annexionistische Deutschland: eine Sammlung von Dokumenten, die seit dem 4. August 1914, in Deutschland öffentlich oder geheim verbreitet wurden. By S. GRUMBACH. (Lausanne: Payot und Compagnie. 1917. Pp. x, 471. 7 fr. 50.)¹

L'Allemagne Annexioniste: Recueil de Documents publiés ou répandus secrètement en Allemagne depuis le 4 Août 1914. Avec un Appendice, Manifestations anti-Annexionistes. (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1917. Pp. xv, 408. 7 fr. 50.)

THIS is the most interesting collection of documents yet published about the war. A compilation of German statements in favor of annexation (August, 1914, to early 1916), it may fairly be called a sequel to Andler's four volumes of Pan-German utterances and to Nippold's *Der Deutsche Chauvinismus*. More than either of these it serves to set forth the intentions of the Germans. It includes a far wider range of peoples

¹ An English edition of this book, in abbreviated form, has been prepared by J. Ellis Barker, under the title, *Germany's Annexionist Aims* (Dutton).

and organizations. Some of the men Andler quotes are hardly to be found in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Nor is one much surer about what the Germans as a nation wanted when one reads Nippold, whose *personae*—all of them 1912-1913—are retired admirals and generals engaged in a political campaign, Pan-German organizers, and a few violent newspapers. Grumbach is more convincing not only because he has used testimony of so many kinds, of such representative people and organizations, but because he took the Germans when they were talking most freely. As the German armies drew near to Paris, as the list of Russian prisoners mounted up, the exultant watchers at home opened their hearts: *in vino veritas*.

Here are kings and statesmen, party leaders, publicists, and professors—so many of the latter—editors and magazine writers, business men and agriculturists, stating in the flush of victory what Germany should gain from the war.

Grumbach has done his work carefully. He has had access to German periodicals, he has read the brochures and books. Nor has he taken all that came to his hand. The quotations are ample; they are never torn from the context; the notes are brief but excellent; the citations painstakingly accurate save for a few slight misspellings. If the collection has been made with a purpose, that purpose has in no wise vitiated its scientific value. Grumbach tells us in his introduction that the annexation idea was widely held in all parts of the nation by many kinds of people, and his text proves it. If by the German people is meant those who write, speak, and pass resolutions, it can no longer be doubted that the German people wanted profit (*Frucht*) from the war. Most of them phrase it carefully. "Now that the war has been forced upon us", we must have "security", "guarantees", "rectification of frontiers"; "the soil fertilized by our heroes must remain ours". A minority are less guarded. We want more room, a rearrangement, world power.

Space permits briefest comment on these materials. Above all else the writers quoted desired economic resources for the Fatherland. Belgium's industrial wealth, France's coal, Russia's manufacturing region, Morocco's and the Congo's undeveloped resources, these are gains again and again desired. One is inclined to agree with Bley that the Germans are no longer a nation of dreamers and poets. No, these are men with business imagination.

They are hardly less eager for territories. They would take Belgium that she may never again sin against neutrality; many would despoil France; a few cast envious glances towards Holland, which, to save her colonies in this world of unscrupulous foes, should attach herself to Germany. In respect to Russia there are those who would take only a little—Russia may be of use as a friend—those who would set up a buffer Poland, and those who would drive Russia back towards Asia.

"Mitteleuropa" is sometimes forgotten. Partsch's and Naumann's splendid scheme is not what most of these annexationists have at heart. There are those, indeed, who talk of it as Naumann, and who see in it a promise of unity for Europe and of peace from wars. But most care less about Middle Europe than about Greater Germany.

Opposed to these Continental expansionists are those who fear lest Germany take more than she can assimilate, quietly admitting now and then that Germany has not always governed her conquered well. Now is the time to pick up colonies. Of this theory Delbrück is of course the most notable, although not the most extreme exponent. Colonies, they say, are to be had in Africa, not only Morocco and the Congo, but Rhodesia, and possibly a great Central African Empire. Or Portuguese colonies may be worth taking. A few look towards China: "China has coal". The Bagdad scheme is seldom forgotten. Asia Minor and Mesopotamia are reckoned as already gained. The hopeful think that Persia may be absorbed. One writer links Berlin and Bombay.

Englishmen may well read these documents. If there are those here who do not urge the utter overthrow of the British Empire they are few. Britain's control of the sea, her hold upon Suez and Gibraltar must be taken from her, and if possible Egypt and India, if not in this war, in another. There were men in Germany before the war who urged friendship with Britain. They are not here. The evolution of German hatred of England is an extraordinary phenomenon, but German nationalistic historians are among those to blame. The course of British foreign policy could not have accumulated such a heritage of hate, had not the Germans taken history too hard. They have read into isolated pieces of opportunist diplomacy and separate moves of colonial expansion, made almost absent-mindedly, a great increasing purpose, more far-reaching even than the dreams of the Pan-Germans.

These men have the *weltgeschichtliche* outlook. They are nothing if not *weitausschauende*. They would revenge wrongs done in Louis XIV.'s time; they would learn from the steps by which the Romans built an empire; they would study the imperialism of Charles V.; in the projected overthrow of France they see a nation reduced to the humble rôle of present Spain, and there are no tears for human affairs. All nations push towards the sea—Mahan again. "German history has been one long thrust towards the sea"!

Would one might comment upon the eighty-four pages of anti-annexation utterances at the close. They are largely from Social-Democratic leaders and newspapers. But a few others, among them good names, oppose the *Eroberungspolitik* which they see dominant. Annexations, they declare, will mean the incorporation of unfriendly and irreconcilable peoples, the continuance of the present combination against Germany, and new wars.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International. Avec un Avant-Propos de M. PAUL FAUCHILLE, Membre de l'Institut de Droit International. In two volumes. (Paris: A. Pedone. 1917. Pp. vii, 414; 412. 10 fr.)

THE documents appearing in the *Revue Générale du Droit International Public* relative to the present war have been gathered together to form these two valuable volumes. They have been carefully selected from the various official publications and semi-official organs. The text will be found to contain much material that is difficult of access, supplemented by important notes. Although the most important of the diplomatic notes exchanged at the time of the outbreak of the war have been included it was evidently not possible to reproduce all the correspondence given in the red-covered *Diplomatic Documents* published in 1915. The latter publication with its good type will continue to be the most convenient and exhaustive work for those who understand English into which all the documents are translated. Similarly the diplomatic correspondence of the American government relative to its neutral rights is represented by a few only of the most important numbers. The student who is examining the submarine, armed merchantman, or other controversy in which this government participated will find indispensable the volumes of Diplomatic Correspondence issued as special supplements to volumes IX. and X. of the *American Journal of International Law*. The few documents selected for the *Recueil* have been carefully translated into French by those learned in both the law and the languages concerned.

Taking by way of example the famous Lusitania note of May 13, 1915, we must admit that the excellence of the version is somewhat marred by the failure to find idiomatic equivalents for phrases which have passed into history. When we read that the United States government has observed the acts of Germany "with growing concern, distress, and amazement", the climax which this expresses is not given by "un souci, une inquiétude, et un regret croissants". The "strict accountability" of the American note has a menacing sound not echoed by "strictement responsable". The fine sarcasm of the phrase "even that poor measure of safety", which refers to the putting of passengers and crew adrift in small open boats, is lost in the French "des mesures élémentaires de sécurité".

The very complete collection of declarations of war and notifications of the state of war is indicated by a special table at the beginning of each volume. The index—something of a novelty in a French book—though brief is prepared with care and will prove serviceable, as will also the table of documents arranged alphabetically by countries and chronologically by the date of each document. The material relating to Africa and the neutrality of the Congo Basin is very full.

A particularly interesting incident, that of the seizure of the *Presidente Mitre*, may be found under "Argentina". The vessel was under the Argentine flag but was owned by a German company. Because the *Presidente Mitre* was engaged entirely in the coasting trade of Argentina the republic argued that the seizure would constitute an interference with its internal affairs. The vessel was released as a matter of courtesy with the understanding that this action should not serve as a precedent to determine the rights of the question at issue. The case is one of the most interesting that has ever occurred and the international jurist cannot help hoping that the parties may later have occasion to argue out the legal principles involved.

M. Fauchille's collection is not free from the sad chronicle of violations of the laws of war. The dropping of bombs on hospitals, the shooting of the wounded, the sinking of hospital ships, and the deportation of noncombatants, men and women, are made the subject of official protest. In the midst of all these horrors we find the constructive agreement of the eight Allies at the Paris Conference of March 28, 1916, supplemented by other articles adopted by the same powers at the Economic Conference held June 17, 1916. In all the excitement of a great war we are apt to forget the significance of these agreements which aim to make a strong commercial political union against Germany even after the cessation of hostilities. Does it mean that out of the common fear and distress the allied nations have taken the next great forward step on the path of state building?

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

My Four Years in Germany. By JAMES W. GERARD, Late Ambassador to the German Imperial Court. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1917. Pp. 448. \$2.00.)

THIS book, advertised on the cover as "the most important contribution to the literature of great present-day events", is certainly a fitting sequel to *Germany before the War* by Baron Beyens, and if the latter work is more profound, the Belgian minister had enjoyed a long experience of European politics which the American ambassador lacked. As it is, Mr. Gerard had drawn freely on the contents of the black bag which he guarded so carefully on his journey from Berlin; he ventures no new interpretations, but he adduces many new facts and confirms many suspicions.

Undoubtedly the most important feature is the account of an interview with Bethmann-Hollweg in January, 1917, anent the terms of peace about which Germany had prated so much. Here at last is a definite and authentic statement of German "war aims": evacuation of Belgium—"with guarantees", "rectifications of frontier" east and west, a Teutonic solution of the Balkan problem, the return of colonies and ships, indemnities from all countries (pp. 365-366).

The opening chapters are disappointing, filled as they are with what Mr. Gerard himself calls "details of court life . . . very frivolous and far away" (p. 31) or with superficial analyses of the German constitution and German political parties. But one must remember that the author has written for a large audience—the book has run serially in at least three metropolitan newspapers—with the object of bringing home to the American people the "real Germany" (p. xii) and the temper of our enemy. From this point of view, Mr. Gerard's light treatment is quite justified, as are also the journalistic, popular style, the frequent use of the personal pronoun, and perhaps even the reproductions of court invitations. For such a presentation will appeal to millions who would ignore a more formidable treatise. The reviewer is inclined to believe that for the masses of our people the book will be distinctly informing. The account of the Zabern affair is one of the best hitherto printed in English, while the chapter on "The System" explains in admirable fashion the under-surface methods by which autocracy retains its grip on the German people.

Mr. Gerard makes several contributions to the chain of evidence that Germany had prepared for war in 1914. Zabern, he says, "greatly incensed the Emperor, and I believe, did much to win his consent to the war" (p. 91), driven on as he was by the Crown Prince, who had remarked that "when he came to the throne, there would be war, if not before, just for the fun of it" (p. 96). And Mr. Gerard believes that "a certain line of action had been agreed upon" before the Emperor went to Norway (p. 129). Corroborating this is the remark let fall by Prince Henry at a dinner given to the British fleet visiting Kiel in June: "We are sorry you are going, and we are sorry you came" (p. 107). The Emperor himself said on August 10: "The English change the whole situation—an obstinate nation—they will keep up the war. It cannot end soon" (p. 206). Jagow rejected Secretary Bryan's peace treaty for the same reason that he advanced to Sir Edward Goschen against respecting the neutrality of Belgium: "Germany would be deprived of her greatest asset in war, namely her readiness for a sudden and overpowering attack" (p. 61). A letter sent by Mr. Gerard to the chancellor on July 31, offering the mediation of America in the interests of peace, "never produced any reply" (p. 132). Prince Lichnowsky is twice quoted (pp. 100, 102) as reporting to Berlin that Great Britain did not desire war.

In the matter of German-American relations, Mr. Gerard seems to believe that in the spring of 1914 Germany proposed to Great Britain an intervention in Mexico (p. 59), and he adverts several times to the rôle which Germany expected Japan to play. In all his negotiations over problems raised by the war, the ambassador was handicapped by the unassailable conviction of the German authorities that America would not fight, an attitude for which Mr. Gerard holds the Americans in Germany and the vociferous German-Americans in this country pri-

marily responsible. The presidential campaign was also interpreted to mean that the United States was bent on peace at any price. Very interesting is the revelation that during the long submarine negotiations Germany several times proposed the marking of American vessels and that President Wilson always refused such overtures (pp. 234, 239): which raises serious doubt whether the German government was sincere in its final proposal to that effect on January 31, 1917. Indeed Mr. Gerard leaves no doubt of German bad faith in general: an American passport taken up for *visé* was not returned and was used by a spy shot in London (p. 152); the ambassador was ultimately prevented from visiting British prisoners in spite of the Anglo-German agreement (pp. 195-196); Zimmermann denied on January 6, 1917, that unrestricted submarine warfare would be resumed (p. 364); Bethmann-Hollweg declared that the resumption was occasioned by President Wilson's address to the Senate on January 22, 1917, whereas the Zimmermann note to Mexico had been despatched three days before (p. 370); and all the while that Germany was asserting in America her desire to avoid hostilities, at home a violent propaganda was being conducted against the United States by the Foreign Office through the "League of Truth", which indulged in base slander and open lies (p. 309 ff). Mr. Gerard has set his story in an admirable perspective, for which both the patriot and the historian will be grateful. It was likewise well to record the remark of the Emperor on May 1, 1916, that "there was no longer any international law, to [which] statement the chancellor agreed" (p. 340).

Mr. Gerard holds out little hope of a revolution in Germany. The agrarians are really anxious to continue the war because they can secure the labor of prisoners at nominal wages and are making enormous profits (pp. 191-192). The liberal element, no inconsiderable body (ch. XVIII.), is helpless before the military, as indeed are the civil authorities from the chancellor down. The deportations from Lille, Turcoing, and Roubaix were ordered without the knowledge of Bethmann-Hollweg, who promised Mr. Gerard to speak to the emperor about them (p. 334). Bethmann was also anxious to avoid a rupture with the United States, and Zimmermann for all his swagger—in January, 1916, he declared that Germany was ready for war with the United States (p. 244) and a year later that America would not fight (p. 376)—was distinctly unhappy when Mr. Gerard demanded his passports (p. 377). Yet such was their "sheer weakness" (p. 357) that they could not secure Mr. Gerard an interview with Hindenburg and Ludendorff (p. 359). There is a tragic picture of the emperor, almost as helpless as his chancellor, and apparently opposed to excesses; at least "he said that he would not have permitted the sinking of the *Lusitania* if he had known" (p. 252), and he is believed to have warned the submarine commanders, in February, 1916, to be "careful" (p. 245). One hopeful note is sounded in the statement that the Belgian deportations were ordered because Ludendorff feared the British would break through and the general staff did not relish retreating through a hostile population (p. 351).

Unfortunately the mechanics of the book are poorly handled. The discussion of German institutions and politics should have been continuous, instead of being separated in chapters II., IV., and X. The account of prisoners of war, excellent in itself, need not have come before the chapter on the political and diplomatic problems of the first days of the war. The division of the topic of German-American relations into the twelfth and seventeenth chapters, in the midst of the *Sussex* negotiations, is decidedly irritating. The same fault is sometimes noticeable in a single chapter, or matter properly belonging in one chapter is introduced in a later one. The proof-reading is careless. "Polo de Bernabe" (pp. 35, 382), "Kaiserhoff" (p. 183), "Pascha" (p. 35), and "Sverbeeu" (p. 35) are not worthy of so accomplished a linguist as Mr. Gerard. "Arch Duke" (p. 106) and "motor men" (p. 409) are properly written as single words. "Grey" is a curious slip for "Goschen" (p. 132). "Slavish" (p. 55) is a dubious substitute for "Slavic".

Certain errors may be noted. There is no imperial minister for education (p. 41); the deputies of Alsace-Lorraine were admitted to the Reichstag in 1874, not in 1871 (p. 79); Sadowa was fought nearly four, not two weeks (p. 101) after the rupture between Austria and Prussia. *Kriegsgefahrzustand*, not *Kriegzustand*, was proclaimed on July 31, 1914 (p. 403). Mr. Gerard overstates the anti-monarchical sentiments of the Socialists (pp. 45, 394), for only a quarter of the Socialist vote came from avowed Socialists, and if the word "republic" has recently been uttered by a Minority Socialist, the Majority have stood manfully by the emperor. "It is hard to conceive that Poland was at one time perhaps the most powerful kingdom in Europe" (p. 49). It is indeed. Surely it is too much to say that "the whole world honours Bethmann-Hollweg for his honesty" (p. 400). Has Mr. Gerard forgotten that speech in which the chancellor admitted that the pledges to the United States were given only because the time was not then propitious for resuming unrestricted submarine warfare?

In spite, however, of these blemishes, every American will read this book with satisfaction. For there will subsist no doubt that Mr. Gerard left no stone unturned to preserve peace or that he did not keep the German government accurately informed of the truth about America. Granted that his methods were sometimes bizarre and his language unconventional, it is clear that they often secured his ends when other means had failed and that, in all probability, no kind of diplomacy could have saved the situation.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Correspondence and Documents during Roger Wolcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1750-1754. Edited by ALBERT C. BATES. [Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, vol. XVI.] (Hartford: The Society. 1916. Pp. xxxv, 557. \$3.00.)

ALTHOUGH the period covered by this volume is marked by few events that are specially noteworthy in the history of Connecticut, the documents here printed are in many ways among the most useful that the Connecticut Historical Society has issued in its valuable series of governors' letters and papers. Many of them concern problems that had long troubled the authorities of the colony, such as the Mohegan controversy, of which everyone concerned must have been heartily sick by this time; the boundary quarrel with Massachusetts, regarding which Wolcott remarked in one of his letters, "There is not the least prospect here that the Massachusetts will ever agree to settle the line, they only want us to fall into a drouse and then take advantage of us"; the question of taxing the Church of England men; and the disposal of the appropriation made by Parliament to recompense Connecticut for the share she had taken in the late war—all of which were unsettled matters holding over from the previous administration. But in addition many new problems of larger import appear, chief among which are the attempt of the West India merchants and agents in England to revive the lost bill of 1731, prohibiting trade with the foreign West Indies; the appointment by Gov. Wentworth of New Hampshire, the surveyor general of the woods, of a deputy surveyor for Connecticut; the act of Parliament forbidding the issue of paper money in New England; the plans of the Susquehanna Company for a settlement in the Wyoming Valley; and the proposed meeting of the commissioners at Albany, which resulted in the Albany Conference of 1754. Most notorious of all is the Spanish ship-case, the details of which cannot be given here, but which involved the colony in an awkward situation and cost Wolcott a re-election as governor, because the people of the colony believed, most unjustly, that he had been bribed and that the case had been so mismanaged as to render them liable for the losses incurred. The activities of the deputy surveyor and the ship-case furnish evidence for the working of the vice-admiralty court in America; the distribution of the parliamentary grant gives us details as to the financial investments of the colony in England; while the failure of Wolcott to be re-elected governor offers Mr. Bates an opportunity to discuss the difficult problem of the franchise in Connecticut, regarding which we need more information. It is well known that but a small proportion of the adult male population voted for governor and deputies and that the political affairs of "democratic" Connecticut were run by a coterie of prominent

families and individuals, but in what proportion is not clear. Dr. McKinley had no sufficient figures to give for this period, but Mr. Bates thinks that in 1754 the 2564 who voted for Phineas Lyman represent approximately the whole number of freemen voting for nominees, which in a white population of 130,000 would be about one in ten of those who could have voted under a system of manhood suffrage. Elsewhere he puts the number of freemen at one in eight. Thus in 1754, according to this reckoning, the adult males would be 22,000, the freemen 2800, and the voters 2564. These figures may be correct, but in 1766, John Tully of Saybrook put the number of actual voters at "between 7 and 8000 freemen", and in 1767 Dr. Stiles, venturing the guess that the total number of freemen was about 12,000, says that of these 8322 voted, a little more than two-thirds, an estimate in close accord with that of Tully. Eight thousand voters in a population of 160,000 would give a proportion of one in four. Either Mr. Bates has underestimated the number of freemen and wrongly assumed that the votes cast represent the entire body of voting freemen, or else the number of freemen had greatly increased in the ensuing twelve and thirteen years, an increase for which, as far as I know, there is no evidence. In any case there can be no doubt that great electoral apathy existed in Connecticut in colonial times.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The American Revolution in Our School Text-Books: an Attempt to Trace the Influence of Early School Education on the Feelings toward England in the United States. By CHARLES ALTSCHUL, with an Introduction by JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 168. \$1.00.)

THE author of this interesting study set out to learn from the examination of a limited field in the text-book histories of the United States whether there were prejudices established in the minds of children of this and of earlier generations of Americans through the kind of data taught them about the American Revolution. He wondered, as many have, why the mass of American people rallied to the moral support of France rather than of England in the Great War. Why has the country whose language we speak, whose customs we have followed, whose ideas of liberty we have inherited, and whose legal procedure has determined ours, made so little appeal to the average American? Why has this brave people, changing the very basis of their civilization from a peaceful to a militaristic one in the midst of the most frightful of wars, saving civilization itself from the brutal assault of the Prussian autocracy, and rising to a pinnacle of true fame and glorious service to mankind—why has this noble people won so little sympathy here in the land dominated by their nearest of kin? The answer in part is found by Mr. Altschul

in the manner of teaching the history of the American Revolution in our schools. Drawing his data from some ninety-three text-books, forty of which were in use twenty years ago, and the remaining fifty-three in use at present, he establishes some significant results. Of these, he finds that fourteen of the older and fifteen of the newer books deal fully with the grievances of the colonists, but make no reference to general political conditions in England prior to the American Revolution, nor to any prominent Englishman—like Pitt, Burke, Fox, and Barré—who defended the American cause. Seven of the old and five of the new mention Pitt only, but do not explain English political conditions. A small minority present those facts about British sympathizers with the American cause and their temporary political helplessness which alone can give an American reader a proper understanding of the Revolution. The distribution of the text-books of these several types in the great cities of America is given so that one may estimate the location and extent of the malign influence of the books which teach the subject in such a way as to prejudice the child's mind against England. A large part of the volume is devoted to giving extracts from the various books of the differing types. The total result is to give definite and concrete proof of an evil educational tendency of which many have been long but only vaguely aware. The book is a compilation with a moral which Professor Shotwell draws in his excellent introduction, wherein he points out that the Great War has shown the importance of the teaching of history in the formation of national ideas. He might have clinched that assertion by showing how the German to-day bases his curious arguments as to his mission in this war on premises taught him during childhood, premises unconsciously assumed by him as axiomatic but regarded by the rest of the world as unthinkable. Mr. Shotwell says fairly that text-books have as a rule been the product of limited knowledge of the actual facts, that they have for the most part persisted in perpetuating ancient, uncriticized traditions which have accumulated since the events themselves. He is perfectly right, but let him assume the rôle of a reformer and learn to his sorrow how the publisher will attack at every point the effort to tell the real and essential things in his country's history, and how having gotten through that stone wall with a small remnant of his convictions he will find that the school teachers and normal professors and all the horde of pedagogical experts will array themselves against the little truth that is left because it is not the conventional thing, the history which has been taught in the past.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816. Edited by DUNBAR ROWLAND, B.S., LL.B., LL.D., Director Mississippi Department of Archives and History. In six volumes. (Jackson,

Mississippi: State Department of Archives and History. 1917.
Pp. viii, 394; 394; 399; 423; 468; 400.)

ALL persons who have had occasion to delve into the history of the lower Mississippi Valley will welcome this publication. In this number the reviewer includes that wider circle who have profited from the energy and foresight with which Dr. Rowland has collected and published historical material, as well as that smaller group of investigators who have experienced his courteous welcome within the model department at Jackson. Members of the latter group have long known that the publication of the "Letter Books" of Governor Claiborne was the director's cherished project. They recognize the importance of the collection and of the executive whose name it bears. They know something of his career as the second governor of Mississippi Territory and later as chief executive of Orleans Territory and of the state of Louisiana. They regard the problems of his sixteen years of service as among the most important connected with American expansion, for they included the more thorough establishment of national control in the Old Southwest, the settlement of the controversies arising from the Louisiana Purchase, the occupation of the trans-Mississippi region and its defense during the second war with Great Britain, and the control of a polyglot frontier population and the suppression of filibustering among its more restive elements. All these general movements in their manifold phases receive detailed attention in the correspondence of Claiborne and those who were aware of this fact will hasten to congratulate Dr. Rowland for making these letters accessible to a wider circle of investigators.

No two persons would edit such a monumental work in precisely the same way. The reviewer, therefore, who fully recognizes its general value, may be pardoned if he ventures to point out certain features in which he thinks it might have been greatly improved. This is notably true of the bibliography. In an appendix the editor presents a list of books, newspapers, and manuscripts relating to the period of Claiborne's activity, but one notes some conspicuous omissions. He also gives a list of the West Florida papers taken from the Pickett Collection in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. A list of other important collections as noted below, would have been equally serviceable. He fails to tell us that he had previously published a portion of the present work (I. 1-284) in his *Mississippi Territorial Archives* (I. 342-603); and another portion (III. 35-121 of the present publication) in his *Third Annual Report* (pp. 108-169), as director of the Department of Archives and History. Both of these earlier publications also contain correspondence of Claiborne's fellow executives in Mississippi Territory that will be useful in connection with the present work. The *Third Annual Report* also lists (pp. 180-200, 212-234) the Claiborne material and this must serve as a table of contents for the present work. One notes that the editor has avoided some minor errors in dates and spelling that occurred in these lists and that the most conspicuous gap in them (*Third*

Annual Report, p. 218) is now represented by a fairly continuous series of letters (IV. 123 to V. 81) supplied from material that later came to light. Dr. Rowland does not mention this fortunate find nor does he add to the brief account of the Claiborne Collection given in his *Fourth Annual Report* (p. 29).

The reviewer feels that Dr. Rowland has dismissed too lightly the material of co-ordinate character in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State. The six volumes of the "Claiborne Correspondence", together with some kindred material in that repository, are mentioned in Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives . . . in Washington* and the contents are listed in Parker's *Calendar of Papers . . . relating to the Territories of the United States*. By making use of these aids in connection with the published *Letter Books* the careful student may learn whether he can pursue his further investigations to best advantage in Washington or in Jackson. But this task would have been greatly lightened and in many cases rendered unnecessary had the present work included all the unduplicated Claiborne material in both places. The Washington repository is more likely to contain the originals of the correspondence and these originals are accompanied by enclosures that often were not retained by Claiborne or his representatives. On the other hand the manuscript "Letter Books" contain some local material that does not appear in Washington. It seems a pity that two complementary collections of such intrinsic value were not combined in the present work. Possibly consideration of expense or some local restriction prevented this; but at least the table of contents of the two collections should have been listed, preferably in parallel columns, and in the body of the work, either in the foot-notes or in the heading of each document, all duplicates should have been noted (possibly by the numbers in Parker's *Calendar*). No statement, in preface or foot-note, shows that the copy prepared from the "Letter Books" was collated with duplicate letters elsewhere. The meticulous student must content himself with the assumption that he has before him the carefully edited text of merely one source. Of this source and of its real value we believe he may feel reasonably certain. By resorting to Parker's *Calendar* he may get trace of other sources that were not utilized to supply *lacunae* in the present text (*e. g.*, III. 238; IV. 211). Some of the larger gaps in the correspondence (*e. g.*, I. 284; VI. 283) are evidently irremediable. The foot-notes are open to criticism—in general, because lacking specific references to authorities, although a few (as in V. 35) are misleading. The editor offers some personal opinions that are open to question. For instance, he comments altogether too favorably on Kemper (V. 133), attributes to Claiborne (IV. 344; V. 115) sentiments that the latter merely borrowed from Jefferson, and credits him with far too much influence (V. 208) in the disposal of the Florida Parishes. General references to the correspondence of Mississippi executives on file at Jackson (V. 81, 330, and elsewhere) should also indicate that some of

this material, as in the case of Claiborne's correspondence, is duplicated in the Bureau of Rolls and Library. The editor refers frequently to his "home sources", the "West Florida Papers", but, as the reviewer knows, the student will have to supplement this and the other collections in Jackson and Washington with those in Seville, before he can make a "thorough study of all sides of the controversy over West Florida and of the revolution growing out of it" (V. 81, note). Thanks to Dr. Rowland he can make an excellent start on such a study at Jackson and save much research in places where conditions are less favorable for productive work.

In foot-notes and in the heading of the separate documents the reviewer notes numerous typographical errors, misspellings, an absence of accents, the use of abbreviations in the headings, and the simple but less dignified "Thomas" Jefferson and "James" Monroe, rather than the proper title. The spelling of proper names in the text, too, brings up a difficult point. Claiborne and his contemporaries, like the majority of American officials, uniformly had a difficult time in spelling and pronouncing foreign proper names. Most of their attempts in this work can be readily interpreted, but "Quagila" (Coahuila, III. 31), "Quakin De Agarts" or "Quaquin de Ugante" (Joaquín de Ugarte, II. 374, 388), "Mondeva" (Monclova, III. 31), "Don Antonio Cowers" (Cordero, IV. 166), "Mr. Irvine" (George W. Erving, IV. 343)—to mention merely a few of their worst offenses—certainly call for the correct form either in brackets or foot-notes. Without this precaution, in far too many other cases one is uncertain whether to hold the original writer or the proof-reader responsible for the present form of words.

The volumes are of convenient size and simply but neatly bound. The type is clear and of good size and the press work well done but the printer's characters are not always intelligible. The index is satisfactory. One regrets the lack of a table of contents, which would also serve to indicate the limits of the several manuscript volumes. The editor has evidently adhered to the original order in which the documents appeared in the "Letter Books", but he would have been justified in adopting a strict chronological order, at least for the principal letters, accompanying each with the proper enclosures. The work merits the careful attention of historical scholars; and despite such criticism, of an attempted supplemental character, as the reviewer has felt called on to express, it should meet a favorable reception as a substantial contribution to the early history of the Old Southwest in the period following the transfer of Louisiana.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

The History of Early Relations between the United States and China, 1784-1844. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. [Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XXII., pp. 1-209, August, 1917.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1917. Pp. 209. \$2.20.)

As soon as the treaty had been signed by which their independence was admitted, the people of the American Confederation turned their energies to navigation and world commerce. China was then, as she remains to-day, a land of vast opportunity, and to China, with vision and enthusiasm and confidence, New England and New York merchants were soon sending their ships.

In a very substantial though brief narrative, organized in five chapters, Professor Latourette tells the story of the first sixty years of American commercial, cultural, and political relations with China, bringing the story through the signing of the first American-Chinese treaty. The work is the result, shown both in text and in foot-note exhibits and comment, of an exhaustive study and thorough digesting of original materials. Fifty-five pages of critical bibliography speak for the materials and the labor which have gone into the making of the book.

For the student of American history the accounts perhaps most likely to command attention are those which have to do with the activities of various families, firms, and cities in the development of the China trade, and of the part which the China trade played in the opening of the Northwest; for the student of Far Eastern history, these latter reversed, then, the details with regard to the part played by American ships and American firms in the Canton trade, and in general the circumstances of that trade and the relations of the representatives of the leading nations engaging in it. For those who are especially interested in the most substantial investment that Americans have yet made in China, the investment of cultural influence, the chapter on the Beginnings of American Missions to China is rich in data and effective in composition.

The reviewer hopes that Professor Latourette will some day do as well by the period since 1844 as he has done by that preceding.

No American believer in the capacity of the American people for honest and generally advantageous adventure, and in the responsibility for positive activity which that capacity entails can read without stirrings of pride—followed by regret, as he thinks of the later decline—the story of the entry, the enterprise, and the early successes of American shipping on the Pacific. "It can safely be said . . . that the Oregon country was preserved to the United States because of the importance it was felt to have in the Canton commerce" (p. 57). "The famous clippers were born in the trade with China" (p. 70). "Americans . . . among the foreign merchants . . . [at Canton] . . . were second in

influence and importance only to the English. The American factory was one of the best in the thirteen" (p. 81). "The efficiency of the ships lay largely in the ability of the men who manned them. The American crews were smaller than those on English or European vessels. . . . They were for the most part American born. . . . The China trade is an illustration of what American genius, today spending itself in manufactures and internal transportation and development, can accomplish when diverted to the sea" (pp. 46-47).

We are to-day turning this "genius" to problems of marine along with other branches of combined spiritual and mechanical effectiveness. May the history, wherever read, of American ship-building and navigation of a hundred years ago be an inspiration to the men who are building and the men who sail our ships to-day.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

History of Transportation in the United States before 1860. Prepared under the direction of BALTHASAR HENRY MEYER by CAROLINE E. MACGILL and a staff of collaborators. [Contributions to American Economic History from the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.] (Washington: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1917. Pp. xi, 678. \$6.00.)

ALTHOUGH contained within the covers of a single volume, the *History of Transportation* is neither the work of one writer nor that of a group of co-operating authors. In the preface Dr. Meyer explains that, instead of writing or even editing the volume, he has been forced by circumstances to limit himself to the task—a labor of love—of directing the compilation of the book. Very frankly premising that the work as published has "many defects", Dr. Meyer gives a list of several monographic studies in transportation, prepared with assistance from his division of the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution, and published in various ways. These studies, with others incomplete or unpublished, and with various indexes and collections of notes, have been placed in the hands of Miss Caroline E. MacGill, and "it has been her function to weave these together and to fill in through her own studies whatever was necessary to give the volume continuity". The result is the *History of Transportation*.

The first chapter, a long one upon early trails, roads, and natural waterways, begins with a demonstration of the influence of the early West upon transportation, and throughout the first four chapters the affairs of the West and the connections with the West predominate. This is a highly important topic, but the consideration of it should not have precluded an examination of the legal and institutional phases of highways in the seaboard states. All these had developed general laws as to the establishment and maintenance of roads, which, with the laws

concerning turnpikes, exerted an important influence on both the older and the newer parts of the country. Miss MacGill indeed cites many denunciations of the roads by travellers, and, in her second chapter, presents a vast amount of information as to the charges for transportation on roads and waterways. One cause of this underestimation of the roads in the older communities arises from Miss MacGill's belief—which to the reviewer seems to be erroneous—that the commerce between the seaboard colonies was of small extent, that transportation by land was quite inconsiderable, and that the cause of this state of things is attributable to the restrictive policy of Great Britain (pp. 4, 65, 77). The third and fourth chapters treat of rivers, trails, and roads in the trans-Appalachian region and of early land routes in Ohio, an arrangement which leads to some repetition.

With the fifth chapter one comes to the central body of the book. This falls naturally into two divisions, the first of which (chapters V.-IX.) has to do with waterways and canals, in New England, the Middle Atlantic states, the South, and the West; and the second (chapters X.-XVI.) with plank-roads (chapter X.), and with railroads, following the same geographical arrangement. Here the process of weaving together the monographs becomes fully manifest. Cleveland and Powell's *Railway Promotion and Capitalization in the United States* furnishes a few pages of general introduction to the history of internal improvements and part of a general chapter on the first railroads; Bishop's *State Works of Pennsylvania* and Phillips's *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt* contribute the larger part of the respective chapters on water transportation and on railroads in the territory which each book covers; while Gephart's *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West*, already drawn upon for chapters III. and IV., is again used for canals and railroads beyond the Alleghanies. Three chapters of Brownson's *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870* are also incorporated. A final chapter of summary and review makes further use of Cleveland and Powell's book, with additions from Haney's *Congressional History of Railways in the United States to 1850*.

The transfer to the *History of Transportation* of the material thus borrowed from the monographs is accomplished by a process more than Procrustean. Page after page is taken, with changes and omissions at will. Both the order of topics and even the phrases of sentences are altered, usually for the sake of abbreviation, but sometimes for reasons that are not easily apparent. That the meaning of the author is occasionally distorted will not be a matter of surprise. But of course the book represents far more than such borrowings, for Miss MacGill has made industrious use of the other materials placed in her hands, and, especially dealing with New York and New England, has painstakingly consulted the works of standard authority. For the general history of canals and railroads in the regions of the seaboard and the older North-

west, the result of her labors has been the accumulation of a mass of valuable information.

But at many points the book fails to relate the facts which it presents to the currents of economic and political development in the United States. This is true in general as to the years after 1820, and in particular as to the decade 1850-1860. Strangely enough the West, which in the earlier chapters overshadows the East, in the latter part of the book is inadequately treated. The relation to transportation of the public lands (except in the case of the Illinois Central), the surplus revenue, the panic of 1837, the distribution of 1841, the proposed assumption of state debts, and the question of repudiation; Calhoun's effort to win the West in 1845; transportation as affected by the annexation of Texas and by the acquisition of territory from Mexico; the influence of the Santa Fé and the Oregon trails; the importance of the railroads of the old Northwest in their bearing on the election of 1860—for light on these topics the student must look elsewhere. The movement for a railroad to the Pacific, when the volume draws to a close, is still a "dream": though a chapter is taken from Haney on routes across the isthmus.

The volume is well indexed. There are five excellent maps, for which acknowledgment is made to the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution. The bibliography covers forty pages, but many titles are missing that one would expect to find. As a single example may be cited the *Catalogue of Books on Railway Economics* published in 1912 by the University of Chicago Press for the Bureau of Railway Economics.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

The History of Mother Seton's Daughters: the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1809-1917. By Sister MARY AGNES McCANN, M.A. In two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xxvii, 336; vii, 334. \$5.00.)

WHAT strikes the reader of these volumes is the almost meticulous attention of the writer to historical exactitude. That she approached her task well prepared a mere glance at the comprehensive bibliography given in the first volume assures the reader, while historical sources—private journals, letters of prominent churchmen, community records, long-forgotten newspapers and periodicals—are quoted with a familiarity which comes of deep research. In fact the work is, rather than an historical narrative, a concatenation of reproduced historical sources, many of which are here published for the first time. This type of historical study has long been a desideratum among students of American church history. The subject, though not entirely new to readers familiar with the estimable works of De Barbary, McSweeney, Sadlier, Seton, and White, is here treated with a comprehensiveness and authentication of

facts that makes this the authoritative history of the American Daughters of Charity.

The work may be divided into two parts, which correspond to the two distinct periods of the history: Mother Seton's Daughters of Emmitsburg (1808-1851); and Mother Seton's Daughters of Cincinnati (1851-1870). Each period is the creation of a remarkable woman: Mother Seton and Mother Margret George respectively. Elizabeth Bayley Seton is without doubt the greatest Catholic and one of the few really great women of United States history. At a time when American institutions were in the moulding she labored through poverty and hardships against formidable opposition to impress the name of God deep on the heart of her people. The Revolution was a *fait accompli*; constitutional guarantees of political, economic, and religious freedom had opened our ports to European immigrants; the Catholic population, already considerable, was rapidly increasing; Baltimore was an archbishopric, New York and Boston bishoprics; colleges under Catholic auspices had been opened at Baltimore, Georgetown, and Emmitsburg; missionaries were following the settlers out into the great Middle West and South; Catholicity, which had come to the New World with the *Santa Maria*, was being gradually diffused throughout the length and breadth of the republic. The need of the moment was an organized, well-trained corps of religious female teachers for the conduct of elementary schools, particularly free schools for poor and dependent children. Isolated attempts to establish such schools had only served to emphasize this need. That many noble women there were, capable and ready for this work, those familiar with conditions realized, but the apparently insoluble difficulty was to find a leader competent to organize and direct such an institution. Broad vision, an intrepid spirit, deep Christian charity, and a keen sense of the practical would be required of this American Madame LaGras. An accidental meeting which occurred some time in 1806 between the Reverend Mr. Dubourg, a man of rare prudence and deep knowledge of human nature, and Elizabeth Bayley Seton, a young widow already burdened with the care of five children and a convert of only a few months to the Catholic Church, discovered both the leader and her director. The sequence of this meeting, the establishment of the American Daughters of Charity and of Catholic elementary schools in the United States, is the subject of this interesting history. Of unusual interest is the writer's account of the affiliation of the Emmitsburg mother-house with the French Sisters of Charity and the consequent establishment of the Cincinnati mother-house. Conclusive evidence is introduced to show that this act was not only beyond but positively contrary to the wishes of Mother Seton. Had it not been for the courageous resistance of Mother Margret George and her companions, Father Deluol's act of 1851 would have closed the history of the American Daughters of Charity. Emmitsburg passed into the hands of a foreign community, but on the banks of the Ohio Mother Seton's institute continued its work of benefaction.

The writer must have given much time and labor to the study of her subject, but unfortunately the arrangement and composition of her volumes show signs of haste. The divisions are not distinctly marked; the chronological order of events is frequently confused; and the style is at times wanting in that precision and objectivity which should characterize historical writings. The omission of many of the long newspaper quotations and school programmes which abound throughout the second volume would have contributed to the interest without destroying the completeness of the narrative. And though the reader finds the narration of many events extraneous to this work interesting, he cannot but wish that Sister Agnes had saved them for another volume which we hope some day she will publish, the *History of Catholicity in the Middle West*.

Early Life and Letters of General Thomas J. Jackson, "Stonewall Jackson". By his Nephew, THOMAS JACKSON ARNOLD. (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1916. Pp. 379. \$2.00.)

THOMAS JACKSON ARNOLD, author or editor of this book on General Jackson, is the nephew of the great Confederate commander. He was a favorite with the family at Lexington and even when Professor Jackson became one of the heroes of the war, personal relations were intimate. The letters that now find a place in our voluminous war literature were written to the author's mother, a devoted sister of Jackson, or to the editor himself. Other letters of value there are but few. These evidences of Jackson's growth and inner life are both enlightening and characteristic, although it must be said that they do not materially qualify the picture we have in Dabney's *Life and Campaigns* or Henderson's remarkable portrait of more recent years.

An opinion of Mexico written from the battle-field in 1847 shows a little of the feeling that persists to-day:

As I believe that this country is destined to be reformed by ours, I think that probably I shall spend many years here and may possibly conclude (though I have not yet) to make my life more natural by sharing it with some amiable Señorita. . . . This country offers more inducements for me than the United States, inasmuch as there is more room for improvement in everything that is good and commendable. The term corruption expresses the state of this unfortunate people better than any other in the English language (p. 129).

It was a gay and "unregenerate" West Pointer that wrote of reforming Mexico and of taking unto himself a wife in a strange land. A more serious tone is struck a few years later in a letter to the same sister:

The passage of Scripture from which I have derived sufficient support, whenever applied, is in the following words, "Acknowledge God in all thy ways, and He shall direct thy paths". What a comfort is

this! My dear sister, it is useless for men to tell me that there is no God, and that His benign influence is not to be experienced in prayer, when it is offered in conformity to the Bible. For some time past not a single day has passed without my feeling His hallowing presence whilst at my morning prayers (p. 195).

So constant and earnest is this religious note in Jackson's letters that the editor seems to fear that the reader may think there was something beyond the normal in the man; and on more than one occasion he elides passages which evidently have to do with extreme views. On page 181 where Jackson is arguing for the inspiration of the Bible and again on page 193 where he is evidently greatly concerned about the salvation of his sister's soul, Mr. Arnold restrains his uncle in this way. It is the right of the editor, but the historian who wants to know all there is to be known wonders how much may be omitted. It certainly would seem from these letters that there has never been any exaggeration on this subject by any of Jackson's biographers.

This intense religious faith overcame Jackson's sense of humor, for we are told that every meal in the home of the professor of natural and experimental philosophy in the Virginia Military Institute must be ready exactly at the appointed time, that the signal for breakfast for the cadets at the institute was likewise the signal for every one in his household to sit down to table, and that there was seldom if ever the slightest departure from this rule. There is no protest by the reviewer here against the rule, but the fact and the extreme punctiliousness of it all for women, children, and guests alike would seem to indicate a defective sense of humor, as indeed it seems to me is noticeable in the fact that Jackson married two wives and took the same honeymoon trip with each!

But a failing sense of humor does not argue against the greatness of the man, although the evidences of greatness in these letters consist in the extreme simplicity and directness of the man, perhaps in the half-conscious conviction that whatever he said and did was right and in his willingness to subject himself and all around him to the most rigid discipline.

On another account these letters offer food for thought. The Virginia Military Institute was established a few years before the outbreak of the Civil War for the purpose of training young Virginians for military careers, for some war. "What war?" one naturally asks. Twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars a year made a good round sum for Virginia at that time. But there was no effective resistance to these appropriations and the second best military school in the country was maintained at Lexington for a number of years prior to 1861. What the founders of this fine institution, which is still sending out many officers for the national army, really intended to do has never been made clear; but Jackson was not without perfectly clear ideas as to what would probably be the outcome. In October, 1855, he wrote of his half-

brother who was contemplating settling in Indiana: "I do not want him to go into a free state if it can be avoided, for he would probably become an abolitionist; and then in the event of trouble between North and South he would stand on one side, and we on the opposite." And again in 1856, when he was about to invest in western lands, he wrote:

And say to him that I design following out his idea of locating some land in a Northern state, but that I am a little afraid to put much there for fear that in the event of a dissolution of the Union that the property of Southerners may be confiscated. I want to locate about three thousand acres, maybe a little more; and if I can please myself, will probably put about one-half of it in a Northern state.

Of Jackson's part in the war not much is said in this book. Perhaps a little that is new is offered in the evidence of his extreme desire to be placed in command of an army to rescue western Virginia from the North, a task at which Lee failed and on which Floyd lost a reputation already on the decline. It was a little strange that this West Virginian, reared in the atmosphere of toil and privation, should have been the hottest advocate of the great planter's cause. But so it was with almost all successful men in the Old South.

On the mooted question of who was responsible for the failure to crush and capture McClellan during the Seven Days' battles in 1862, that open sore which General E. P. Alexander laid bare a few years ago in his *Military Memoirs*, nothing is said or hinted in this volume. Perhaps there are no letters now extant on that subject. But of the cordial dislike of Jackson for Jefferson Davis there is proof enough. Mr. Arnold has added very considerably to the literature of Jackson and he has done his part of the work well and acceptably, without parade or undue hero-worship.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Religious History of New England: King's Chapel Lectures.

By JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER and Others. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1917. Pp. v, 356. \$2.50.)

THESE Lowell Institute lectures were given in a venerable place, the earliest chapel of the Church of England in Massachusetts, which after a century became the earliest Unitarian church in America. The co-operation of representatives of eight religious denominations who show unfeigned amiability to one another indicates that the old hostilities are wholly ended and that federative inclinations have begun. If liberty is such a solvent, the pity is that the principle of *cujus regio ejus religio* which Dr. Horr cleverly and fitly applies to the Congregationalist Supremacy did not end the sooner.

The scale of these lectures did not allow much enrichment to our knowledge of fact, though the synoptic view which the reader here obtains is certainly enrichment of knowledge. The story being well estab-

lished there has been time for the reflection and valuation that transmutes knowledge into wisdom, such garnered wisdom as is found in Dean Fenn's thoughtful account of the Unitarian movement or Rufus Jones's illuminating psychological elucidation of Quakerism.

Profitable as these surveys are, it is to be regretted that certain questions concerning this group life have not been more distinctly considered. How, for example, did the Calvinist system begin to lose its hold even in the days of its ablest and most vigorous exposition? Dr. Horr suggests that the weakening of Calvinism among the Baptists was a part of their opposition to the Standing Order, resentment of a policy involving dislike of a theology. An Arminian would answer that here as elsewhere a conscientious study of the Bible bred Arminianism. Dean Hodges fails to notice that the drift to Episcopalianism in the eighteenth century was due in very large part to the Arminianism of its preachers, who were more subject to English influence. As for the breakdown of Calvinism in its Congregationalist stronghold, Dr. Platner wisely, but too briefly, refers to the influence of the eighteenth-century political literature which certainly presented a view of the natural man disruptive of the whole Calvinist system.

How denominational growth was related to differentiations of social class is another pertinent question. The remarkable growth of the Baptists at the end of the eighteenth century is mentioned without explanation. That growth is certainly related to social and political divisions as explained in the *Diary of William Bentley* (II. 127, 425; III. 271). An explanation of this kind is offered by Dean Fenn (p. 112) for the lack of growth of Unitarian churches.

If one asks how denominational organization came out of autonomous congregations, satisfaction is again denied. Dr. Horr's interesting suggestion that foreign missions practically made the Baptists a denomination is probably not the whole truth, and it is surprising to hear nothing of Jedidiah Morse's strenuous efforts to give a semi-Presbyterian organization after the Connecticut model to the Congregationalist churches of Massachusetts, efforts which were intimately connected with the divisions of Congregationalism in 1815.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

Early Philadelphia: its People, Life, and Progress. By HORACE MATHER LIPPINCOTT. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1917. Pp. 340. \$6.00.)

THE history of old Philadelphia has been written a number of times. Watson's *Annals*, Scharf and Westcott's *History*, the *Logan Correspondence*, Proud and Gordon, Franklin's papers, the *Records* of the Assembly and Council, and many other books and letters give information concerning colonial and revolutionary times which has been worked over with more or less fidelity by different authors.

This book is somewhat new in its scope and selections. It gives a brief sketch of the founder and the general character of the Quaker settlers, and then takes up the various institutions, churches, theatres, scientific societies, university, banks, hospital, Wistar parties, and many others characteristic of the old town. It is well illustrated and printed. Franklin rightly has a large place and his versatile genius and broad toleration are shown in many directions. It is probably a mistake in speaking of his religious connection to say that "the Quakers claimed him" except as a political ally. He was with them in their fight for liberty from proprietary claims but they separated on the question of martial defense and he was never identified with them as a religious body. It is also an error to place Isaac Norris among the legal lights of the province. It is true he was offered the chief justiceship and declined, but this proves nothing as to his legal learning. He was a business man, a "trader" as Logan calls him rather disrespectfully. His name is misspelled as Morris in the list of overseers of the public school. Other little matters of this sort might be found, but so many errors have been contained in other books about the times (notably *Hugh Wynne*), concerning Quaker traits and local geography, that these seem trivial, and one gets a very fair picture of old scenes and manners from Mr. Lippincott's book. The style is clear and the selection of subjects well proportioned.

The value of such books depends upon their ability to reproduce the spirit and atmosphere of the times with which they deal. A treatise may be technically free from errors and yet fail to give a fair picture. This may result from a real misunderstanding of the temper of the men whose influence determined the character of the institutions, or from a wooden adherence to a skeleton of facts and figures without warm flesh and blood. From both of these tendencies our author is reasonably free and the general impressions seem correct if not very detailed. The lack of detail in certain directions results not from lack of variety in the subjects chosen but rather from an evident intention to keep down the space allotted to each. The character and ideals of the provincial people, with which he is sympathetic, are displayed in the results of their work rather than in direct statements. The analysis of the characteristics of the founder is incomplete, but so will probably be all such analyses till we have time to study the exhaustive collection of his writings now in course of preparation. On the whole the book is a collection of interesting facts, many not generally known, from a variety of sources and placed in an attractive setting.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

The Readjuster Movement in Virginia. By CHARLES CHILTON PEARSON, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in Wake Forest College. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, IV.] (New

Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 191. \$2.00.)

RECONSTRUCTION and its aftermath in Virginia are but vaguely known even to students of recent American history. There are, to be sure, books on the subjects, Eckenrode's *Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction*, the briefer treatments in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, and a considerable body of reminiscences like William L. Royall's *Reminiscences* (1909), R. E. Withers's *Autobiography* (1907), O'Ferrall's *Forty Years* (1904), and especially John S. Wise's *End of an Era* (1899), and John E. Massey's *Autobiography* (1909). But notwithstanding all this and other writings Virginia since the Civil War still remains an unknown land to most of us.

Professor Pearson's book is an endeavor to clear up this era and let us have in brief space the essential facts and movements. The work begins properly at 1870 and closes with the overthrow of the Mahone machine in 1885. It is an interesting if brief period. There are two problems for the author: to clear up the odds and ends of reconstruction in Virginia and then to show what Virginians, themselves, did with their dismantled and broken commonwealth.

The first of these problems Mr. Pearson handles well enough although the narrative lacks a little in clarity, perhaps because of the very complicated sectional, factional, and racial state of things. The doctors who attended this convalescent but still sorely afflicted community were William Mahone, Gilbert C. Walker, Williams C. Wickham, William H. Ruffner, and H. H. Riddleberger, "a new man" of rather accommodating views. Of these five, and perhaps there were others quite as important, Mahone and Wickham were railroad presidents, or authoritative spokesmen, who looked upon Virginia as a land of promise. They were practical men. Walker was a banker with Virginia bonds in his vaults and not over-particular in his ideals. Ruffner was the only real social physician in the group and he was speedily relegated to a position of harmless respectability. But in spite of the condition of the Old Dominion progress and improvement did come and this Mr. Pearson shows.

But what was finally attempted or accomplished did not depend so much upon what the leaders, just mentioned, did as upon the necessity of relieving the burden of taxation and of finding some way to educate and train the younger generation. This was not an easy task: to reduce taxation and at the same time increase enormously the expenses of government. The people, however, found the remedy. That way was partial repudiation of the debts of the commonwealth, readjusterism or Mahonism, for Mahone did have a part in suggesting the remedy. If the state could, at the behest of the federal government, repudiate enormous debts lawfully contracted, as had been done at the end of the war, why could not the same state repudiate other debts lawfully made and largely owned by Northerners or Englishmen?

To show how this was done is the second part of Mr. Pearson's study and he has made it plain that Mahone put himself at the head of a movement which some one else must have headed if he had not done so, that the plan succeeded brilliantly, though it was "readjusting", not repudiating the debt, according to Mahone. Under wise direction this leader attracted some remarkable men to his standard, John S. Wise and John E. Massey being the ablest of them.

Readjusterism quickly became a national matter and the great Cameron-Conkling-Logan machine, which broke Blaine and indirectly led to the assassination of Garfield, reached out its hand to Mahone and Wise, the first lieutenant of the new Virginia leader. But Garfield also sent flowers to Mahone when he appeared in the senate. The party of "forward-looking men", for Pearson shows that such was the real character of the movement, were found repudiating Virginia obligations in order to get money to educate Virginia youth. And this party found favor with the leaders of the extreme "sound money" men of the North. That is, repudiation in Virginia was endorsed by the party which damned on every occasion the "fool" Greenbackers of the West.

Politics make strange bedfellows. On this score the reviewer might find a little fault with the author. For the book, while it does refer to the national bearings of his subject, does not make clear enough the entanglements and commitments of this bastard Virginia party. In the South readjusterism was Democratic, in Virginia it was progressive, and in the North it was Republican. Bitter indeed was the outcome. Mahone built a machine only less successful than the present ruling dynasty in Virginia. It was as perfect as that of Cameron in Pennsylvania which stands to this day. Yet a slip, a single slip tripped the adroit leader. He mortally offended his ablest lieutenant, Massey; and Massey deserted to the ranks of the incipient Democracy when he was refused the governorship of the state. This was the beginning of the end of Mahoneism.

There is a fairness in the book and an appreciation of the difficulties of politicians in steering the course of any given ship of state that promise well for the future writings of the author. Other studies of pivotal states, South as well as North, for this period would seem to be in order. For him who tells the story of Pennsylvania under the Camerons or of New York under Conkling there awaits a crown of honor. And the Great War has made the period so remote that one need not fear to undertake the investigation of subjects that come down to quite recent years.

Indiana as seen by Early Travelers: a Collection of Reprints from Books of Travel, Letters, and Diaries prior to 1830. Selected and edited by HARLOW LINDLEY, Director Department of Indiana History and Archives, Indiana State Library. [Indiana

Historical Collections.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission. 1916. Pp. 596. \$1.50.)

THE extensive literature of American travel and description makes it a comparatively simple matter to depict the development of a community by gathering a series of word pictures of varying dates and arranging them in chronological order. When the selection is made with skill and the extracts are fully and carefully edited, the result should be a volume at once attractive to the casual reader and useful to the scholar. Unfortunately the present volume does not measure up to these standards. The selection is fairly satisfactory, although it seems to have been confined to material available in a single library, but the extracts themselves are practically unedited. Travellers who wrote books were fully as unreliable in the early nineteenth century as they are to-day and the collection contains many erroneous and inaccurate statements which should have been corrected by the editor. Moreover, some explanation of the numerous obscure statements and allusions would have made the work not only more useful to the scholar but more interesting to anyone who may attempt to read it. Even the brief notes about the authors, which precede each selection, display very little research. The extracts are arranged in a sort of chronological order, but no attempt seems to have been made to ascertain the actual years in which the information was gathered or the accounts written, reliance being placed apparently on the date of publication of the particular edition at hand. Among the anachronisms noted are: the narrative of Faux (1819) following that of Blane (1822); and Timothy Flint's account of a trip in 1816 placed after several narratives of 1825 and 1826.

The book opens with a selection from Hutchins's *Topographical Description*, the title of which is so abbreviated in the heading as to leave out the pertinent part, "Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi, etc." The biographical note tells something of the later career of Hutchins but fails to state that he was in the West during the years 1766 to 1770, the only date given for the extract being 1778, the year of publication. The second London edition of Imlay's *Topographical Description* furnishes the next selection, but the editor apparently was not aware of the fact that another edition had appeared the previous year, for he speaks of the work as "a very readable and somewhat valuable book for that day—1793". It is not surprising, therefore, that he repeats an error of the edition used and gives the author's first name as George instead of Gilbert. Thomas Ashe's account of the Indiana region in 1806 is presented without any warning about the unreliability of this well-known romancer. Jervis Cutler's *Topographical Description of the State of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana* is referred to merely as "Jervasse Cutler's Book of Travels", and the pages of the selection are not given. By far the most serious blunder, however, is the printing of an extract from Hulme's well-known journal of his western tour in 1818 under the heading, "From *A Year's Residence in the United States of*

America by William Cobbett [1828] ", and accompanied by a biographical sketch of Cobbett but with no mention of the real author. Other slips might be noted, but those mentioned are sufficient to make it clear that the editorial work does not measure up to the highest standards of historical and bibliographical scholarship.

The redeeming feature of the book is the inclusion of four hitherto unpublished items. The most valuable of these consists of a series of letters written by William Pelham in 1825 and 1826 which tell of a trip down the Ohio and a visit to the New Harmony community presided over by William Owen. The journal of a trip to Fort Wayne in 1821, by Thomas Scatterwood Teas, is also a valuable contribution. Less significant are the reminiscences of Charles F. Coffin and of Victor Colin Duclos, although the latter contain another account of New Harmony.

In format the book is somewhat crude, but this defect may be explained by the fact that it is the work of the state printer. The index is of the sort one is accustomed to find in legislative journals and similar state publications. There are no maps nor illustrations. On the whole, it would seem that the rejoicing of students of western history over the fact that Indiana has at length begun a series of historical collections must be mixed with a hope that the series, if continued, will improve in quality.

Economic History of Wisconsin during the Civil War Decade. By

FREDERICK MERK. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Studies, vol. I.] (Madison: The Society. 1916. Pp. 414. \$2.00.)

THIS genuine piece of research, first-rate in every respect, will be welcomed by students of the economic history of the United States. Seldom does a similar work show such a wide and intensive investigation into every conceivable kind of information, an achievement all the more commendable in view of the fact that the author was forced to gather his material from the scattered records of a frontier community.

His object was not primarily to throw light on the four years of the Civil War period itself and thus to contribute toward an understanding of the war crisis, but rather to trace out the various threads of development that ran through that epoch into the future.

However profoundly [says the author's preface] the Civil War affected the economic life of the State and nation, the historian who reviews it should not, it seems to me, limit his discussion to the four years in which the armies of the North and the South were clashing on the battlefield. If he does, his picture will be but a static, panoramic view, and not, as it should be, a moving film of events. My design in this volume has been to limit myself as closely as possible to the period of the Civil War. Yet when it seemed desirable I have not hesitated to range over the entire period between the two years of financial crisis, 1857 and 1873. Developments brought to a close during the war I have attempted to trace to their origin; changes begun during the war I have briefly carried either to their conclusion or to the point at which it has seemed profitable to leave them.

Necessarily the more restricted the field, the more detailed can the work be made and the more can it be connected with the past and future.

The most solid contributions of the book are, first, the chapter on railroad farm mortgages, the agitation over which, in the words of the author, was "a characteristic frontier movement", "clearly an attempt at repudiation", "the revolt of an organized debtor class against an absent creditor class"; second, the three chapters on railroad consolidation, anti-monopoly revolt, and the genesis of railroad regulation in the United States; and, third, that on banking, which is a detailed and masterly account of wildcat banking in one of the states which suffered most from its ravages. Other chapters, though not so new and informing, deal with agriculture, lumbering, mining, manufacturing, labor, trade, and the commerce of the Mississippi and the Great Lakes. The treatment of lumbering and the flouring industry, of hop-growing and cheese-making, is very detailed.

Although the author does not display any lack of knowledge of the national field, the reader will find in his work little correlation of the various movements in Wisconsin with those in the nation at large. It is a fair question whether on such subjects as farm mortgages, wildcat banking, railroad development, etc., the national situation ought not to be dealt with at least in a general way. Again, although the city of Milwaukee is constantly referred to in the course of the 391 pages, the various references to the marvellous growth of that city during the war decade are nowhere thrown together into a connected whole.

The literary style of the book is smooth and interesting, and the difficult task of handling figures in a text is met in a satisfactory manner. There is a careful index, but for a bibliography the reader must use the foot-notes.

It is to be hoped that the book may find imitation in the appearance of similar works on the economic life, during the same period, of such pivotal states as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California, on which there is an abundance of material. Indeed, even the economic life of single cities during the war period, such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco, would prove an equally rich field for the patient investigator endowed with Mr. Merk's ability and industry.

E. D. FITE.

The Missions and Missionaries of California. By Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O.F.M. Volumes III.-IV. *Upper California*, parts II.-III. *Index* to volumes II.-IV. (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company. 1916. Pp. xxvii, 817. \$12.00 for the set.)

Books about the missions of California are almost numberless, but however many may be written the work of Father Engelhardt will con-

tinue to have a special interest and value. Of the *Missions and Missionaries* there have now appeared four large volumes with a supplementary volume containing the index to volumes II. to IV. To understand the author's project it is necessary to observe that what we now have consists of the general history of the missions in Lower (vol. I.) and Upper (vols. II.-IV.) California, and that the general narrative is to be complemented later by local histories of each of the several missions.

What Father Engelhardt gives in these large volumes is a detailed history of California down to the American occupation written from the point of view of the Franciscan missionaries. Conceivably, there are four different angles from which the history of this outlying province of Spain and Mexico might be presented. Ordinarily, the historical student will be disposed to follow the activities, and the development of the political power or secular government; and from this standpoint the religious will appear as almost uniformly intrusive and exasperating. On the other hand, the story may be told by the missionary, and in this case the politico-military authorities will stand out as inconsiderate, meddlesome, and overbearing. Again, there is the point of view of the Mexican-Spanish settlers and their descendants, the *paisanos*, the Europeanized population engaged in the attempt to make California their home. Of this group, more particularly, Bancroft has been the spokesman; but to Father Engelhardt they seem, in the main, to deserve thorough-going condemnation as covetous conspirators against the missions. Lastly, one might imagine an instructive account written from the standpoint of the unfortunate Indians who, without desire or volition of their own, suddenly found themselves inextricably involved in activities the object of which they certainly could not understand. However we may regard the story it is a painful and unedifying exhibition of the mutual jealousies and recriminations of a few Europeans isolated together in one of the farthest corners of the earth.

It is only fair to say that the missionaries believed whole-heartedly that they were called upon to act as the guardians of the natives, and to take the best means to assure their welfare, both temporal and eternal. One can have little sympathy, indeed, with the ultra-Protestant writers who infer from every incident that the padres considered their own advantage and utilized the labor and property of the Indians for their own personal aggrandizement. But this does not mean that we can accept all the contentions of the Franciscan historian.

Father Engelhardt's history has conspicuous merits: he has spared neither pains nor care in the examination of the voluminous records and literature, and he has exhausted patience in his purpose to present as accurate an account of what really happened in California as can now be constructed. Furthermore, it represents completely and for all time the spirit of self-sacrifice that animated the missionary in his arduous undertaking. Let us then admit fully and without hesitation these admirable characteristics of Father Engelhardt's work, for we cannot

accept, or even pass over, the spirit in which it is written. I have discussed this matter with Father Engelhardt, for whose intellectual integrity I have the highest respect, and I am aware of his belief that there is an unavoidable responsibility placed upon him to condemn unsparingly any deviation from the truth in other historians. Indeed, what we have here is the theory of Lord Acton put into practice by one of whose sincerity there can be no doubt. Unhappily, however, Father Engelhardt cannot understand that such judgments are personal, and that a certain amount of suppression of righteous indignation would have gone far to make his statement of the case more widely acceptable. As it is, those who feel with Father Engelhardt will doubtless be gratified, while those who do not will be repelled by his iterated anathemas. One would have looked for something more of charity towards the enemies of his order than is to be found in the painstaking and memorable work of this single-minded and devoted follower of St. Francis.

F. J. T.

Memorias de Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, del Convento de Santo Domingo, de México, Diputado al Primer Congreso Constituyente de la República. Prólogo de Don ALFONSO REYES. [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Librería. [1917]. Pp. xxii, 430. 8 pesetas.)

La Creación de Bolivia. By SABINO PINILLA. Prólogo y notas de ALCIDES ARGUEDAS. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917]. Pp. 371. 7.50 pesetas.)

La Dictadura de O'Higgins. By M. L. AMUNÁTEGUI and B. VICUÑA MACKENNA. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917]. Pp. 400. 7.50 pesetas.)

Cuadros de la Historia Militar y Civil de Venezuela desde el Descubrimiento y Conquista de Guayana hasta la Batalla de Carabobo. By LINO DUARTE LEVEL. [Biblioteca Ayacucho.] (*Ibid.* [1917]. Pp. 462. 8 pesetas.)

To judge from the statements that accompanied the initial volume of the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, the primary object of the collection was to reprint, either in the original or in translation, memoirs or descriptive accounts written by contemporaries of the Spanish-American struggle for independence and dealing with the events of that period. Although the available stock of such treatises is by no means exhausted, the editor appears to have decided upon at least a temporary change of procedure. Accordingly the subject-matter of the four volumes under consideration either does not relate to the actual era of emancipation, or is the product of historians living at a much later time. In the

opinion of the reviewer this departure from the original intent of the series is regrettable. Students of the period could not fail to acknowledge the great utility of the existing reprints. Toward new editions of secondary works, however meritorious, their attitude must be less favorable; for the reproduction of accounts of that sort could have waited with advantage until the contemporary testimony had been more fully drawn upon.

Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, with whom the first of the volumes is concerned, was a Mexican ecclesiastic whose character and career made him one of the most remarkable personages of his time. His zeal for novel interpretations of religious belief, his brilliant but erratic mind, his versatile pen, and his gift of satire brought him a large number of trials and tribulations. An enthusiastic lover of his country, an ardent advocate of its independence, and yet aware of its unfitness to imitate in its political organization a nation so advanced as the United States, he incurred the disfavor of Mexican radicals in spite of the troubles he had undergone at the hands of the Spaniards.

The volume is a partial reprint of a work published at Monterrey, Mexico, in 1876. It contains an "Apología" of Mier for his famous sermon of 1794, in which he declared substantially that the Spaniards did not introduce Christianity into the New World. It was the apostle St. Thomas, under the name of "Quetzalcoatl", who first preached it! If this were true, the chief moral claim of Spain to dominion in America would be destroyed. For this bold assertion, accordingly, the young Dominican was condemned to banishment. Then follows a lively narration of his adventures in various European countries from 1795 to 1805. Entertaining as this portion of the text is—as a record of the activities of a rather eccentric individual—the rightfulness of its inclusion in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* is less obvious than would have been that of some of the other works of Mier cited by Sr. Reyes in his scholarly introduction.

La Creación de Bolivia contains the fragments of a work written by an eminent jurist and diplomat of that country, and now printed for the first time. It consists of four complete chapters, one that is unfinished, and a collection of notes. The purpose of the author was to explain the origin and development of Bolivian nationality from the earliest times to the deposition of Sucre from the presidency. To this end Dr. Pinilla furnishes at the outset an interesting and well-drawn picture of the actual elements out of which that nationality was to be constructed. In succeeding chapters he describes the political situation from 1824 to 1826, with an abundance of philosophic comment and an elaborate characterization of the men who were foremost in the public eye at the time. Noteworthy in particular is his detailed account of the "deliberative assembly", that had to determine whether or not Bolivia should have a separate national existence, and of the constitutional convention that had to consider the remarkable instrument of government

prepared by Bolívar for the republic that was to bear his name. Even in its incomplete state the work certainly affords a capital interpretation of the events of the period, enabling the reader to understand the nature of the tremendous difficulties that confronted the new state at the beginnings of its independent career.

The prologue by Alcides Arguedas, the noted Bolivian littérateur, is a fine specimen of historical prose. In its analysis of Pinilla's work it stresses, with much apparent justification, the claims of Bolívar to consideration as the real founder of the Bolivian nation, contrary to the views expressed by René Moreno and other partizans of Sucre. A biographical sketch of the author concludes the volume.

Miguel Luís Amunátegui and Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna were the most prolific of the publicists and historians of Chile who flourished about the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1853 the former, while a member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities, presented to the University of Chile a "memoria" entitled *La Dictadura de O'Higgins*. Seven years later Vicuña Mackenna published *El Ostracismo del Jeneral Don Bernardo O'Higgins*. In 1882 these were combined in a third edition appearing with two separate title-pages, one bearing the caption of the work of 1853, the other that of *Vida del Jeneral Don Bernardo O'Higgins (su Dictadura, su Ostracismo)*. The volume in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho* is a reprint of this third edition. Though a standard work of its kind and well-known to historical students, an explanation of its origin and of the special motives that induced the editor to reproduce it in a series devoted presumably to contemporary memoirs would have seemed desirable. Nothing of the sort, however, is vouchsafed.

In the case of the treatise by Lino Duarte Level the absence of any editorial message to the reader is even more noticeable. Despite the elaborate title, which might convey the impression that an original work composed by an eye-witness of the later events of which it treats was being presented, in point of fact the volume is simply a reprint of a species of text-book, entitled *Historia Patria* and published at Carácas in 1911. The author, an exile from Venezuela and resident in New York, wrote it in 1908. Not only is no account of the provenance of the work given, but a variety of changes have been introduced into the arrangement of the subject-matter, so as to make it more strictly chronological in sequence. New sections, furthermore, have been introduced and provided with appropriate designations. In one case the existing title itself was altered by inserting "Irish" for "British" as the name for the foreign legion. The author's preface, also, has been converted into a foot-note.

Serviceable as the book may be to the schools of Venezuela, it appears to have no especial merits that would warrant its inclusion in the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*. Nor are the qualifications of the writer as a scientific historian much in evidence. He has culled his material from the accepted secondary sources. His style is fluent and his diction, at

times, highly rhetorical. He has written a readable book, though hardly an original contribution to historical literature worthy of the place to which it has been assigned.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

Caesar: the Gallic War. With an English Translation by H. J. Edwards, C.B., Fellow and Tutor of Peterhouse, Cambridge, [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. xxii, 620, \$1.50.) This is another unit in that *Loeb Classical Library*, which is doing so much to contradict the assertion that the "dead" languages and their literature are no longer with us. Truth to tell, however, only a couple of decades ago a volume with the text of Caesar's *Commentaries* on one page and a tolerably literal translation on the other confronting the first, the whole served up as an honest book and not as a subterranean "trot", would have produced wrath among the schoolmasters; even now it may excite the doubts of the timorous. To all however who really desire that the cause of the classics, should not be lost it becomes a most valuable re-enforcement. The interests of Latin studies are decidedly advanced when a good translation of Caesar is hailed as a guide and not as a bandit.

Mr. Edwards's translation of the eight books of the *Gallic War* has been well executed. It is very much superior as a piece of English, as well as being founded upon a considerably better text, to the old McDevitte and Bohn translation of ancient date in the familiar Bohn library. The language is smooth and easy, although sometimes possibly a little too diffuse to carry over the compact phrases of the Latin. The translation however compares very favorably with the recent version by T. Rice Holmes. I have not been able to compare it with the other modern attempt by F. P. Long.

The *Gallic War* constitutes a fairly self-interpreting narrative. Mr. Edwards provides very few notes and those of only one or two lines each. In an introduction and two appendixes, however, he undertakes to supply sufficient explanatory apparatus to make the story intelligible to the much beset "average reader". In frankness it must be said that this apparatus is less satisfactory than the translation. It is too brief to be always lucid, and Caesar is too great a man to have his genius summarized and disposed of in one and a half small pages. Furthermore the appendix on the Roman army, although containing a great amount of compact information, yet in the constant attempt at brevity sometimes commits itself to general statements which seem open to so many exceptions as to make them misleading to the uninitiated. One gets the impression that this apparatus was prepared rather out of a sense of duty than as an essential part of the volume.

On the other hand the maps, nine in number, are excellent, and some of them seem decidedly superior to the corresponding maps that are inserted in the ordinary "Caesar texts" in our high-schools.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

The Gradual Acceptance of the Copernican Theory of the Universe. By Dorothy Stimson, Ph.D. (New York, Baker and Taylor Company, 1917, pp. 147, \$1.25.) This intelligent and entertaining little study sketches the rise of the heliocentric theory, from the Greeks onward, as well as its advocacy by Copernicus and its vicissitudes down to our own day. That in so vast a field she has used but a part of the literature—she has missed even books so important as those of Pierre Duhem—goes without saying; but she has moused to excellent purpose and has handled her materials with insight and sound sense. That the volume is a thesis for the doctorate may perhaps be inferred from the "Ph.D." following the author's name, and the thanks in her preface show the book an outcome of the teaching of Professor Robinson at Columbia. It may be warmly commended to the American editors whose ready acceptance of the denial that theology has ever hampered science has of late made some of us rub our eyes.

There is of course in the work much that testifies to the author's immaturity; but what most tempts to censure is a carelessness in the minutiae of the scholar's work—in punctuation, in the spelling of foreign names, in the quoting and the abbreviation of titles, in the reading of proof—which (though some effort has clearly been given to these) shows a lack in the training fairly to be expected in the holder of so advanced a degree. "Copernician" is almost as frequent as "Copernican"; and a writer who is happily not yet "the late President White" will be puzzled by the ascription to him of a History of the "Welfare" of Science. But such slips, though not few, are slight flecks in so live a book. Its last forty pages are devoted to a bibliography and to translated extracts from Ptolemy, Copernicus, Bodin, and the Louvain professor Feyens.

G. L. B.

The Revival of the Conventual Life in the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century. By Ralph W. Sockman, M.A. (New York, the Author, 1917, pp. 230.) Mr. Sockman makes it clear in his preface that no field work in England was done for his sympathetic study of the revival of the conventual life in the Church of England in the nineteenth century—that all the research was done in the libraries of New York. This is evident again at several places in the book itself: for there is a complete absence of any local color when Mr. Sockman is describing the life of the conventual establishments in urban communities and in rural England that have come into existence since 1847. To some extent this lack of local description impairs the value of the book; for

it is difficult to realize to the full the mission which these conventual establishments assigned to themselves without some description of their environment, and the local conditions, urban or rural, that surrounded them. This much said, nothing but commendation remains for Mr. Sockman's interesting study of a comparatively new phase in the life and service of the Established Church in England. He has moved into a field that hitherto had had very little systematic tillage; and his work in this new ground has been singularly successful. His history of the thirty conventual establishments—all connected with the Church of England—that came into existence between 1847 and 1899 is an excellent piece of work. These establishments are likely to extend themselves or to be added to from time to time; for the war will almost certainly have its influence on the movement of which Mr. Sockman writes with so much sympathetic care. The second half of the book may thus, before long, come to need revision and addition. But the first half is so complete, so comprehensive, and so thoroughly well done, that it will long stand as a really serviceable contribution to English ecclesiastical history, and incidentally to the history of some aspects of English thought and social life from the Restoration to the early years of Queen Victoria's reign. The remarkable care with which Mr. Sockman has traced and described the various influences and forces working towards a revival of the conventual life, under sanction of the Established Church, obviously gives the book this permanent value. There is a bibliography of twenty pages but no index.

British Foreign Policy in Europe to the End of the 19th Century. A Rough Outline. By H. E. Egerton, M.A., Beit Professor of Colonial History and Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1917, pp. x, 440, 6 sh.) If the people are not instructed in history as a result of the war, it will not be the fault of the scholars. At any rate the supply of manuals, larger or smaller, covering mainly recent history but some of them reaching back into a longer past, has been greatly multiplied in the last two years. Professor Egerton's book is among the shorter of these manuals, and it is addressed to the better informed among general readers. It must be judged not by what one should expect of a complete history of British foreign policy but by its avowed purpose. It is in the first place plainly stated in the preface to be a book "dealing with British foreign policy apart from a narrative of events". To this purpose the author keeps surprisingly close, with the result that those who are not familiar with the events, or who do not accompany their reading with a narrative history, will find much that is blind to them. The object of the book is to show the motives and purposes which have guided British foreign policy and to do so as nearly as possible in the words of the men who have had most influence in shaping the policy. It contains therefore numerous extracts, especially from the speeches and letters of statesmen and diplomats in

which they have urged or defended their ideas. The student and the teacher will find in this the greatest usefulness of the book. It is a chronological index to the sources where will be found the best and most authoritative statements of intention and motive made by the men who determined events in this field, and it gives to one's hand what we may conclude to be the most telling of these statements.

In the second place the object of the book is frankly a defense of British foreign policy. Professor Egerton is marshalling the evidence which shows "that the policy of the country on the whole has been singularly honest and straightforward" (p. 2). The book certainly gives that impression, and not by glozing over the bad spots. No real defense is attempted of the action of England in seizing the Danish fleet in 1807, or her part in bringing on the Crimean War, or in the settlement at its close, and the best that can be found to say for the Spanish war which began in 1739 is that "its real *raison d'être* was altogether rational, the expansion of British trade and shipping".

It may be added that such an interpretation of British foreign policy as we are here given would have been impossible fifteen years ago, because the revelation which has been made of Germany's plans of world empire throws back a light upon all that happened, at least since the beginning of the struggle with Louis XIV., which enables us now to see connections and consequences before obscure and changes the relative emphasis to be given to items in the code of international ethics.

Origins of the Triple Alliance. Three Lectures. By Archibald Cary Coolidge, Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917, pp. vi, 236, \$1.25.) This volume is a development of the Barbour-Page Lectures for 1916 at the University of Virginia. Its outstanding merit is lucidity of presentation and in this respect the book, considering its small compass and the involved nature of its subject, is a model of exposition. Professor Coolidge divides it into three chapters, following the main episodes which marked the development of Bismarckian diplomacy from 1871 until 1882. The first sketches the state of international relations in 1871 and the beginnings of the League of the Three Emperors; a fine sense of dramatic values has led the author to conclude the chapter with the war-scare of 1875, which is the first presage of Bismarck's ultimate failure to transform the league into a solid alliance. The second chapter is devoted to the Eastern crises of 1876-1878. As might be expected Professor Coolidge's treatment of Balkan and Turkish affairs is the liveliest and most interesting portion of his work; upon it he lays particular emphasis, for it was in the Near East that the conflicting interests of Russia and Austria-Hungary became inexorably clear and that Bismarck's original dream of an alliance of empires was finally shattered. The third chapter shows us Bismarck compelled to choose between Russia and Austria, presents the reasons for the chancellor's preference for the latter power

as an ally, and describes his ultimate decision to substitute Italy for the former. For the most part the author does not depart widely from the generally accepted interpretation of events: he makes it clear that the combination of the three empires was Bismarck's real preference and that the Triple Alliance as finally formed was a *pis aller*; he is frank in recognizing that Bismarckian policy from 1876 to 1878 was a failure; to the rôle played by Andrassy he ascribes greater importance than historical writers have usually accorded.

We may regret that Professor Coolidge has chosen to make his style quite so severely pragmatic and that he has not given his personal opinions at greater length, especially in the case of the Balkan settlement of 1878. The ordinary student would also have been grateful for a list of authorities other than the few referred to in the sparse footnotes. The note on page 219 which gives the date of the publication of the text of the Triple Alliance as 1883 (instead of 1888) is obviously a misprint.

Devant l'Histoire: Causes connues et ignorées de la Guerre. Par Paul Giraud, Docteur en Droit. (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xix, 263, 3 fr. 50.) The descriptive subtitle of this book is hardly accurate, for the author does not attempt to introduce any war-breeding factors which have not already received careful attention by many writers; and the major portion of his work is devoted merely to an analysis of the diplomatic negotiations which failed to prevent the conflict. His sources of information are restricted almost entirely to the official multi-colored documents issued by the governments of the warring nations, all of which have been dissected and analyzed many times. The manuscript was obviously prepared before the revelations furnished by the Russian trials of last spring and by the publication of the Kaiser's telegram of August 10, 1914, to President Wilson. M. Giraud's study is none the less an excellent example of careful and exact analysis and should not be regarded as superfluous. It is more scholarly in method than Beck's *The Evidence in the Case*, and more convenient for the general reader than the longer analyses contained in Headlam's *History of Twelve Days* and Stowell's *Diplomacy of the War*; at the same time it is more complete than the excellent but brief *Qui a voulu la Guerre?* of Durkheim and Denis. M. Giraud has also included a brief discussion of the German theory of *Einkreisung*, a criticism of the German claim to a place in the sun, and an illuminating collection of *dicta* illustrating the frame of mind characteristic of typical German rulers, warriors, publicists, and pastors. The conclusions reached are identical with those now generally held in this country. The author does not insist that the German government knew in advance the exact terms of the Austrian note of July 23, but he considers it certain that German diplomats were aware of its general character and therefore must stand responsible for the consequences. He believes that during the course of the crisis Ger-

many played a consistently hypocritical rôle, and that when Count Berchtold changed his tone on July 30 and declared his willingness again to take up conversations with Russia, Germany destroyed this last chance of a peaceful settlement by her utterly unjustifiable ultimatum to Russia.

The book is evidently issued as part of a campaign of patriotic education and may serve as a model to those American writers who are anxious that our nation shall know the truth about the war. The author's language, in his verdict of German guilt, is strong, but he takes care to give chapter and verse to support each of his conclusions.

England and the War (1914-1915). By André Chevrillon. With a Preface by Rudyard Kipling. (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 250, \$1.60.) The war has been a revelation of England to the world and to herself, and of the world to England. For many years there has been a rather general feeling outside of England, and to a considerable extent within England as well, that there had taken place a decided decline of her national vigor and spirit, that she would be found very reluctant to enter upon a great war, and would be proved by a war to have become more or less degenerate. The Boer War, which was in some important ways a preparation for the present war, should have proved this belief unfounded, but England's military difficulties and military failures in that war obscured the evidence.

In a quite different direction, and unconsciously in this case, England was out of harmony with the world, or with the greater portion of the world. Without reasoning about it and without exhortation or resolution, she had gone some distance ahead of most other nations in the application of the standards of individual morality to national action. A great change had slowly come about in this respect in half a century, whose roots lie much farther back in the past. Because this change had been so gradually coming about it was not clearly understood either at home or abroad. Particularly did England fail to understand how far Germany had lagged behind herself. As M. Chevrillon says:

The war had found her in ignorance and apathy; she knew nothing but herself, she hated nobody; she did not even know she had enemies, hardly knew the full meaning of that word. . . . During the last ten years those who governed and represented England had done their best to preserve the peace; nay, had been inspired by purest pacifism. All their political activity had been directed towards the ideals of humanity, fraternity, and justice. Germany's long-accumulated hatred and envy burst out with such brutality, that England was at last awakened from her dream of idealism (p. 223).

England now knows the world, and she knows her own strength, and the world knows her.

It is the story of this awakening that M. Chevrillon tells. His book is not history in the technical sense. But it is the raw material of history and of the greatest value. It is the account of an eye-witness who watched the process under the best of conditions, with every facility given him, and with a keenness of insight equalled by few political observers. The French quickness of understanding and ability to put oneself in another's place come here to the advantage of the future historian. The theme of the book is really how an unprepared democracy gets itself ready to meet on equal terms a prepared autocracy, and it is doubtful if, in general or in detail, the description will ever be better done. The story of the discoveries and experiences which led up to conscription is especially significant and instructive and takes up half the book, but in other things also, the growth and power of public opinion, the reasons for England's slowness in getting under way, the doubtful and changing attitude of labor, the author is equally illuminating. The account closes with the end of the year 1915.

G. B. A.

Balfour, Viviani and Joffre: their Speeches and other Public Utterances in America, and those of Italian, Belgian, and Russian Commissioners during the Great War, with an Account of the Arrival of our Warships and Soldiers in England and France under Admiral Sims and General Pershing, April 21, 1917-July 4, 1917. By Francis W. Halsey. (New York and London, Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1917, pp. v, 369, \$1.50.) Mr. Halsey recites in chronological order the coming of these commissions and their speeches and doings in the United States and Canada, which are followed by a chapter on the arrival of the first American forces in England and France. There is no preface, so the purpose of the book—a record of events or merely a pleasant patriotic excursion—can be inferred only from the contents. The writer's sources are mainly the news columns of the daily papers together with some references to the *Congressional Record* and Canadian Parliamentary Reports.

Newspaper "clippings", it would seem, should hardly be given unedited to posterity. They could not include, in this case, much that was of importance concerning these visits; hence the record is neither complete nor accurate. We read, however, "The distinguished visitors were offered lemonade in tin cups and buttermilk in sanitary paper cups" (p. 145) and "As the crowd passed the Equitable Building someone sent down a shower of paper that looked like confetti" (p. 237). Such trivialities prevent the reader from appreciating properly the Italian appeal for coal or the Russian declarations of policy. Much, indeed, of value in regard to the state of mind of all our Allies could be gleaned by carefully winnowing the speeches of their representatives, and had the compiler assisted us better in this process we should have appreciated his book more. Its chief worth would have been that it made easily

accessible and inspiring the statements of the commissioners, but this the author has not fully succeeded in doing.

Index and illustrations are both lacking. The former we should look for in a serious production, the latter in a popular one. The grammatical and typographical errors (p. 335, line 25; p. 337, line 26, etc.) might perhaps be expected from the sources used.

A. I. A.

Jan Smuts: being a Character Sketch of Gen. the Hon. J. C. Smuts, K.C., M.L.A., Minister of Defence, Union of South Africa. By N. Levi. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1917, pp. vi, 310, \$2.50.) This book is called a character sketch but it is really an excellent political biography. The author is, I take it, a Boer who has hardly forgotten the Jameson raid but is thoroughly committed to the English connection, although no Anglophile. "We have been going very fast in South Africa", Smuts once said. It has been a progress marked by bitter controversy and Smuts has been in the midst of it. His campaigns, his addresses, his political programmes and their effect upon the public, upon his party and the opposition, these are the matters of the biography. The author uses speeches and the press comments upon them in such a way as to bring out the strength and weakness of this great South African and does it so deftly that one scarcely realizes where praise ends and blame begins. If his account is chronological, he never forgets that he is attempting to explain Smuts, the political Smuts in particular. Boswell was not more interested in Doctor Johnson. He makes a good case for Smuts, but the passing months prove increasingly that a good case can be made.

It is a pity that he takes so much for granted. Familiar himself with the intricacies of South African politics, he is too sure that his many allusions will be understood. He might well at several points have made an analysis of party groupings—for which he is qualified as few men. To test his accuracy would be impossible short of London or Pretoria. His sources are the South African newspapers—he has not overlooked the cartoons—and a close personal acquaintance with Jan Smuts. But his pages evidence such restraint, he is so dispassionate in dealing with controversial matters, where he must have earnest convictions, he has used so many materials where he might have been tempted to write from memory, that one gains confidence in him.

The work gives one the flavor of South Africa. It is not only the racy English idiom enlivened with fresh South African phrases, nor the imagination that loves to play with odd figures of speech drawn from the author's own experience, and plays with them like a Meredith, sometimes possibly too daringly; it is the insight into the Boers, the sympathetic insight of a man who has seen a wider world only to estimate his own better. Few men in their lifetimes have been so fortunate in their biographers as General Smuts.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

The Rebirth of Russia. By Isaac F. Marcossou. (New York, John Lane Company, 1917, pp. xvi, 208; \$1.25.) True to its "Foreword", this volume is "frankly journalistic", and has no "serious historic pretensions". It is one of the many appearing and yet to appear, no doubt, upon this momentous theme. Unfortunately for the writer, especially in a journalistic narrative, he did not reach Petrograd till after the "Great Upheaval" was an accomplished fact, when he "found the capital delirious with freedom". He was obliged to accept from others the narration of the events of those long, dark, uncertain days, the prelude of the Revolution, as well as of the Revolution itself, and in contrast with other journalists living on the spot was in this respect at a great disadvantage. Such a journalist would not have misjudged, for instance, the amount of revolutionary sentiment and the freedom with which it was expressed in Petrograd just prior to the outbreak, as is to be seen on page 35 *et seq.* in this volume. There are a few other inaccuracies which may be set down just as probably to misprint, as for instance "Arch-Protagonist" on page 22, where it is likely the opposite was intended.

Those who have followed these absorbing events in the press from day to day—and who has not?—will be especially grateful for a more rationalized and consecutive account in book form than the daily press could possibly afford. This volume makes it easier to comprehend the existence of German influence at court, and the means of accomplishing its purpose. While one cannot, without a knowledge of the Russian psychology, comprehend the establishment of the dual government, the abolition of the death penalty in the army, the dismissal of their most valued and trusted leaders in the midst of war, and the deliberation with which they set about the well-nigh impossible task of constructing a new and untried form of government during such a crisis, the turmoil is at least fascinating, and the narration thereof, spite of our impatience with their inaction, is most thankfully received.

The reader has reason to be grateful to this volume also for the pen portraits of the really great men who have come to the front in this world drama, especially Miliukov, Rodzianko, Lvov, and Gutchkov, and other members of the first provisional government. His characterization of Kerensky as "a great leader" does not seem to be borne out by his account of the man, nor are we ready to say yet that this will be the verdict of history. We seem to be still waiting for the great leader, six months after the emergence of Kerensky and the Bolsheviki with whom he must be always associated.

This sentence in the opening paragraph of the concluding chapter carries a much-needed and well-deserved assurance to this side of the water: "A people who could show restraint when a long and poignant past cried out for vengeance are capable of still greater things."

J. E. CONNER.

The American Indians North of Mexico. By W. H. Miner. (Cambridge, University Press, 1917, pp. xi, 169, \$1.00.) Specialists are so seldom willing to devote any attention to the production of popular works that attempts on the part of non-professionals to meet the need for such publications should be treated leniently. In the present instance we are able to be more than lenient because Mr. Miner has been well advised in his choice of authorities and has escaped most of the pitfalls into which other would-be popular writers frequently fall. As he has compressed his treatment into 169 small pages it is apparent that—although he has confined himself to that part of America north of Mexico—all that is attempted is a popular primer, the merest taste of the subject, something to give the lay reader a little glimpse into the lives of those peoples who preceded us in the occupation of the western continent; and it must be viewed only in that light.

A work of this kind might be handled either in a series of general discussions of the material culture, sociology, mythology, and so on, of the peoples of the area taken as a whole, or in the form of a bundle of specific descriptions of certain selected tribes. Mr. Miner, however, has chosen a middle course. After a brief introduction in which he outlines the physiographic background of American Indian life, he begins the main part of his task with a short chapter in which certain "General Facts" regarding the origin and distribution of the Indians are set forth, and follows it with a longer account of Indian Sociology. At this point he suddenly shifts to the specific method in discussions of the Plains Indians and the Indians of the Southwest, but in his final chapter on Indian Mythology he reverts to the generalizing method. Some notes, a very good bibliography, and an adequate index close the volume.

While a methodological mixture of the above kind in a work of this character has much to recommend it, it would have been better had the specific narratives been appended to the general discussion instead of being sandwiched into the middle of it. The former would also have been improved considerably by a chapter on material culture and economic life. Yet with all this, and in spite of occasional errors and some awkwardness in expression, Mr. Miner has produced a very readable booklet which may be used by the lay inquirer with comparative safety.

JOHN R. SWANTON.

Apprenticeship and Apprenticeship Education in Colonial New England and New York. By Robert Francis Seybolt, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Education in the University of Wisconsin. [Teachers College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, no. 85.] (New York, Teachers College, 1917, pp. 121, \$1.00.) The title reveals accurately the character of the book. After an introductory chapter on English apprenticeship, Professor Seybolt traces from such records as laws, indentures, and wills, the development of the institution in colonial New England and New York. He emphasizes apprenticeship not so much

as training for a trade but as a means for providing a general elementary education. His main contention is that apprenticeship was "the most fundamental educational institution of the period" (p. 22).

The first chapter is written with apparent care and fortified with many references to sources. But it furnishes no real contribution to historical knowledge; all the points emphasized have been covered by other writers. Of specific assertions one at least may be called in question: the statement that by 1400 apprenticeship "was practised by most guilds, and required by most towns" (p. 4). The evidence furnished, drawn chiefly from London records, certainly fails to substantiate this statement.

Succeeding chapters, more valuable in content, are inferior in style. Not only is the writing heavy, but it is diffuse and involved. Oft-quoted indentures weary with their sameness (see pp. 29, 34, 58-59, 88-89, and appendix A). Certain material in the text should have been condensed, put in the foot-notes, or omitted. Failure to summarize important points confuses the reader.

From a winding and thorny path, however, Professor Seybolt finally comes into the Promised Land. In the last and best chapter his findings emerge from the obscurity of muddy style. He brings out the significance of the Massachusetts Bay Act of 1642, a departure from English precedent, "the first compulsory education law in America" (p. 105). He shows how the example of Massachusetts in making masters responsible for the elementary education of their apprentices, either personally or through local schools, was followed in other colonies. It may indeed be questioned whether "the apprenticeship system took care of the entire problem of public elementary education during the colonial period" (p. 107); parents as well as masters had to provide instruction. But in general his conclusions are of real value not only to the specialist in the history of education but to the student of social and economic conditions in the colonies as well.

JONATHAN F. SCOTT.

The Life of Robert Hare, an American Chemist (1781-1858). By Edgar Fahs Smith, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917, pp. viii, 508, \$5.00.) Robert Hare was born in Philadelphia in 1781; he studied chemistry under Woodhouse at the University of Pennsylvania; in 1818 he was appointed professor of chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania, a position which he held for twenty-nine years; he died in 1858, eleven years after he gave up teaching. There are some points about Hare's career which appeal to the student of history and psychology. Hare was admittedly the best chemist of his day in America and he was a man who would have ranked high in any country at any time. In spite of that, his name is practically unknown to-day; and few people would know anything about him if it were not for this biography. Sometimes

a man ranks high among his contemporaries without ever doing anything striking which should be referred to by succeeding generations, but Hare was not of this type. When only twenty-one he invented the oxyhydrogen blow-pipe which gave the highest temperature then known and which is a regular piece of laboratory apparatus to-day. We might just as well call it the Hare blow-pipe as to speak of the Bunsen lamp and the Bunsen cell; but Bunsen's name has come down to us and Hare's has not. If Hare had been born in Germany, his name would be known to-day in connection with the blow-pipe. The difference seems to be that Bunsen had many students who published articles while Hare had very few.

Hare also invented two pieces of electrical apparatus, the calorimotor and the deflagrator, which were marked improvements over any batteries then in use and which enabled him to work at very high temperatures. In addition he built an enclosed electric furnace which was promptly forgotten and was re-invented many years later. Although a brilliant experimenter Hare did not succeed in doing anything which was wanted then. It was Davy who isolated sodium and potassium and it was Faraday who worked out Faraday's law. Hare did brilliant work with his electric furnace, making calcium carbide, graphite, etc.; but people were not interested in such things then. Hare was in many respects the precursor of Moissan, though a much more brilliant man than the latter. Moissan was born at the right time, however, and will be known for a long time on account of his electric furnace work, because his efforts have been followed up. Hare was born too early and his work led to nothing. If we call Moissan the Christopher Columbus of the electric furnace, we must call Hare the Leif Eriksen of the same.

While Hare will never receive the credit to which he is entitled, chemists are grateful to Provost Smith for putting on record, in so readable a fashion, the facts in regard to this forgotten American pioneer.

WILDER D. BANCROFT.

To Mexico with Scott: Letters of Captain E. Kirby Smith to his Wife. Prepared for the press by his daughter Emma Jerome Blackwood, with an introduction by R. M. Johnston. (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1917, pp. 225, \$1.25.) These letters from a fine officer of the regular army are a valuable addition to the first-hand literature of the Mexican War. The title is somewhat misleading, for one is almost half-way through the volume before Scott is overtaken, and the earlier part is not inferior in any way to the later. With the exception of the fighting at Monterey, which occurred while Captain Smith was absent on leave, all the striking incidents of Taylor's operations from the sojourn at Corpus Christi to the battle of Buena Vista are included, and we are given the only detailed account of Worth's unduly hurried march from Saltillo to "the Brazos". Under Scott the author fought at Vera

Cruz, but missed Cerro Gordo because of going on an expedition up Alvarado River, of which he gives the best account. His command was not at Contreras, but he distinguished himself at Churubusco; and at the next battle, Molino del Rey, he fell mortally wounded. Many subjects besides battles, however, are touched upon. One of the striking features of the letters is the writer's appreciation of beautiful scenery. On page 23 he speaks of the Nueces as "winding through the prairie like a blue ribbon carelessly thrown on a green robe", and many fine descriptive passages (*e. g.*, pp. 68, 74, 140, 210) remind us that professional soldiers are by no means mere fighters. Like other excellent officers the captain felt—and no doubt with justice—that honors did not always fall to the most deserved (p. 155), but was determined to do his duty in spite of that unpleasant fact. In his opinion of the volunteer forces also he concurred with other competent regulars, pronouncing them expensive, unruly, unreliable, though sometimes brave in battle, and too frequently a terror to the inhabitants—in all of which, minus a certain allowance for the regular army point of view, he was right. The reader of these, as of all other such documents, must ask himself here and there whether the writer was *in a position to know* the truth of what he believed and said, and by doing so will avoid accepting some errors. For example, it is stated (p. 132) that Santa Anna had his ministers with him at Cerro Gordo, and intended to negotiate, if beaten there. The author was not always able to give the correct spelling of Mexican names; some misprints can be found; and some accents are missing. *E. g.*, "Tamanlipas" is written for Tamaulipas (p. 22), "Tlacatalpin" for Tlacotalpam (p. 133), "Nopalucam" for Nopalucan (p. 160), "Mexicalingo" for Mexicaltzingo (p. 193) and "Peñon" for Peñón (p. 192). Professor R. M. Johnston contributes a handsome introduction.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

Old Roads out of Philadelphia. By John T. Faris. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917, pp. xix, 327, \$4.00.) This book aptly compares the old roads leading from Philadelphia to the wings of a fan stretching out into the country to south and west and north. The topography of the country renders this inevitable. In early days of settlement the most of the Quakers and Germans were farmers and such roads were needed to convey produce to the city for consumption and shipment.

Near these roads residences and inns naturally were placed and a large number of these buildings remain in a good state of preservation. Some old inns have been converted into spacious dwelling houses, architects skillfully harmonizing old and new. Around many have grown up traditions of history and of personal experience dating back to colonial or revolutionary times. Brandywine, Valley Forge, Germantown, and others have a national significance.

The old simple architecture has been largely preserved and has set the style for many modern residences. The farmers' houses of the district within twenty-five miles of Philadelphia, of from 100 to 200 years ago, have been reproduced with many expensive variations in the suburban residences of wealthy Philadelphians. There is thus both in old and new an atmosphere of the past along these roads which is easily noticeable. Often out of sight however, on side roads and in beautiful valleys, are old farmhouses which date back to 1700 or thereabouts. These have been improved by each generation by additions to buildings or planting which reveal the fact that these homesteads, coming down by will from father to son from the days of William Penn, have been the homes of a body of hereditary yeomen almost unknown elsewhere in the country. The Civil War and the years which followed broke up this succession in many cases, but the houses still remain.

So far as relates to the eleven roads and their surroundings, Mr. Faris has done his work well. The writer of this review has lived in part of this territory since his boyhood and can testify to the substantial accuracy and, in general, the judiciousness of the selection of material for his descriptions. There are some omissions which individuals locally interested may regret, but such will be reassured by the new matter drawn from wide sources of which they have probably not before heard.

The book is of interest to Philadelphia antiquarians and residents of the country described and the publishers have made a handsome volume.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

The History of the Jews in Richmond from 1769 to 1917. By Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein. (Richmond, Va., Herbert T. Ezekiel, 1917, pp. 374, \$3.00.) In its peculiar and narrowly limited field, this book is a work of very great excellence. Local histories, and especially local histories dealing with certain classes or races, are prone to jump at conclusions and to show little of the scientific historical spirit. From such a fault the history under consideration is refreshingly free. It is based on an examination of the Richmond city archives, most careful and exhaustive, on books, on newspapers, and on the statements of living witnesses of character and credibility. A book of the sort makes one feel that the lives of men are not so entirely writ in water, so evanescent, as they sometimes seem to be, for in the moderate compass of a single volume, the authors have presented the lives of all the Hebrews of any note at all who have been connected with Richmond. Jews have played a prominent part in the life of the city from its very inception; among the first business men who came to turn the insignificant village of Revolutionary times into the trading town of the nineteenth century were a number of Hebrews. Several of them rose to wealth and distinction. And since the early period, men of note like Sir Moses Montefiore and Sir Moses Ezekiel have lived and worked in

Richmond, not to mention the famous lawyer and statesman, Judah P. Benjamin, who, of course, directed the Confederate foreign policy from this city. And there are scores of other men and of women in the pages of the history who have left their mark on the community. The authors, imbued with a high ideal of historical accuracy, have left no labor unspared to make their work complete, and a good deal of matter which is of value in throwing light on general social and business conditions in Richmond has been included. One feature of interest is a list of Confederate soldiers of Hebrew blood who entered service from Richmond or who were connected with the city in after life. The part played by Jews in the military and civil concerns of Richmond all through the nineteenth century is given in great detail, as well as the history of the various synagogues, a matter of less interest to the general reader. Mr. Lichtenstein, who largely conducted the research, is a North Carolinian and the author of a number of good papers on the early history of his state. Mr. Ezekiel, the co-author, a newspaper man of experience, has put the book in a readable style which is to be highly commended. All in all, the work might serve as a model for this particular kind of history writing.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

Economic and Social History of Chowan County, North Carolina, 1880-1915. By W. Scott Boyce, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Economics in the Connecticut College for Women. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Columbia University, vol. LXXVI., no. 1.] (New York, Columbia University, 1917, pp. 293, \$2.50.) In this volume Dr. Boyce portrays the life and customs of Chowan County in 1880 and in 1915; sets forth "the main causes of the remarkable economic and social changes" which took place between those dates; and points out the "principal factors" which so long delayed the economic development of a region of such "enormous possibilities". He treats his subject under four general heads: (I.) Elements of Economic and Social Life; (II.) Development of Economic Life; (III.) Development of Social Life; (IV.) Conclusions; to which he appends twenty-four statistical tables. The various phases of the subject—agriculture, fishing, manufacturing, lumbering, communication and transportation, labor and wages, education, sanitation and hygiene, religion, social customs—are all discussed with the intimate knowledge derived from personal association and close observation. The author is at his best in describing social customs, though at times multiplicity of details obscures the picture; perhaps, however, this is unavoidable. His statements of facts are generally accurate, but it is doubtful, to say the least, whether there can be found in Chowan County any woman who thinks that "any useful work whatsoever ill befits a lady" (pp. 153, 256); whether "Drinking in those days [1880] was a mark of gentility" (p. 197). Nor are the author's conclusions always convincing. The lack of ready capital,

for instance, certainly played a larger part in the economic conditions of Chowan County in 1880, than the author seems disposed to concede; the conclusion that the "time-system", which he so justly condemns, is "the child of slavery" (pp. 251-252) is certainly open to discussion. Again, the conclusion that negro women are withdrawing from domestic service because they have "absolutely no protection from being grossly insulted" by white men, that "the more educated and refined she [the negro woman] is, the greater the efforts made by white men to seduce her" (pp. 153-154), is so far from being justified by the facts that one can scarcely exercise proper self-restraint in referring to it. Improved economic conditions, which enable negro men to support their wives and daughters, who are thus able to devote themselves to their own families and domestic affairs, and these alone, are responsible for the withdrawal of negro women from the domestic service of white families.

In spite, however, of these and a few minor faults, such as occasional flippancy in treatment and the use of slang expressions (*e. g.*, "local sheet" for local newspaper, p. 187; "an eighteen-year-old" for a blushing bride, p. 189), Dr. Boyce has produced an interesting and illuminating work, characterized by painstaking care in the collection of data and, generally, sympathetic understanding in interpretation.

R. D. W. CONNOR.

Applied History. Edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Volume III. *Statute Law-Making in Iowa.* (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1916, pp. xviii, 718, \$3.00.) This is a co-operative work, composed of the following monographs: History and Organization of the Legislature in Iowa, by John E. Briggs; Law-making Powers of the Legislature in Iowa, by Benjamin F. Shambaugh; Methods of Statute Law-making in Iowa, by O. K. Patton; Form and Language of Statutes in Iowa, by Jacob Van der Zee; Codification of Statute Law in Iowa, by Dan E. Clark; Interpretation and Construction of Statutes in Iowa, by O. K. Patton; the Drafting of Statutes, by Jacob Van der Zee; the Committee System, by Frank E. Horack; and Some Abuses connected with Statute Law-making, by Ivan L. Pollock.

The book constitutes a complete review of legislative organization and operation in Iowa, and is the first comprehensive study of a state legislature, although too little attention is given to the governor's share in legislation. The monographs maintain a high standard of excellence, although one feels that some of them have been written rather from printed records than from first-hand observation of legislative activities. The first monograph in the volume, that devoted to the history and organization of the legislature, contains much useful information but reads in places more like a catalogue than a treatise.

Dr. Van der Zee's study of the form and language of statutes in Iowa is especially well done, and gives useful illustrations of practices common to all state legislatures. To the reviewer Dr. Horack's study of the committee system is also of distinct interest.

A study such as that in the volume under review has the merit of giving the facts in detail upon a specific problem, but it has the disadvantage of viewing the local situation with too little reference to similar problems presenting themselves elsewhere. A broader view, for example, would probably have led to a less hostile view of sub-committees (p. 564). An erroneous statement is made regarding the extent of the powers of state governors to veto items in appropriation bills (p. 652). One to some extent familiar with Illinois legislative developments in recent years may perhaps be permitted to question the statement that legislative blackmail is prevalent in Illinois (p. 651).

A History of the North Indiana Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church from its Organization in 1844 to the Present. By Rev. H. N. Herrick, D.D., and William Warren Sweet, Professor of History in DePauw University. (Indianapolis, W. K. Stewart Company, 1917, pp. 363, xii, \$2.50.) This work was projected by the Rev. Horace N. Herrick of North Indiana Conference in 1910. He was able to give five years to collecting material, which he did with marvellous industry and intelligence. Dr. Herrick died in 1915, whereupon the work of digesting this material and of preparing it for publication was committed to Professor William W. Sweet, of DePauw University, a practical writer of history with special knowledge of Methodist matters. The outcome is a worthy memorial of a great religious movement; and a significant contribution to the social history of a sovereign state. There were Methodist itinerants in what is now the state of Indiana as early as 1801. The first organized pastoral charge, however, dates from 1807. It is estimated that the entire Methodist following at that time, so far as membership lists made record, did not exceed twenty souls. What there was of supervision for the small and scattered Methodism in Indiana was given by the stronger organizations in Kentucky and Illinois.

The growth of the church was rapid. In 1832 the membership is reported at 20,000 and Indiana Conference was organized. In 1844 this conference, with a membership of 67,000, was divided into the Indiana Conference and North Indiana Conference, the latter beginning its history with a membership of 28,000. In 1916 this last named single conference reported a membership of 88,000, while the total Methodist membership in the state is reported at 262,000. Moreover, the religious movement was supplemented by educational and philanthropic enterprises which have served to extend the influence of the denomination far beyond denominational lines; DePauw University, for instance, which now has over seven hundred students and over one million dollars worth of property; and the Methodist Hospital of Indianapolis, which receives patients regardless of denominational affiliation.

Professor Sweet shows in a most convincing way the intimate bearings of religion upon social movements, notably those dealing with the abolition of the slave-trade and of the liquor traffic. He notes also the

influence of the "Gas Boom" of 1888, which in its earlier stages promoted a hectic prosperity and, in its later stages, a deep depression alike of religious and of all other enterprise. There are interesting and instructive passages dealing with the attitude of the church towards amusements and church music. It seems inconceivable to us in this day that an otherwise progressive and cultivated church should object to the use of the organ in public worship, but in the earlier day even so eminent an apostle as Peter Cartwright bitterly opposed what he termed "high-toned" music. As late as 1870, when the annual conference was in session at Kokomo, the anti-organ agitators filled the organ with pepper which set the choir and congregation to sneezing and coughing as soon as the organ was started. Not the least useful function of this interesting and comprehensive study is the light it sheds upon the manners, customs, prejudices, and enthusiasms of our immediate forebears.

CHARLES M. STUART.

Reminiscences. By William Fletcher King. (New York and Cincinnati, the Abingdon Press, 1915, pp. 716, \$2.50.) This bulky volume of reminiscences is by the president emeritus of Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa. He became a teacher in this college in 1862, and continued in active service until 1908, serving from 1865 as its president. His career as a college president thus covered a period of forty-three years, one of the longest on record. At the ripe age of eighty-two he set about writing his reminiscences, urged by his friends to the task. The book follows the simple chronological order, starting with Ancestors and Childhood, and ending with a Cruise around the World. There are thirty-four chapters in all.

Naturally the casual reader would hardly be interested in a number of the more personal chapters, but to the graduate of Cornell College, or to an acquaintance of the author it would prove a fascinating book. There are, however, several chapters which deserve to be classed as historical material. The author was born in a frontier community in Ohio, and his description of the neighborhood in which he spent his boyhood and youth are both interesting and instructive. Most of the original settlers were still living, during his boyhood, and he had thus the opportunity of hearing at first hand the tales of the hardships and adventures attending the settlement of a frontier community. He gives considerable space to the country school, which he attended, and to the text-books used, as well as to a description of the country church, and the part it played in the social life of the community.

The author spent the year 1853-1854 in the South, teaching in an academy in Tennessee, where he had an opportunity of observing the operation of the institution of slavery. Among his experiences while in the South was attendance upon a slave auction. Another opportunity of considerable interest, which came to him, was that of accompanying

Sherman's army in its march from Savannah northward through the Carolinas. The occasion of this visit to Sherman's army was to collect money from the Iowa troops toward a fund that was being provided by Cornell College to assist in the education of returned soldiers and their children. This scheme was approved by the officials of the state of Iowa, and the appeal met a hearty response from the Iowa troops, who subscribed nearly thirty thousand dollars toward the fund.

Among the other varied experiences of the author of this volume is the getting together of a fortune of some two hundred thousand dollars, largely through fortunate real-estate investments, which he has in recent years turned over, to the last penny, to the college to which he has devoted his long life.

W. W. SWEET.

El General Sucre. Por Carlos Pereyra. [Biblioteca de la Juventud Hispano-Americana.] (Madrid, Sociedad General Española de Librería [1917], pp. 303, 3.50 pesetas.) The text of this volume, the fourth in a series by the same author, is designed to tell the story of the life and times of Antonio José de Sucre to the youth of Hispanic America. The narrative is not so much an actual biography of that patriot as a collection of episodic sketches in which he appears less frequently than might be expected. In its preparation the author has used for the most part the standard lives of Sucre and some of the contemporary memoirs. Had he availed himself of the correspondence gathered by O'Leary, and centred attention upon the man himself, instead of upon his historical environment, a more intimate personal picture of Bolívar's great lieutenant would have been the outcome. Two of the appendixes, also, are rather irrelevant.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Association was held in Philadelphia on December 27-29. The presidential address of Mr. Worthington C. Ford is printed in this number of this journal. The next number will contain the usual article descriptive of the proceedings. The meeting is especially marked by the retirement of Dr. Clarence W. Bowen from the office of treasurer, which he has filled with signal devotion and success from the first day of the Association's existence till the present time, a space of thirty-three and a third years. Such a period of service is almost without example in such organizations. Its completion should be signalized by the expression of cordial gratitude on the part of all who have had the interests of the Association at heart.

The usual Thanksgiving meeting of the Executive Council was held in New York on December 1. The Council voted to recommend to the Association that the publication of the prize essays in separate form be discontinued commencing with the essay to receive the Justin Winsor prize in 1918. The Council also voted to recommend that the rules governing the competition be so amended as to admit printed monographs as well as monographs in manuscript. A full statement of the action taken by the Association at its annual meeting on December 29 will be printed in the April number of this *Review* or may be secured upon application to the secretary of the Association.

A prize of \$250 is offered for the best approved essay on a subject in military history. The fields of study are not limited, but the Civil War is recommended as specially suitable. While the committee expects that the essays submitted will range from about 20,000 to 50,000 words, this is not intended as an absolute condition. Essays may be submitted in print or in manuscript, but in the latter case they must be typewritten. All essays must be sent to the chairman of the committee, Professor R. M. Johnston, 275 Widener Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts, not later than August 31, 1918.

Proof-reading upon volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1914, being the General Index to the Association's *Papers and Annual Reports* for its first thirty years, is approaching completion, and the volume (of about 825 pages) is expected to issue from the Government Printing Office before the end of the year. The *Annual Report* for 1915 is likely to come out before the end of the next three months. The two volumes of the *Annual Report* for 1916, the second consisting of the Correspondence

of R. M. T. Hunter, edited by Professor Charles H. Ambler, were sent to the Government Printing Office some time ago, but owing to the great congestion of work in that establishment the date of its publication is very uncertain.

At the moment of going to press, the receipts of dues for membership in the Association, in response to the bills sent out by the treasurer at the beginning of the fiscal year in September, have been much less than the receipts at corresponding dates in previous years. Members are most earnestly requested, not only to make prompt payment of these dues, but to exert themselves to secure additional members and thus to extend the resources and usefulness of the Association.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

Owing to the return of Professor Shotwell from Washington to New York, and of Professor Hull to Ithaca, the National Board for Historical Service has been reorganized, Professor Evarts B. Greene having been made chairman and Professor Dana C. Munro vice-chairman. An executive committee, and standing committees on research, on educational matters, on bibliography and records, and on co-operation, have been instituted. Plans have been prepared for systematic lecturing on the historical background and origins of the war, to the young men in the great training camps and cantonments, under the auspices of the War Department Commission for Training Camp Activities.

A careful syllabus for lectures or teaching respecting the origins and history of the present war, prepared by Professor Samuel B. Harding of the Indiana State University, under the auspices of the Board, will be published shortly as one of a series of supplements, with which the editor of the *History Teacher's Magazine* intends to accompany successive numbers of that journal.

Two additional states having, at somewhat late dates, made arrangements for prizes for historical essays on the question "Why the United States is at War", in competitions similar to those described in our last number (p. 228), and the date for the conclusion of these two competitions having been set at March 1, it has become necessary to postpone by two months any action in the way of national competition between the essays successful in the various state contests.

PERSONAL

E. Benjamin Andrews, formerly president of Brown University, superintendent of the schools of Chicago, and chancellor of the University of Nebraska, died on October 30, at the age of seventy-three. Chiefly known in recent years as an able, broadminded, and far-seeing executive, he had in earlier years, when professor in Brown University,

produced historical manuals of original quality, *Institutes of Constitutional History, English and American* (1884), and *Institutes of General History* (1885). His *History of the United States* (1894) and his *History of the Last Quarter-Century in the United States* (1896), subsequently enlarged into his *History of the United States in our Own Times* (1903), were books intended for a more popular audience; while showing some evidences of haste in composition, they bore nevertheless the impress of a powerful mind, treated a difficult period with candor and fairness, and conveyed to the reader's mind the author's vivid sense of force and movement in the development of American society.

Brig.-Gen. Hiram M. Chittenden, U. S. A., died on October 9 at the age of fifty-nine. Graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1884, and retiring from the army as a brigadier-general in 1910, he had spent his professional life mostly in government engineering works in the Far West. Important historical works, marked by much research and extensive and accurate information, arose out of these interests: *The American Fur-Trade of the Far West* (1901), and the *History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Mississippi River* (1903).

Dr. George Willis Botsford, professor of ancient history in Columbia University and in the field of Greek and Roman history one of the most distinguished and valued students that America has produced, died on December 14, at the age of fifty-five. He had published several historical treatises of importance, *The Development of the Athenian Constitution* (1893), *The Roman Assemblies* (1900), and the collection entitled *Hellenic Civilization* (1915), and also important text-books of ancient history, of Greek history, and of Roman history.

Dr. Margaret S. Morriss, associate professor of history in Mt. Holyoke College, has resigned her position to go to France as secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association.

Dr. James M. Leake, formerly of Bryn Mawr College, has been appointed professor of history in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the University of Minnesota, has been advanced from the grade of assistant professor of history to that of associate professor.

Professor Charles H. Ambler of Randolph-Macon College has accepted a call to a new chair of history in the University of West Virginia. Mr. C. D. Johns, associate professor of history in Richmond College, has been elected as Mr. Ambler's successor in Randolph-Macon.

Professor Thomas M. Marshall of the University of Idaho has been called to the University of Colorado as assistant professor of American history.

GENERAL

In the September number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* Professor E. B. Greene offers some useful Suggestions on the Relation of American to European History. The October number includes an article by Professor W. Westergaard on American Interest in the West Indies, one by Professor E. M. Violette on the Renaissance in Military History, and one by Harriet E. Tuell entitled the Study of the Nations: an Experiment. There are also a number of Suggestions for Secondary School History, including those of the committee on European history concerning Ethnographical Conditions in Central Europe, and those of Professor St. George L. Sioussat concerning English Foundations of American Institutional Life. Similar suggestions are found also in the November and December numbers. In the former Professor E. B. Greene discusses the American Revolution and the British Empire, and Professor R. J. Kerner the Historic Rôle of the Slavs. In the latter Professor Wallace Notestein discusses the Interest of Seventeenth-Century England for Students of American Institutions, and Dr. James Sullivan Some Aspects of American Experience, 1775-1783. Among the larger articles in the December number are Democracy and War, by Professor J. G. Randall, the Holy Alliance, its Origins and Influence, by Professor W. S. Robertson, and the Importance of the Agricultural Revolution, by Professor Raymond G. Taylor. Many of these articles have been prepared in co-operation with the educational committee of the National Board for Historical Service, in an endeavor to relate the four historical curricula of the high schools, at successive monthly stages, to the various aspects and phenomena of the Great War and to the public interests of the present day.

The October number of the *Military Historian and Economist* has for its historical contents part I. of an article on Man and Nature at Port Hudson, 1863-1917, by Professor Milledge L. Bonham, jr., of Louisiana.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for October, John R. Lynch criticizes various statements made by Dr. Rhodes respecting the Negro in the Reconstruction Period, Charles H. Wesley gives a good account of the Struggle for the Recognition of Haiti and Liberia as Independent Republics, and Father Joseph Butsch, of St. Joseph's Seminary in Baltimore, treats of Catholics and the Negro. Among the documents presented are letters of Washington bearing on the negro, a petition for compensation for the loss of slaves in the Danish West Indies, 1851, and the speech of a Mobile negro at a reconstruction meeting in 1867.

The fourth volume of Benedetto Croce's *Filosofia dello Spirito* (Bari, Laterza, 1917, pp. viii, 300) deals with the theory and history of historiography.

The Oxford University Press announces a collection of essays entitled *Studies in the History and Method of Science*. Among the contributors are the editor, Mr. Charles Singer, J. W. Jenkinson, killed in the Dardanelles, and F. S. Schiller.

The Yale University Press has announced *The Growth of Medicine from the Earliest Times to c. 1880* by A. H. Buck.

Among those to whom Dr. Cabanès pays his medico-historical respects in the fourth volume of his *Légendes et Curiosités de l'Histoire* (Paris, Michel, 1917) are Pascal, Madame de Sevigné, Rousseau, Diderot, and the Duc du Maine.

Mr. Gerard Fiennes's *Sea Power and Freedom* is an historical survey of the subject, endeavoring to establish the thesis that the possession of sea power on the part of a nation is necessarily antagonistic to despotic rule.

Among the recent announcements of the Oxford University Press are, *A History of South Africa*, by Dorothea Fairbridge; *A History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B. C.*, by Professor Percy Gardner; *The Descent of Manuscripts*, by Dr. A. C. Clark; and *Warren Hastings's Administration of Bengal*, by M. E. Monckton Jones.

The Texas History Teachers' *Bulletin*, volume VI., no. 1, contains, as "source readings", two epistles of Innocent III., and a group of letters of 1821 and 1822 to Stephen F. Austin, from prospective settlers on his grant.

ANCIENT HISTORY

In the *Yale Oriental Series* Mr. Henry F. Lutz has recently published *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa* (Yale University Press).

The Princeton University Press, which some time ago issued the second volume of *Early Egyptian Records of Travel*, containing texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty edited by Mr. David Paton, is to issue shortly *Egyptian Records of Travel in Western Asia*, prepared by the same editor.

A successful attempt to popularize the results of the latest archaeological research is found in *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe* by Donald A. Mackenzie (Gresham Publishing Company).

Dr. L. Laurand treats the topics history, geography, and institutions of Rome in the fourth part of his *Manuel des Études Grecques et Latines* (Paris, Picard), which has been issued recently. Latin literature and historical Latin grammar will be dealt with in the fifth and sixth parts, which are announced as ready for early distribution.

Supplementary and miscellaneous inscriptions to the number of over two hundred are included in the second section of the fourth part of

The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum (Oxford, University Press, 1916, pp. 107-301). This section is edited by F. H. Marshall and contains, among other interesting items, the Greek text of the Rosetta stone. This completes the publication of the Greek inscriptions in the British Museum which was begun in 1874 and had been interrupted since 1893.

Volume XIII. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by Dr. B. P. Grenfell, contains a literary miscellany, among which are a fragment from Pindar, portions of orations by Lysias, a symposium on Hellenic history and mythology, and part of the history by Ephorus. The volume has been in the hands of the printer for some time and will probably be completed shortly.

Miss Emily L. Shields has presented as her doctoral dissertation a thoroughgoing study of Lesbian gods, entitled *The Cults of Lesbos* (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Company).

The inscriptions published by Dr. P. Roussel in *Les Cultes Égyptiens à Delos du 3^e au 1^{er} Siècle avant J. C.* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 300) furnishes much new information on the diffusion of Egyptian cults in the Greek world. The work forms the twenty-ninth and thirtieth volumes of the *Annales de l'Est.*

Henri Gautier devotes the fifth volume of *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte* to the Roman emperors. The volume appears in the *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* (Cairo, the Institute, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Cumont, *La Langue des Hittites* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, March); A. E. R. Boak, *The Present Status of the Problem of Races in the Pre-Historic Aegean Basin* (Classical Journal, October); Seymour de Ricci, *Le Table de Palerme* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, March); J. B. Willson, *Lead and Tin in Ancient Times* (Princeton Theological Review, July); V. Costanzi, *La Condizione Giuridica della Grecia dopo la Distruzione di Corinto nel 146 a. Ch.* (Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Recent volumes in the series, *Les Saints* (Paris, Gabalda, 1917) are *Sainte Paule, 347-404*, by R. Génier, and *Saint Nicholas, Évêque de Myre, vers 270-341*, by Abbé Marin.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Professor Charles Diehl has recently issued a volume entitled *Dans l'Orient Byzantin* (Paris, Boccard, 1917, pp. viii, 331), in the *Collection d'Étude d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*.

The third volume of J. Koulakovsky's *Istoriia Vizantii* (Kiev, Koulijenko, 1915, pp. xiv, 431, reviewed by L. Bréhier, *Journal des Savants*, September) deals with the period of Byzantine history from 602 to 717, the age of the dynasty of Heraclius.

Documents for the third year of the pontificate, 1256-1257, are published in the second volume of *Les Registres d'Alexandre IV.: Recueil des Bulles de ce Pape, publiées ou analysées d'après les Manuscrits Originaux des Archives du Vatican* (Paris, Boccard, 1917, pp. 489-752), edited by J. de Loye and P. de Cenival.

The third volume of the *Harvard Studies in Romance Languages* contains four essays by the late Professor Murray A. Potter, prepared for publication by his colleagues. Three of the essays deal with Petrarch, as author, as man, and as critic and reader. The fourth is an entertaining essay on the Horse as an Epic Character.

G. Mollat is bringing out a new annotated edition of the *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium* (Paris, Letouzey, 1917, 4 vols.) of Étienne Baluze, and has published a volume of *Études Critiques sur les Vitae Paparum Avenionensium d'Étienne Baluze* (*ibid.*).

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have published *The Life and Works of Wessel Gansfort*, by Edward W. Miller and Jared W. Scudder. The work presents a biography of Gansfort with an estimate of his importance as a forerunner of Luther and a translation of his Letters, his Treatise on the Eucharist, and Farrago.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. L. Poole, *The Names and Numbers of Medieval Popes* (*English Historical Review*, October); A. Fliche, *L'Élection d'Urbain II.* (*Le Moyen Age*, July, 1916); J. B. Chabot, *Un Épisode Inédit de l'Histoire des Croisades: le Siège de Birta, 1145* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, March); L. Bréhier, *Origin of the Misunderstanding between the Roman Church and the East* (*Constructive Quarterly*, September); Rose G. Kingsley, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (*Edinburgh Review*, October); *Magister Gregorius de Mirabilibus Urbis Romae* (*English Historical Review*, October).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: E. Chapuisat, *Les Études Napoléoniennes en Suisse, 1916* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, September).

An interesting study in the development of internationalism is *Der Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation in seiner Entwicklung, 1300-1800* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1917, pp. xi, 397), by Dr. Jacob Ter Meulen.

The Life of St. Francis Xavier: Evangelist, Explorer, Mystic, by Edith Anne Stewart, published by Messrs. Headley, while a popular

account, is based in large part on the letters of Xavier issued by the Society of Jesus in Madrid, translations from some of which are included.

Professor P. Sagnac of the University of Lille has written *Le Rhin Français pendant la Révolution et l'Empire* (Paris, Alcan, 1917) for the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine*.

Un Diplomate d'il y a Cent Ans: Frédéric de Gentz, 1764-1832 (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 308) is by A. Robinet de Cléry.

Messrs. Macmillan announce F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Main Currents of European History, 1815-1915*.

Commandant M. H. Weil, shortly before the outbreak of war, was permitted to work in the Vienna archives, especially among the police reports, and has now published his findings in two volumes on *Les Dessous du Congrès de Vienne d'après les Documents Originaux des Archives du Ministère Impérial et Royal de l'Intérieur à Vienne* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. xxiv, 872; iv, 784).

A study of *La Révolution de Juillet 1830 et l'Europe* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1917, pp. viii, 564) is by the Vicomte de Guichen.

E. Babelon has published the second volume which completes his *La Grande Question d'Occident: le Rhin dans l'Histoire* (Paris, Leroux, 1917).

Under the title *The Willy-Nicky Telegrams*, Alfred A. Knopf of New York has recently published a translation by Herman Bernstein of an intimate private correspondence between the emperors of Germany and Russia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Feliciangeli, *Le Proposte per la Guerra contro i Turchi presentate da Stefano Taleazzi, Vescovo di Torcello, a Papa Alessandro VI.* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XL. 1); N. Weiss, *L'Origine et les Étapes Historiques des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, April); A. F. Steuart, *Early Russian Embassies to Britain* (Twentieth Century Russia, July); G. Drei, *La Politica di Pio IV. e del Cardinale Ercole Gonzaga, 1559-1560* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XL. 1); Hamilton Vreeland, jr., *Hugo Grotius, Diplomatist* (American Journal of International Law, July); F. W. Baumgartner, *The Neutralization of States* [cont.] (Queen's Quarterly, October, November, December); Sir John Macdonell, *The True Freedom of the Sea* (Nineteenth Century, November); W. A. Phillips, *The Balance of Power* (The New Europe, November 1); G. Vauthier, *Lakanal Commissaire de la République dans les Quatre Nouveaux Départements de la Rive Gauche du Rhin* (Annales Révolutionnaires, July); O. Karmin, *Autour des Négociations Financières*

Anglo-Prusso-Russes de 1813, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, April); Col. A. Grouard, *Les Derniers Historiens de 1815: la Journée du 17 Juin 1815: Note Additionnelle, à propos de la "Réponse" de M. E. Lenient* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); J. Rovère, *La Rive Gauche du Rhin*, I., *La Résistance à la Conquête, 1815-1848* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); Sir Francis Piggott, *The Story of the Declaration of Paris* (Nineteenth Century, November); J. Reinach, *Gambetta et Bismarck; l'Affaire Schnaebelé* (Revue de Paris, August 15).

THE GREAT WAR

The little weekly periodical, *The New Europe*, which has been appearing in London during the war, was recently described by a competent American authority as "worth more to one interested in European diplomacy than everything else together".

The library of the city of Lyons has issued four parts (40 pp. each) of a *Catalogue du Fonds de la Guerre: Contribution à une Bibliographie Générale de la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Éditions et Librairie, 1917). It is reported that the library of the University of Bologna has made special effort to collect publications on the war and is engaged in the preparation of a catalogue of its collection. The Italian government has established an Historiographical Office on Mobilization to gather materials on the Italian part in the war. The publisher Barbèra has issued a *Bibliografia della Preparazione* (1916), and is now engaged on a *Bibliografia della Partecipazione*. These two works cover the war in general. The *Argus de la Presse* has published *Grand Guerre, 1914-15-16-17, Nomenclature des Journaux, Revues, Périodiques Français paraissant en France et en Langue Française à l'Étranger* (Paris, *Argus*, 1917, pp. 271).

President Nicholas Murray Butler has published *A World in Ferment: Interpretations of the War for a New World* (New York, Scribner, 1917, pp. viii, 254). Somewhat similar interpretative studies will be found in Professor Gilbert Murray's *Faith, War, and Policy: Addresses and Essays on the European War* (Boston, Houghton, 1917, pp. xiv, 255); in René Lote's *Les Leçons Intellectuelles de la Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1917); and in Christopher Nyrop's *Guerre et Civilisation* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), which is translated from the Danish by E. Philipot.

Topography and Strategy in War (Holt), by Dr. Douglas W. Johnson, associate professor of physiography in Columbia University, is intended to show by text, map, and photographs, how the lay of the land affects the fortunes of war, to study from this point of view the chief theatres of the present war, and to summarize its campaigns.

International relations antecedent to the war have furnished subjects for the following interesting studies which have recently appeared: A.

Soulange-Bodin, *L'Avant-Guerre Allemande en Europe* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), which deals especially with the commercial rivalry with England; G. Brunel, *Les Incidents Franco-Allemands de 1871 à 1914* (Paris, Pigeon, 1917), which relates to the Schnaebelé affair, the various Moroccan episodes, and the formation of the Franco-Russian alliance; E. Laloy, *La Diplomatie de Guillaume II. depuis son Avènement jusqu'à la Déclaration de Guerre de l'Angleterre* (Paris, Bossard, 1917, pp. 420); J. Carrère, *L'Impérialisme Britannique et le Rapprochement Franco-Anglais, 1900-1903* (Paris, Perrin, 1917, pp. xiv, 352); and A. Gauvain, *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (vol. I., *La Crise Bosniaque, 1908-1909*, Paris, Bossard, 1917, pp. 500).

In the three parts of *Les Études de la Guerre* (Paris, Payot, 1917) which have so far been published by René Puaux will be found some new materials and some new considerations relating to the diplomatic history of the outbreak of the war.

Charles Benoist has reprinted from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* his fortnightly comments on the war situation during the first half of 1916 under the title *L'Europe en Feu: Chroniques de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Perrin, 1917). *La Société des Nations* (Paris, Grasset, 1917), by Edgard Milhaud, is mainly compiled from his articles of current comment in *L'Humanité*.

General Palat (Pierre Lehautcourt) has published the first volume of *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917), which is devoted to a consideration of the elements involved and the preliminaries of the problem. The second volume of General Malletierre's *Études et Impressions de Guerre* (Paris, Tallandier, 1917) relates to the second year of the war. The volume on the *Troisième Année de Guerre, Août 1916-Août 1917* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1917, pp. 900, 2800 illustrations) has appeared in the series *J'ai Vu. Los Imperios Centrales contra los Aliados* (Paris, Imp. Artistique Lux, 1916, pp. viii, 400), by J. Muñoz Escamez, is a comprehensive account of the first year and a half of the war.

Les Batailles de la Marne (September 6-12), by an "Officier d'État-Major Allemand", published in Germany in January, 1916, was in April, 1916, withdrawn from publication and all available copies were bought up. The volume is now to be obtained only in the French translation, by an official of the Belgian war department, to which M. Joseph Reinach has prefixed an excellent preface (Paris, Van Oest, 1917, pp. 160). The volume contains maps reproduced from the German volume. A series of *Guides Michelin pour la Visite des Champs de Bataille* (Paris, Berger-Levrault) is being published. Three volumes have appeared dealing with the Marne battle-fields. The volumes seem to be done with great care and thoroughness and are supplied with maps and an abundance of illustrations. English editions will also be published.

With a Reservist in France: a Personal Account of all the Engagements in which the First Division, First Corps, took Part (New York, Dutton, 1917, pp. 156) is by F. A. Bolwell and relates experiences at the Marne, the first battle of Ypres, Neuve Chapelle, Festubert, and Loos.

In the series *Mémoires et Récits de Guerre* (Paris, Hachette) the latest volumes issued are *Lettres de Guerre, Août 1914-Avril 1915*, by P. M. Masson; *De l'Alsace à la Somme: Souvenirs du Front, Août 1914-Janvier 1917*, by Commandant Bréant; *Mon Groupe d'Autos-Canons: Souvenirs de Campagne d'un Officier de Marine, Septembre 1914-Avril 1916*, by P. de Kadoré; and *Notre Camarade Tommy, Offensives Anglaises de Janvier à Juin 1917*, by H. Ruffin and A. Tudesq. In the series *Les Récits des Témoins* (Paris, Berger-Levrault) there have recently appeared *Journal d'un Officier de Cavalerie*, by C. Ouy-Vernazabres, relating to the opening events of the war; and *La Flamme Victorieuse, Carnet de Route, Trois Étapes du 20^e Corps, Haraucourt, Fouquescourt, Hébuterne*, by R. Gentil.

Messrs. Perrin of Paris have published the memoirs of E. F. Julia, *La Fatalité de la Guerre, Scènes et Propos du Front*; of G. Boucheron, *L'Assaut, l'Argonne et Vauquois avec la 10^e Division, 1914-1915*; and of V. Lebedev, *Souvenirs d'un Volontaire Russe dans l'Armée Française, 1914-1915*, translated by P. F. Trogan and I. de Wyzewa. Max Deauville has written *Jusqu'à l'Yser* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1917, pp. ii, 394) from the notes of Dr. M. Duwez of the Belgian army. Early episodes of the war are also chronicled in *De Verdun à Mannheim: Souvenirs de Captivité* (Paris, Vitet, 1917), by J. Simonin, and in *Impressions d'un Simple, 1913-1916* (Paris, Colin, 1917, pp. xii, 284), by J. Maurie. R. Milan has published a second volume of *Les Vagabonds de la Gloire* (Paris, Plon, 1917) dealing with the Saloniki and Italian campaigns and naval aviation.

Notable among war books for its high literary quality is *Campaigns and Intervals* (Houghton, Mifflin), a translation of the war journal of Lieutenant Jean Giraudoux.

Henry C. Mahoney, who entered Germany on his way to Russia in July, 1914, recounts his experiences in *Sixteen Months in Four German Prisons* (Robert M. McBride Company). G. Desson's narrative of imprisonment, translated under the title *A Hostage in Germany*, has been published by Messrs. Dutton, who also publish *In German Hands*, by Charles Hennebois. Professor D. J. McCarthy of the University of Pennsylvania, who as a representative of the American embassy in Berlin investigated prison conditions, writes of what he learned in *The Prisoner of War in Germany* (Moffat, Yard).

The comparative question of the treatment of prisoners of war, in France and in Germany, has received the best treatment known to us in

Le Régime des Prisonniers de Guerre en France et en Allemagne au Regard des Conventions Internationales, 1914-1916 (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1916, pp. 100, and many photographs and facsimiles), published with a valuable preface by M. Louis Renault, the well-known publicist who had so large a part in the adjustment of questions in this field at the Hague Conferences.

The Journal of Submarine Commander von Forstner, translated by Mrs. Russell Codman, with an introduction by John Hays Hammond, is a frank account of methods of German U-boat warfare (Houghton Mifflin Company).

The able authority on Slavic questions, Professor Louis Leger of the Collège de France, is the author of a volume on *Le Panslavisme et l'Intérêt Français* (Paris, Flammarion, 1917).

Les Deux Suisses, 1914-1917 (Paris, Bossard, 1917), by Louis Dumur, is a denunciatory description of German influence and activities in Switzerland.

From the southeastern theatre we have M. Dunan, *L'Été Bulgare, Notes d'un Témoin, Juillet-Octobre, 1915* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917, pp. viii, 396); H. Libermann, *Face aux Bulgares, la Campagne Française en Macédoine Serbe: Récits vécus d'un Officier de Chasseurs à Pied, Octobre, 1915-Janvier, 1916* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. ix, 392); and Auguste Boppe, the French minister to Serbia, *À la Suite du Gouvernement Serbe, de Nich à Corfou, 20 Octobre 1915-19 Janvier 1916* (Paris, Bossard, 1917, pp. 160).

La Campagne Anglo-Belge de l'Afrique-Orientale Allemande (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), by Charles Stiénon, is based on official materials and has a preface by the Belgian premier, Baron de Broqueville. This campaign is the only colonial one in the present war which has involved prolonged and serious fighting, and this is the first attempt to give a systematic and comprehensive account of it.

Brig.-Gen. J. H. V. Crowe, C. B., who accompanied General Smuts in his East African campaign, has written an account of it, interesting to students of military history, entitled *General Smuts' Campaign in East Africa*. On the other hand, *Marching on Tanga* (London, Collins), by Francis Brett Young, a medical officer under Smuts, is devoted chiefly to the difficulties offered by the country rather than to military details.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Chéradame, *The Fallacy of a German Peace* (Atlantic Monthly, November); G. Hanotaux, *L'Énigme de Charleroi* (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 15, September 1); Z. Z. Z., *Précisions sur la Bataille de la Marne* (Revue de Paris, September 15); L. Madelin, *La Bataille des Flandres, l'Yser et Ypres* (Revue des Deux Mondes, July 15, August 1); V. Giraud, *Le Miracle Français*, II.

(*ibid.*, August 1) ; A. Chevrillon, *Visites au Front, sur le Front Anglais, Juin 1916*, II. (*ibid.*, July 15) ; R. de la Frégeolière, *Croisières Aériennes, Souvenirs et Récits d'un Pilote Militaire* (*ibid.*, October 15) ; O. Guihéneuc, *La Lutte contre les Sous-Marins* (Revue de Paris, July 15) ; J. Duhem, *Vue Générale de la Question d'Alsace-Lorraine* (Mercure de France, July 16) ; A. G. Loraine, *Portugal in the War* (New Europe, August 2).

(See also p. 472.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Mr. G. G. Coulton has gathered a series of extracts soon to be published by the Cambridge University Press under the title *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*.

The Royal Historical Society has distributed to its members a volume of Magna Carta essays, written by Professors McKechnie and G. B. Adams, Dr. Round, Sir Paul Vinogradoff, and others.

The Scottish Historical Society has recently issued to its members two volumes of *Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant*, edited by Professor C. Sanford Terry of Aberdeen University.

Mr. Herbert Jenkins has published Mr. A. M. W. Stirling's *The Story of the Hothams: from their hitherto unpublished Family Papers*, in two volumes, containing letters from the Four Georges, Frederick the Great, Pym, Mrs. Siddons, and others.

Charles James Fox, Talleyrand, Metternich, Alexander I., and other figures of political importance form the subject-matter of Charles Whibley's *Political Portraits* (Macmillan).

The Magdalen Hospital: the Story of a Great Charity, by Rev. H. Compston (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), is a history of an institution which was founded in 1758 and, managed chiefly by able London merchants, has been not only of great value in respect to its own ministrations but also a potent example for the creation of many similar institutions since that date.

The Correspondence of Sir Arthur Helps, edited by E. A. Helps (John Lane), contains many unpublished letters from Gladstone, Dean Stanley, Disraeli, Froude, and others.

From correspondence and diaries Mrs. Louise Creighton has completed *The Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin*, the Quaker historian and antiquarian, which is published by Messrs. Longmans.

Mr. G. W. E. Russell has followed his *Portraits of the Seventies* by a volume of essays on the last years of the nineteenth century, which he calls *Politics and Personalities* (Scribner).

An authoritative biography of David Lloyd George, by Harold Spender, a friend of long standing, is announced for publication early in 1918, by the George H. Doran Company.

Britain in Arms, by Jules Destrée, translated from the French by J. Lewis May, is the work of a Belgian who felt that England's efforts in the war were not appreciated by the world at large and especially by her own allies.

Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis, by Louis A. Barbé, is an historical study, based in part on documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale, of the career of the wife of that dauphin who later became Louis XI. of France.

The town council of Glasgow has commissioned Dr. Robert Renwick, town clerk depute, to prepare an extensive history of the city.

Doing My Bit for Ireland (New York, Century Company, 1917, pp. x, 251) by Margaret Skinnider, is the narrative of a participant in the revolt of 1916.

Documentary publications: *Year Books of Edward II.*, vol. XII., 5 Edward II., 1312, ed. W. C. Bolland (Selden Society); *The Register of Thomas Spofford, Bishop of Hereford (1422-1448)*, ed. Arthur T. Bannister (Hereford, Wilson and Phillips); *Register of the Priory of St. Bees*, ed. Rev. James Wilson (Surtees Society, 1915); *The Burgh Records of Dunfermline, 1488-1584*, ed. Erskine Beveridge (Edinburgh, William Brown, 1917, pp. lviii, 600); *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, vol. IV., *Wardens' Account Book, 1546-1571*, ed. Bower Marsh (Oxford, University Press, 1916, pp. 288).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. B. Grundy, *The Place Names of England* (Quarterly Review, October); M. L. R. Beaven, *The Regnal Dates of Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan* (English Historical Review, October); Miss R. R. Reid, *The Office of Warden of the Marches: its Origin and Early History* (*ibid.*); A. B. White, *Note on the Name Magna Carta* (*ibid.*); A. F. Pollard, *Magna Carta* (History, October); C. H. Firth, *The Expulsion of the Long Parliament* (*ibid.*); R. L. Schuyler, *British Imperial Preference and Sir Robert Peel* (Political Science Quarterly, September); L. Morel, *L'Influence des Penseurs et l'Action Nationale en Grande Bretagne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); D. H. Fleming, *The Influence of the Reformation on Social and Cultured Life in Scotland* (Scottish Historical Review, October); Michael MacDonagh, *The Journals of the Irish Parliament* (Irish Ecclesiastical Record, October); D. A. Chart, *The Irish Levies during the Great French Wars* (English Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

Following the precedents established by Lockroy for the naval records and by Trouillot for the colonial papers, M. Clémentel, the recent minister of posts and telegraphs, ordered the transfer to the Archives Nationales of all despatches over fifty years old, that had passed between

governmental authorities. Pursuant to this order there have already been transferred all despatches since Chappe inaugurated the telegraph in 1794 down to 1845. They will be open to scholars, under certain obvious restrictions.

The Harvard University Press announces a study of Norman governmental, fiscal, ecclesiastical, and judicial institutions by Professor C. H. Haskins, entitled *Studies in Norman Institutions*.

Jean Allenou has published the Latin text, with translation and notes, of the *Enquête par Tourbe ordonnée par Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre* (Paris, Champion, 1917, pp. 102), under the title, *Histoire Féodale des Marais, Territoire, et Église de Dol*. The volume is the thirteenth in the series *La Bretagne et les Pays Celtiques*.

The years 1170-1204 are covered in the second volume of *Chartes de l'Abbaye de Jumièges conservées aux Archives de la Seine-Inférieure* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. 424) edited by J. J. Vernier for the Société de l'Histoire de Normandie.

The second volume of the *Ordonnances des Rois de France, Règne de François I^{er}* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1917, pp. 741) covers the years 1517-1520. It is published by the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques.

To the *National History of France*, earlier volumes of which have been reviewed in this journal (XXII. 640, 706), a translation of Jacques Boulenger's volume has been added, with the title *The Great Century* (Constable).

A. Crémieux has published *Marseille et la Royauté pendant la Minorité de Louis XIV., 1643-1660* (Paris, Hachette, 1917, 2 vols., pp. 894).

Frank Puaux has made a study of Protestant political teachings in *Les Défenseurs de la Souveraineté du Peuple sous le Règne de Louis XIV.* (Paris, Renouard, 1917, pp. 126).

Paul d'Estrée's *Le Maréchal de Richelieu, 1696-1788, d'après les Mémoires Contemporains et des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1917, pp. xxx, 393) has gone into a second edition.

The latest issues of the Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, Laurens, 1916) are the sixth volume of the *Mémoires de Saint-Hilaire*, covering the years 1711-1715; and the third volume of the *Journal de Jean Vallier, Maître d'Hôtel du Roi, 1648-1657*, dealing with the period from September 1, 1651, to July 31, 1652.

In *La Convocation des États Généraux de 1789 en Languedoc* (Montpellier, Firmin and Montane, 1917, pp. 156), André Mathieu has called attention to the juridical problems involved and the manner in which they were handled.

E. Sevestre, who is well known for his studies on the local history of Normandy and on the church history of the Revolution, has recently published an *Étude Critique des Sources de l'Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution en Normandie, 1787-1801* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. vii, 280).

French history during the time of Napoleon and the Empire is the period covered by the *Memoirs of the Comte de Mercy Argenteau*, translated and edited by Mr. George S. Hellman (Putnam).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *Les Nationalités Régionales de l'Ancienne France dans leurs Rapports avec la Couronne* (Revue Historique, September); J. Clémenceau, *Notes sur les États-Généraux et l'Assemblée Constituante*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, April); G. Rouanet, *Les Séances de la Constituante après le 14 Juillet 1789* (Annales Révolutionnaires, July); E. d'Hauteville, *La Police pendant la Révolution, Organisation et Fonctionnement* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); L. Madelin, *Les Armées de la Révolution et la Discipline* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); A. Mathiez, *Les Subsistances pendant la Révolution*, III. *Les Enragés et la Lutte pour le Maximum, Janvier-Février 1793* (Annales Révolutionnaires, July); M. Marion, *Le Maximum, Mai 1793-Nivôse An III*. (Revue des Études Historiques, July); *id.*, *Les Lois de Maximum sous la Révolution et la Taxation des Salaires* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, August); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Talleyrand et l'Expédition d'Égypte*, II. (*ibid.*, July); G. Vauthier, *Les Congrégations Religieuses sous l'Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); H. Welschinger, *The Private Papers of M. Thiers* (Quarterly Review, October).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: J. Luchaire and J. Alazard, *Histoire d'Italie, Période Moderne, Fin du XV^e Siècle-Fin du XVIII^e Siècle*, I. (Revue Historique, September).

A considerable portion of the archives of the house of Medici, embracing important correspondence of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1489, 1491, and 1492, is to be sold at auction by Christie, Manson, and Woods, in London, on February 4, 1918. The catalogue is by Mr. Royal Tyler.

The Florence despatches from 1527 to 1609 are published in the third volume of *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato* (Bari, Laterza, 1917), edited by A. Segarizzi.

Volume IV., fascicle 1, of the *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento* presents a mass of varied material, among which is a life of Gen. Domenico Piva by his son Edoardo Piva.

The Macmillan Company expects to publish this spring volumes I. and II. of a *History of Spain*, in four volumes, by Professor Roger B. Merriman of Harvard University.

The *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos*, for July–August, continues the “Relación de las Personas que pasaron á esta Nueva España”, companions of Cortés, etc. The accompanying installment of the guide to archives presents the first 48 pages for Simancas.

Seven makers of Portuguese history from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century form the subject of Mr. Aubrey G. F. Bell's *Portuguese Portraits* (Oxford, Blackwell).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Greppi, *La Repubblica Cisalpina* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); Marquis de Girardin, *La Fuite de Pie IX. à Gaëte, Novembre 1848, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); Letizia Chiama, *Inizio del Giornale "Il Risorgimento"*, *Lettere Inedite di C. Cavour ad un Genovese* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); “A French Diplomat”, *Portugal's Object Lesson for the United States* (Harper's Magazine, November).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Protestantism in Germany (Princeton University Press), by Kerr D. Macmillan, president of Wells College, is an analysis of Luther and his doctrines in connection with German national character. Another recent study of Luther is that of Junius B. Remensnyder, *What the World owes Luther*, published by the Fleming H. Revell Company.

Volume II. of Sir A. W. Ward's *Germany, 1815–1890*, in the *Cambridge Historical Series*, covering the years 1852 to 1872, is announced by the Cambridge University Press. The author's treatment of the Schleswig-Holstein question is based in large part on papers left by his father, who was accredited to the Hanse Towns from 1860 to 1870.

Recent additions to the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine* (Paris, Alcan, 1917) include volumes on *L'Empereur Frédéric III., 1831–1888*, by H. Welschinger; and on *Guillaume II., 1890–1899*, by Madame Adam, translated by J. O. P. Bland under the title, *The Schemes of the Kaiser* (Heinemann). *L'Évolution Belliqueuse de Guillaume II.* (Paris, Payot, 1917), by Maurice Muret, continues the author's *L'Orgueil Allemand*. F. De Visscher has published *La Liberté Politique en Allemagne et la Dynastie de Hohenzollern* (Paris, Tenin, 1916, pp. xii, 141), and R. Lote, *Germania: l'Allemagne et l'Autriche dans la Civilisation et l'Histoire* (second ed., Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 330).

Messrs. Thomas Nelson and Sons, of London and New York, have brought out in an English translation the volume noticed by us on its appearance in French, *Germany before the War*, by Baron Beyens, now Belgian minister for foreign affairs, formerly the Belgian minister at the court of Berlin.

A volume of striking, and it must be held typical, expressions from German public men on German aims and ambitions has been issued by Messrs. Appleton under the title, *Out of their Own Mouths*.

German achievements in colonial policy form the subject of *The German Colonial Empire: its Beginning and Ending*, by Paolo Giordani, translated by Mrs. G. W. Hamilton (London, G. Bell).

Professor Bertrand Auerbach of the University of Nancy has published in the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine* a second and revised edition (Paris, Alcan, 1917) of his *Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*, originally published in 1899; and Professor Ernest Denis is the author of *La Question d'Autriche: les Slovaques* (third ed., Paris, Delagrave, 1917, pp. 287), published in the *Bibliothèque d'Histoire et de Politique*.

Mr. Herbert Vivian's *Francis Joseph and his Court* (John Lane) is compiled from the memoirs of Count Roger de Rességnier.

La Suisse pendant la Guerre, by Max Turmann (Paris, Perrin), in its two parts discusses the aid given by the Swiss to the wounded and homeless, and the struggle to maintain Switzerland's neutrality and economic existence during the war.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. W. Willoughby, *The Prussian Theory of Monarchy* (American Political Science Review, December); Munroe Smith, *Germany's Land-Hunger* (*ibid.*, September); D. J. Hill, *The German Plot and Democracy's Future* (Century Magazine, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

W. L. D. van den Brink has written *Bijdrage tot de Kennis van den Economischen Toestand van Nederland in de Jaren 1813-1816* (Amsterdam, Kruyt, 1916, pp. xvi, 235).

The Belgian ministries of justice and foreign affairs have published *Guerre de 1914-1917: Réponse au Livre Blanc Allemand du 10 Mai 1915* (third ed., revised and enlarged, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. 526, and maps). J. van Heuvel has written the preface to the two volumes of reports of the Belgian investigating commission on *La Violation du Droit des Gens en Belgique* (*ibid.*, pp. 168, 198). F. van Langenhove, an official of the Belgian government at Havre, has prepared *Le Dossier Diplomatique de la Question Belge: Recueil des Pièces Officielles avec Notes* (Paris, Van Oest, 1917, pp. viii, 426), which includes the important documents as to the violation of Belgian neutrality and later affairs.

A Spanish witness, F. Orozco Muñoz, a Red Cross volunteer, has related his observations in *La Belgique Violée: Ephémérides de l'Invasion* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xx, 120), which has been translated from the Spanish by J. N. Champeaux, and published with a preface by H. Carton de Wiart, of the Belgian ministry.

Belgium in War-time, by Commandant de Gerlache de Gomery, translated from the French by Bernard Miall (London and New York, Hodder

and Stoughton, 1917, pp. 243), is a volume whose illustrations, maps, and facsimiles lend it peculiar interest, but which is also of much merit as a general narrative summary.

Material for history will be found in *German Legislation for the Occupied Territories of Belgium*, official texts edited by Charles Henry Huberich and Alexander Nicol-Speyer (the Hague, Nijhoff).

The whole story of violations of neutrality, of violations of the Hague Convention, and of miscellaneous barbarity, is told by M. Jean Massart, vice-director of the scientific section of the Belgian Royal Academy, in a volume translated under the title *Belgium under the German Eagle* (New York, E. P. Dutton, pp. 368), of which one salient merit among many is that no documents are used except those which are of German origin or which have been passed by the German censorship.

Déportations Belges à la Lumière des Documents Allemands, by Fernand Passelecq, formerly an advocate in the court of appeals at Brussels (Paris and Nancy, Berger-Levrault, pp. 435), is by far the most important account of its subject, treating with fullness not only all the facts of the German deportations of Belgians, but the leading features of the economic background, such as the Rathenau plan, by which the German government, confiscating nearly all raw materials in Belgium, in occupied France, and in Poland, has been enabled to use them, and all available Belgian labor, for the continuance of the war. Abundant quotations and documents sustain the narrative.

Documents of momentous importance, records of patriotic activity, and constant evidence of high intelligence and noble character, are to be found in *Cardinal Mercier: Pastorals, Letters, Allocutions, 1914-1917*, published with a biographical sketch and preface by Rev. Joseph F. Stillemans, president of the Belgian Relief Fund (New York, P. J. Kenedy and Sons).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Goyau, *Le Cardinal Mercier* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Besides the issue of the *American-Scandinavian Review*, of volumes of translations of Scandinavian classics (such as the "King's Mirror", ed. Larson), and certain monographs in Scandinavian history, the American-Scandinavian Foundation offers each year a small number of scholarships for American students desiring to go abroad for study in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Scholars are appointed in May, but applications must reach the secretary of the Foundation, at 25 West 45th Street, New York, before April 1.

The Cornell University Press is soon to publish a *Catalogue of Runic Literature*, compiled by Mr. Halldor Hermannsson. The catalogue is compiled from the Icelandic collection presented by Willard Fiske to that library.

The last issue of the *Antikvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige*, XXII. 1, is entirely occupied with a monograph by Sune Lindquist, "Den Helige Eskils Biskopsdöme" (pp. 175), in which, by a comparative study of the sepulchral chest found at Eskilstuna in 1912 and of other monuments, he endeavors to reconstruct the ecclesiastical history and conditions of middle Sweden in St. Eskil's time (twelfth century).

S. Posner has discussed the Polish problem in *La Pologne d'Hier et de Demain* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. xii, 124). In the *Reconstruction of Poland and the Near East* (New York, Century Company, 1917), Herbert Adams Gibbons arraigns the inept diplomacy of the Great Powers before and during the present war in dealing with the small nationalities of eastern and southeastern Europe.

In spite of its title, *A History of Poland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Constable), Maj. F. E. Whitton's work may be classed as very modern history, since three-fifths of it deals with the period since 1772. The book is provided with several excellent maps.

Since the Russian revolution, the archivists, curators, and historical scholars of Russia have organized themselves into a Union of Russian Archive Workers ("Soyuz Rossiiskikh Arkhivnikov Deyatelei"), for the purpose of cataloguing and classifying the materials in the different archives, of forming a central record office like that in London, of caring for historical monuments, etc. The chairman of the Union is Professor A. S. Lappo-Danilevski, and the executive committee contains some of the chief scholars in Russia.

A group of Russian and American historical scholars are preparing a work on the history of Russia, in four volumes, under the general editorship of Professors A. S. Lappo-Danilevski and F. A. Golder, to be published by Macmillan and Company of London.

Joseph McCabe has followed his study of the personality of the Kaiser by *The Romance of the Romanoffs*, published by Dodd, Mead, and Company. A book of similar character is *The Last of the Romanoffs* (Constable), by Charles Rivet, Russian correspondent of the *Temps*; the original is published by Perrin.

Various phases of recent events in Russia are revealed in *La Révolution Russe* (Paris, Rivière, 1917), by A. Zévaès; and *La Révolution Russe à Petrograd et aux Armées, Mars-Mai 1917* (Paris, Payot, 1917), which is a journal of observations by C. Anet.

The war has brought several contributions to Rumanian history from the expert pen of Professor N. Jorga, as follows: *Relations des*

Roumains avec les Alliés (Jassy, 1917, pp. 46); *Histoire des Relations Russo-Roumaines* (ibid., pp. 367); *Histoire des Relations entre la France et les Roumains* (ibid., pp. 198); and *Droits Nationaux et Politiques des Roumains dans la Dobrogea: Considérations Historiques* (ibid., pp. 90).

R. W. Seton-Watson brings a wealth of information to the discussion of *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (London, Constable, 1917).

A former deputy to the Bosnian diet, N. Stoyanovitch, is the author of a volume on *La Serbie d'Hier et de Demain* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917, pp. xiii, 179) for which M. André Tardieu has written the preface.

Dr. Harry Stuermer, a Baden journalist, reveals the development of his feeling of repugnance for German methods during the war, especially for the support of the Young Turks and for the Armenian atrocities, in *Zwei Kriegsjahre in Constantinople: Skizzen Deutschjungtürkischer Moral und Politik* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

Lord Eversley has followed his recent volume on *The Partitions of Poland by The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (Dodd, Mead, and Company).

The J. B. Lippincott Company has recently published *The War and the Bagdad Railway*, by Professor Morris Jastrow, librarian of the University of Pennsylvania.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. N. Milyukov, *Russia's Territorial Policies* (Russian Review, July); Count Ilya Tolstoy, *The Evolution of Liberty in Russia* (Century Magazine, September); A. Yarmolinsky, *Censorship in Russia: an Historical Study* (Russian Review, July); E. A. Ross, *The Roots of the Russian Revolution* (Century, December); P. Chasles, *La Révolution Russe et la Guerre Européenne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); J. W. Bienstock, *La Révolution Russe: les Partis Politiques et leurs Chefs* (Mercure de France, August 1); id., *La Révolution Russe, l'Okhrana* [concl.] (ibid., November 1); Raymond Recouly ["Captain X.,"], *The Russian Army and the Revolution* (Scribner's Magazine, November); E. H. Wilcox, *Kerensky and the Revolution* (Atlantic Monthly, November); Marylie Markovitch, *Scènes de la Révolution Russe, I-V*. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 15, July 1, August 1, September 1, October 1); C. H. Wright, *The Letts* (Edinburgh Review, October); H. Grinwasser, *Le Code Napoléon dans le Duché de Varsovie: Étude Historique d'après des Documents Inédits* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); "Alexander Severus", *The Building of Greater Rumania* (New Europe, July 26, August 2); Stanley Washburn, *The Tragedy of Rumania* (Atlantic, December); B. Vosnjak, *L'Administration Française dans les Pays Yougoslaves, 1809-1813* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); *Recent Montenegrin History* (New Europe, August 2).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

The Legal Obligations arising out of Treaty Relations between China and the Other States, by Min-Ch'ien T. Z. Tyau, LL.D., lecturer on international law, Tsing Hua College, Peking (London, Sweet and Maxwell), begins the account of Chinese foreign relations with 1689 and from that time to the twentieth century traces the relations of China with eighteen sovereign powers.

To his earlier volumes on China in the twentieth century, J. Rodés has added *Scènes de la Vie Révolutionnaire en Chine, 1911-1914* (Paris, Plon, 1917).

The Oxford University Press announces for early publication *Japan: the Rise of a Modern Power*, by Robert P. Porter. The volume is to carry the history of Japan down to November, 1914.

Further Memories, by Lord Redesdale, better known as the author of Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan*, is an addendum to the two volumes of *Memories* previously published; it contains many graphic bits of personal recollection derived from a long diplomatic career. The volume is published in this country by Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Cordier, *La Suppression de la Compagnie de Jésus et la Mission de Peking* (T'Oung Pao, July, 1916); P. J. Treat, *The Return of the Shimonoseki Indemnity* (Journal of Race Development, July).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has received from Mr. Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives, a detailed report on the archives of Jamaica, which he has prepared at the instance of the department. This report is intended to be combined in one volume with a further report, by another hand, upon the archives of the other British West Indies and upon the material relating to all these islands in the Public Record Office; but since these latter portions of the volume must wait for times of peace, the Jamaica report will not be published for the present. It can, however, be consulted in manuscript. The Institution has published, at about the date of issue of this journal, in a volume of 387 pages, *Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies, to 1648*, by Dr. Frances G. Davenport, embracing papal bulls and international treaties—to the number of forty—introductions, texts, translations, references, and annotations, the fruit of long and careful labor.

Among recent accessions of the manuscript division of the Library of Congress are: Vergennes's *Mémoire Historique et Politique sur la*

Louisiane (ca. 1777, a contemporary copy); orderly-book of Joseph Bull, Half-moon to Oswego, 1760; some fifty official letters written by Richard M. Johnson, while acting as United States agent in the West and Southwest, 1808-1847; some thirty-five miscellaneous papers of George Corbin Washington, 1792-1845; about 350 papers of William Wirt, 1805-1840; papers of Rear-Admiral Louis M. Goldsborough, 1830-1877 (7 volumes and 2000 pieces); and a body of letters to John W. Forney, 1854-1856. A considerable number of manuscript and printed papers of Walt Whitman have been deposited in the library.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society at the meeting of April, 1917, embraces an interesting history of Cogswell and Bancroft's Round Hill School by Professor J. S. Bassett, a discussion of types of prehistoric southwestern architecture, by Mr. J. Walter Fewkes, and a body of letters written by Thomas Boylston Adams, brother of John Quincy Adams, mostly in the years from 1799 to 1803, to his cousin William S. Shaw, librarian of the Boston Athenaeum. An installment of Mr. Brigham's Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering New York (towns from A to L) is presented.

In the October number of the *Catholic Historical Review*, Dr. Herbert F. Wright of the Catholic University of America summarizes the seventeenth-century controversies over the origin of the American aborigines, especially the controversy between Grotius and De Laet; Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Library of Congress, connects the essential passages of the Virginia Declaration of Rights with passages in the works of Cardinal Bellarmine; the Church in Spanish American History is broadly treated by Dr. Julius Klein, while Mr. W. S. Merrill treats of Catholic Authorship in the American Colonies before 1784, and presents a list of works by Catholic authors printed in America before that date. The annals of the church in Kansas City from 1800 to 1857 are set forth by Vicar-General Keuenhof. Interesting and encouraging data are given respecting the formation and activities of American Catholic historical societies.

In the September issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* Rev. Edward J. Curran relates the life of Brother Potamian; the Rev. Dr. Michael Francis O'Reilly and Rev. John M. Lenhardt discuss Édouard Richard's *Acadie*. The papers concerning the Santo Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia are continued, as are also other articles hitherto mentioned.

Volume II. (1645-1773) of "Text" of the *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, by Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., has come from the press (Longmans).

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society will be held in Philadelphia on February 11 and 12.

The editor of the *Magazine of History* begins in the July number the story of Emily Geiger and her Ride (1781). The August number contains a brief paper on Alabama County Names, and another on the Santa Fé Expedition of 1841.

Our Democracy: its Origins and its Tasks, by Professor J. H. Tufts of the University of Chicago, is an attempt to trace the origin and significance of American principles through history, sociology, and politics, presented in untechnical form for the prospective citizen (Holt).

The Unpopular History of the United States by Uncle Sam Himself, as recorded in Uncle Sam's Own Words, is the title of a small volume by Harris Dickson, published by Frederick A. Stokes Company. The book is described as "Some of the less admirable pages of American history brought out in order to save future mistakes."

The President's Control of Foreign Relations, by E. S. Corwin, just issued by the Princeton University Press, is described as "an historical and analytical study of the powers of the legislative and executive branches of the national government in regulating foreign relations of the United States".

Professor T. F. Moran of Purdue University has brought out through Messrs. Crowell a small volume entitled *American Presidents: their Individualism and their Contributions to American Progress*.

The United States Post-Office: its Past Record, Present Condition, and Potential Relation to the New World Era, by Daniel C. Roper, first assistant postmaster-general, 1913-1916, has been published by Funk and Wagnalls.

The Houghton Mifflin Company has issued *A History of American Journalism*, by James M. Lee, head of the New York University School of Journalism and president of the American Association of Teachers of Journalism. The volume contains reproductions of old prints and cartoons.

The American Blind Spot: the Failure of the Volunteer System as shown in our Military History, a concise treatment of the subject by H. C. Washburn, is issued by Doubleday, Page, and Company.

Of the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, edited by Professors W. P. Trent, John Erskine, S. P. Sherman, and Carl Van Doren, volume I. has come from the press (Putnam). The work is to run to three volumes; the present extends into the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

Messrs. C. E. Goodspeed and Company of Boston announce for early publication a new edition of Dunlap's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1834), prepared by Frank

W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed and elaborately illustrated by many reproductions of early American paintings.

Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy is the title of a work by Ralph W. Page, which Doubleday, Page, and Company have published.

The January-April number of the *German-American Annals* contains a history of the German Drama on the St. Louis Stage, by A. H. Nolle, and some letters from a German poetess and her daughter to Longfellow (1857, 1858, and 1867), which suggest a very different Germany from that of our time.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for August contains several interesting letters of American clergymen of the eighteenth century, specimens from a collection presented by Mr. Simon Gratz of Philadelphia.

Benjamin Franklin Self-Revealed: a Biographical and Critical Study based mainly on his own Writings, in two volumes, by W. C. Bruce, comes from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

An account of the Shakers, based on the manuscript records of several communities, has been compiled by Miss Clara Endicott Sears. The volume is entitled *Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals* (Houghton Mifflin Company).

The History of Legislative Methods in the Period before 1825, by R. V. Harlow, has been published by the Yale University Press.

After some interval since the issue of the sixth volume, the Macmillan Company has published the seventh volume of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Worthington C. Ford, and extending from 1820 to the middle of 1823.

The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun, in two volumes, by W. M. Meigs, has lately come from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

The Houghton Mifflin Company is publishing *Daniel Webster in England*, edited by Edward Gray, and consisting of extracts from a journal kept by Harriette Story Paige while in England in 1839.

The Life and Letters of Robert Collyer, 1823-1912, in two volumes, is by Rev. J. H. Holmes, who was associated with the noted Unitarian divine during the last five years of his ministry (Dodd, Mead, and Company).

G. S. Bryan is the author of a life of *Sam Houston*, which the Macmillan Company has published.

Mr. William K. Bixby of St. Louis has privately printed in a small volume the intimate letters of Gen. Zachary Taylor, written during the

Mexican War to Dr. Wood, an army surgeon, together with a long and important letter of Taylor to Secretary Buchanan, August, 1847, reviewing the war and the conduct of the administration toward the writer, up to that time.

The Library of Congress has issued a *Calendar of the Papers of Franklin Pierce* (pp. 102). This small body of Pierce papers, obtained by the library in 1905, is said to be the only collection of Franklin Pierce papers now in existence. The preliminary work of calendaring the papers was done by Mr. W. R. Leech; the calendar was completed, revised, edited, and indexed by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick.

Under the auspices of the Cambridge Historical Society, the letters of John Holmes, brother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, have been collected and are now brought out in a volume edited by Mr. William R. Thayer, to which Miss Alice Longfellow has supplied an introduction. The book, entitled *Letters of John Holmes to James Russell Lowell and Others*, is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Macmillan Company has issued a *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, in one volume, by James Ford Rhodes. Dr. Rhodes states in the preface that this is not an abridgment of the corresponding three volumes of his *History of the United States*, but a fresh study of the subject, although he has now and again transferred sentences, paragraphs, and even pages from the longer to the shorter work.

Abraham Lincoln, by Wilbur F. Gordy, has been published by Messrs. Scribner in the series *Heroes and Leaders in American History*.

In a new edition of her *Life of Abraham Lincoln* Miss Ida Tarbell has utilized material which has been brought to light since her book was first published seventeen years ago (Macmillan).

A Life of Robert E. Lee for Boys and Girls, by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton and Mary Thompson Hamilton, is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Private and Official Correspondence of General Benjamin F. Butler, in five volumes, edited and published by Mrs. Jessie Ames Marshall, his granddaughter, 15 State Street, Boston, has come from the press.

The *Memoirs of Colonel John S. Mosby*, leader of Mosby's Partizan Rangers of the Confederacy, has been edited by Charles W. Russell and published by Little, Brown, and Company. The memoirs were completed before Colonel Mosby's death in 1916.

The Neale Publishing Company has brought out a second edition of G. Moxley Sorrell's *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer*, with an introduction by John W. Daniel.

The first volume of a *History of the United States since the Civil War*, by E. P. Oberholtzer, has been published by Macmillan. The work will run to five volumes.

Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have lately published, in two volumes, *The Life and Letters of Edward Everett Hale*, by his son Professor E. E. Hale, jr.

M. M. Ponton has undertaken to relate in a small volume the *Life and Times of Henry M. Turner* (1834-1915), bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Atlanta, A. B. Caldwell Publishing Company).

Rear-Admiral Charles E. Clark, who commanded the *Oregon* on her famous voyage from San Francisco to Key West at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War and at the battle of Santiago, has published his reminiscences, with the title *My Fifty Years in the Navy* (Little, Brown, and Company).

The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1917, by Edgar E. Robinson and Victor J. West of the department of history of Stanford University, is published by the Macmillan Company.

An English publication on *President Wilson, his Problems and his Policy* (London, Headley, 1917) is by H. W. Harris. The book is published in this country by the Frederick A. Stokes Company under the title *President Wilson: from an English Point of View*.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

The Committee on Public Information has published in its *War Information Series*, as number 7, *Amerikanische Bürgertreue von Bürgern Deutscher Abkunft* (pp. 23), a German translation of number 6 (*American Loyalty by Citizens of German Descent*) already mentioned in these pages. Number 8 is a pamphlet of sixteen pages, by Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, entitled *American Interest in Popular Government Abroad*, and giving a history of the active sympathy with liberal movements in Europe, since 1815, exhibited by the people and government of the United States. Number 10, *The First Session of the War Congress* (pp. 48), by Mr. Charles Merz, Washington correspondent of the *New Republic*, is a summary of all the legislation enacted by the Sixty-Fifth Congress in its first session, April-October, 1917, the acts being presented in serial order, with brief accounts of their legislative history and of their provisions.

A new issue in the Committee's "Red, White, and Blue Series", and a more elaborate one than any of its predecessors, is a volume of 170 pages, compiled by Professor Wallace Notestein and Elmer E. Stoll of the University of Minnesota, and entitled *Conquest and Kultur: Aims of the Germans in their Own Words*. A preface by Professor Guy Stanton

Ford, director of the division in the Committee on Public Information under whose auspices these pamphlets are prepared, states forcibly the object of the present issue, to make the American world acquainted with the purposes and methods put forward by the responsible leaders, intellectual and political, of the German people, the "Pied Pipers of Prussianism", by printing translations of a varied mass of their actual utterances. The quotations, from an extraordinary number of public authorities and publicists, are grouped under such heads as: The Mission of Germany; World Power or Downfall; The Worship of Power; War as a Part of the Divine Order; War as the Sole Arbiter; Economic Necessity and Expansion; Dispossessing the Conquered; Pan-Germanism and America; The Coming War; The Programme of Annexations. Only a full and fair presentation of such a record, says the editor, "can enable the American people to know what it is from which they are defending their land, their institutions, and their very lives. Only from such a careful documentary self-revelation of German ideals can they fully know what they must overcome."

In the same series the same division publishes part I. (pp. 94) of *German War Practices*, prepared for the Committee by Professor Dana C. Munro of Princeton University, with the assistance of Professors George C. Sellery of Wisconsin and A. C. Krey of Minnesota. In this pamphlet the methods pursued by the Germans in their warfare are examined with critical care but with an eye less to individual misdeeds than to the responsibility of commanding officers, higher and lower, for unwarrantable methods, definitely authorized or commanded, and therefore of higher significance than any casual acts of individual soldiers. The sections now presented relate to the treatment of civilians, the evidences being grouped under the headings Massacres, Hostages and Screens, Fines, and Deportations and Forced Labor. The materials are sought from sources of high authority, are sifted with judgment, and effectively and intelligently presented.

The Military Information Service of the New York State Library has compiled, and the Resource Mobilization Bureau has published, a manual of 34 pages entitled *America's Part in the World War: Books for Patriotic Americans*, including lists respecting modern warfare, the relation of the United States to Germany and to the world war, the military policy of the United States, etc.

In September the War Department appointed Col. C. C. McCullough, jr., of the Medical Corps, U. S. A., to write a surgical and medical history of America's share in the war, and Capt. Arthur Sweetzer of the Signal Officers' Reserve Corps, to write a history of American military aviation during the war.

M. René Viviani has prepared an account of *La Mission Française en Amérique, 24 Avril-13 Mai 1917* (Paris, Flammarion, 1917). The

mission is also described in *Notes d'un Témoin, les Grands Jours de France en Amérique, Mission Viviani-Joffre, Avril-Mai 1917* (Paris, Plon, 1917); and in the *Journal d'une Française en Amérique, Septembre 1916-Juin 1917* (*ibid.*), published under the pseudonym, E. Altier.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

One of the striking facts in the development of regional history in 1917 is the rapid increase in the number of state historical journals, organs usually of state historical societies. Following upon the establishment of the *Minnesota History Bulletins* in 1916, we have the first number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* appearing in January, in March that of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, in July that of the *Michigan History Magazine*, in September that of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. These are notable steps in advance.

An historical address delivered in August, in connection with the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Lempster, N. H., appears in the September-October issue of the *Granite Monthly*.

The state of Massachusetts has for some time maintained a Bureau of War Records. The report of the commissioner, Mr. G. W. Pierson, for the years 1915 and 1916 (Public Document no. 66, pp. 8) was issued in the early part of 1917.

The manual prepared for the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1917 embraced a careful *History of the Constitution of Massachusetts*, by Dr. Samuel E. Morison. This has been reprinted as a pamphlet of 72 pages, copies of which may be obtained from Dr. Morison, Concord, Mass.

The October serial of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society is marked by a paper in which the president, Senator Lodge, surveys the achievements of Congress during the last session. It also contains, reprinted from newspapers of thirty years ago, two journals kept by William (Loughton) Smith, Federalist congressman 1789-1797, and minister to Portugal 1797-1801, during a journey in New England in 1790 and from Philadelphia to Charleston in 1791. This is accompanied by careful notes by Mr. Albert Matthews, in which this William Smith is discriminated from others and his full career and bibliography set forth.

Volume III., no. 1, of the *Smith College Studies in History* is *Joseph Hawley's Criticisms of the Constitution of Massachusetts*, edited by Miss Mary C. Clune, who also furnishes an introductory note upon Hawley's activities in connection with the establishment of the constitution. Two principal documents are embodied in the pamphlet: the amendments to the constitution proposed by the town of Northampton, June 5, 1780, prepared by Joseph Hawley as chairman of a committee,

and Hawley's personal protest of the same date to the constitutional convention. In addition is printed a letter of Hawley, October 28, 1780, declining to serve as senator in the state legislature, which has a direct bearing upon his constitutional views.

The October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* contains an article by Sidney Perley entitled *Hathorne: Part of Salem Village in 1700*.

A History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, by Rev. Wilson Waters, has been brought out in Lowell (Courier-Citizen Company).

Professor Wilfred H. Munro of Brown University has pleasantly illustrated the history of Bristol, R. I., by a volume of maritime and other narrative chapters entitled *Tales of an Old Sea Port*.

The Connecticut State Library has completed the index to that portion of the archives which has been designated as Revolutionary War, Series I. These papers were selected about 1845 from the files of the general assembly and the committee of the pay table by Sylvester Judd and arranged in thirty-seven volumes. The index, which is made on the dictionary plan of name, subject, and town-entries, was prepared by Miss Effie M. Prickett, with the assistance of Miss Mary B. Brewster. Other series of the archives which have hitherto been indexed are: Militia, first and second series, 1678-1789; Revolutionary War, 1763-1789; Private Controversies, 1642-1716; Ecclesiastical, 1659-1789; Towns and Lands, 1629-1790; Susquehanna Settlers, 1775-1796; Travel, 1670-1788; College and Schools, 1661-1789; Civil Officers, 1669-1754; Court Papers, 1696-1705; Crimes and Misdemeanors, 1663-1788; Lotteries and Divorce, 1755-1789; Insolvent Debtors, 1762-1787.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* for October contains an outline history of New York's water supply, together with a portrait of Christopher Colles (1738-1821), an engineer who had part in some of the earlier projects; and a letter of Washington, November 5, 1782, ordering leather breeches. The society is also preparing for publication a catalogue of its collection of newspapers.

Two monographs on the early municipality of New York have been issued among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*. They are *New York as an Eighteenth Century Municipality*, part 1 (prior to 1731) and part 2 (1731-1776), by A. E. Peterson and G. W. Edwards, respectively.

Messrs. Boni and Liveright have brought out a revised and enlarged edition of *The History of Tammany Hall*, by Gustavus Myers.

The Story of Cooperstown, by Ralph Birdsall, is published in Cooperstown, N. Y., by A. H. Crist Company.

The Buffalo Historical Society has recently received from Mr. Henry R. Howland a considerable number of manuscripts from the papers of John Porteous, a merchant of New York City and Little Falls, N. Y., in the early years of English occupation of the Great Lakes. These and allied documents received with them relate chiefly to various aspects of trade, 1769-1799, in what is now central and western New York and on the Great Lakes. Some of the papers are important for the early history of the garrison at Oswegatchie, now Ogdensburg. The society has also received, from another source, a collection of papers relating to the War of 1812 on the Niagara frontier, including numerous letters received by Erastus Granger, United States Indian agent, and reports of his dealings with the Indians.

Hon. Charles M. Dow, formerly one of the commissioners of the state reservation at Niagara, has prepared for publication a work entitled *The Bibliography and Anthology of Niagara Falls*. The book, which is shortly to be published by the Division of Archives and History at Albany, has partly the nature of a source-book.

The state of New Jersey has issued, as *Archives of the State of New Jersey*, first series, volume XXVIII. (Paterson, 1917, pp. 648), the ninth volume of the late Mr. William Nelson's extracts from American newspapers relating to New Jersey. The extracts are of the years 1772-1773.

The *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* for July contains the concluding portion of Chancellor William J. Magie's paper entitled *New Light on the Famous Controversy in the History of Elizabethtown*, a continuation of Jedidiah Swan's orderly book (1776), and the *Chalice of Queen Anne*, an historical address by Rev. W. N. Jones.

The Story of Princeton, by E. M. Norris, sketches the history of Princeton University from the year 1746 and records in particular the traditions and distinctive features of undergraduate life (Little, Brown, and Company).

Volume II., no. 4, of the *Smith College Studies in History* is a monograph, by Miss Mary A. Hanna, on the *Trade of the Delaware District before the Revolution*, a study based upon extensive investigation of the sources. The Delaware district as here used is essentially the trade area of Philadelphia. A chapter is devoted to a study of economic conditions in the district before 1763, another to the new trade regulations and revenue measures of the period from 1763 to 1773, and a third to an examination of the effect of this legislation. Such a study of a limited economic area is an especial help toward comprehending the economic contest between the colonies and the mother-country and the consequent political contest.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies: Acts and Proceedings of the twelfth annual meeting, January 18, 1917, contains re-

ports upon the sundry activities of the federation and a conspectus of the activities of the numerous local historical societies of Pennsylvania.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired 420 manuscripts, hospital reports, correspondence, etc., of Dr. Lavington Quick, surgeon in the Civil War; and minute-books, certificates of removal, etc., of Chesterfield (N. J.) monthly meeting.

The articles in the October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are all continuations, namely: Some Material for a Biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, *née* Graeme; the Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher of Philadelphia, 1779-1781; the Orderly-Book of General Edward Hand, 1778, and Pennsylvania Pensioners in the Revolution.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a calendar of the Men of Maryland specially Honored by the State or the United States, being a brief record of careers, accompanied by the texts of resolutions, state or federal, whereby the honors were conferred. The list was compiled by Col. Charles Chaillé-Long, and largely supplemented by the editor. Under the title "Two Indian Arrows of those Parts" Lawrence C. Wroth relates something of the history of the payment of the yearly rental required of the lords proprietary of Maryland.

Maryland: the Pioneer of Religious Liberty, by E. S. Riley, is published in Annapolis by the author.

In the Virginia State Library, the archivist has now indexed by counties the file of legislative petitions, the chronological arrangement of which has already been mentioned in these pages.

The Virginia State Board of Education has printed (Richmond, 1917, pp. 195) *Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, 1776-1860*, by Professor A. J. Morrison, being a study, with much documentary material, of the history of secondary schools, or "academies", of Virginia in relation to the state literary fund.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* continues in the October number the documentary series Minutes of the Council and General Court (1624-1629), Letters of William Byrd, the First (1688), the miscellaneous selection of papers (minutes of a committee of trade and plantations, etc.) under the heading "Virginia in 1681", and the Papers from the Virginia State Auditor's Office. Those under the latter heading in this number are: minutes of the council, June 11, 12, 14, 1697; a proclamation by Governor Culpepper, December 23, 1682, in regard to military stores; "Account of His Majesties Revenue of Two Shillings per Hogshead", October 25, 1715, to April 25, 1716; and a report of a committee on laws on tobacco, November 14, 1713. There is also, as usual, a large amount of genealogical material.

The articles of chief general interest in the October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are the Disqualification of Ministers in State Constitutions, by E. G. Swem, and the German Colony of 1717, by A. L. Keith.

Colonial Virginia: its People and Customs, a handsomely illustrated volume, by Mrs. Mary Newton Stanard, comes from the press of Lipincott.

The trustees of Washington and Lee University have resolved upon the collecting of all available facts pertaining to General Robert E. Lee's connection with that university as president, after the Civil War. Professor Franklin L. Riley has been put in charge of the work, and is seeking data from all living men who were students in the college during General Lee's administration. He will, of course, also welcome information from other sources.

The social and legal condition of Virginia negroes in days of Reconstruction is the subject of Dr. John P. McConnell's *Negroes and their Treatment in Virginia, 1865-1867*.

The North Carolina Council of Defense has issued, in a small leaflet, the programme of its Historical Committee for the collection and preservation of materials relating to the Great War.

The issue of the *North Carolina Booklet* for July contains a paper by Archibald Henderson entitled a Federalist of the Old School (Archibald Henderson, 1768-1822); one by Fred A. Olds entitled Our North Carolina Indians; and one by Marshall Delancey Haywood on the State Navy of North Carolina in the War of the Revolution.

Among the contents of the September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* are: William McWhir, an Irish Friend of Washington, by William Harden; Augusta, Georgia, a centennial address, by J. B. Cumming; Topography of Savannah and its Vicinity, a report to the Georgia Medical Society, by Dr. J. E. White, May 3, 1806; Savannah in the Forties, by C. H. Olmstead; the Great Seals of Georgia, by H. R. Goetschius; and a biographical account of Mrs. Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, by G. A. Gordon.

The Georgia Historical Association was organized in Atlanta April 10, 1917, with Lucian Lamar Knight, state compiler of records, as president, Professor Theodore H. Jack of Emory College as vice-president, and Professor Robert P. Brooks of the University of Georgia as secretary-treasurer. The aim of the association is to become state-wide in character, with an extended membership, and it hopes to stimulate wider and larger historical activities in the state than have hitherto prevailed. The *Proceedings* of the first annual session have now come from the press. They include, besides an account of the organization,

with the constitution of the association, a number of papers of interest read at the meeting for organization. They are: the Need for a New Historical Organization in Georgia, by R. P. Brooks; Historiography in Georgia, by T. H. Jack; the Condition of Georgia's Archives, by Mrs. Maud B. Cobb; and Georgia's Most Vital Need: a Department of Archives, by L. L. Knight. There is also a check-list of Georgia archival material in certain offices of the state capitol.

Mississippi having entered upon the occupation of her new state capitol, the old building, dating from 1835 and the centre of many historical associations, has been made the home of the Department of Archives and History.

Publication of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* was, we understand, begun by the Louisiana Historical Society in January, 1917.

Volume I., 1916-1917, of the *Proceedings* of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge contains an account of the organization of the society and of its activities, including several papers and addresses, and some documents. Among the papers are: Origin of the Name Baton Rouge, by Professor W. O. Scroggs; an account of Lafayette's visit to Baton Rouge in 1825, by Miss Sarah T. Stirling; Notes on the Spanish Régime in East Baton Rouge, by J. A. Loret; the First Council of the American City of Baton Rouge, by Professor M. L. Bonham, jr.; Baton Rouge in History and Literature, by Professor Pierce Butler; and the First Mrs. Jefferson Davis, by Miss Lois L. Simmons. Among the documents is the text of the proceedings of the convention at St. John's Plains, July 25, 26, 27, 1810, a convention called by Governor Delassus of West Florida in view of the overthrow of Ferdinand VII. of Spain by Napoleon; a letter of about the same time concerning the organization of a junta in behalf of Ferdinand; and a letter of a British officer, January 28, 1815, concerning the battle of New Orleans.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce for early publication *Reconstruction in Louisiana*, by Ella Lonn.

WESTERN STATES

The *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September opens with Professor Paxson's presidential address before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, an entertaining account of an important subject, The Rise of Sport in the United States. Mr. B. H. Schockell of the Terre Haute Normal School describes the settlement and development of the lead and zinc mining region of northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin; and Professor J. A. James gives the history of Spanish influence in the West during the American Revolution. In the valuable series of quarterly surveys for which we look to the successive issues of this journal, the present number is marked by an account of historical activities in Canada, 1916-1917, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee

of Ottawa. Professor C. E. Fryer presents a group of bibliographical notes on pamphlets respecting the Canada-Guadeloupe controversy.

The proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held at Indianapolis in October, 1916, in connection with the Indiana centennial celebration, have been edited by Professor Harlow Lindley and published as *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, vol. VI., no. 1 (pp. 269).

In the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an extended study, by William C. Mills, of the Feurt Mounds and Village Site, near the city of Portsmouth, Ohio.

The *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* reprints in a double number (vol. XII., nos. 2 and 3, April-June and July-September, 1917) *A View of the President's Conduct concerning the Conspiracy of 1806*, by J. H. Daveiss, printed in Frankfort, Ky., in 1807. This reprint is edited by I. J. Cox and Helen A. Swineford.

Rev. Dr. George F. Smythe of Gambier, Ohio, has been officially appointed to write a history of the Episcopal church in that state. He will be glad to learn of materials additional to those now in his possession, and especially to be allowed the use of letters of early settlers, or other documents, which may illustrate religious conditions in general in Ohio, particularly in the Episcopalian denomination, in the period preceding 1825. Another desideratum is material regarding the resignation of Rev. Philander Chase, afterwards Bishop Chase, from Christ's Church, Hartford, Conn.

The principal article in the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* is a paper, by Charles Zimmerman, on the Origin and Development of the Republican Party in Indiana, 1854-1860. H. L. Smith gives an account of the Underground Railroad in Monroe County, and Logan Esarey writes concerning the Pioneer Aristocracy.

The Illinois Historical Survey has acquired from Professor Charles H. Cunningham of the University of Texas carbon copies of the material copied by him for the Library of Congress from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. This material, which amounts to between 7000 and 8000 pages, relates to early Louisiana and to the period of the Revolution.

The Illinois Centennial Commission has issued a substantial volume entitled *Illinois in 1818*, prepared by Solon J. Buck. The volume includes portraits, maps, facsimiles, etc. The commission has in press *The Pioneer State, 1818-1848*, by Theodore C. Pease. This is the first volume of the *Centennial History of Illinois*, in five volumes, projected by the commission and prepared under the general direction of Professor C. W. Alvord.

The Making of Illinois: a History of the State from the earliest Records to the Present Time, by Irwin F. Mather, is brought out in Chicago by Flanagan.

Mr. Allan Nevins's *Illinois*, in the series *American Colleges and Universities*, is particularly interesting in the space devoted to the early years of the university.

The Illinois and Michigan Canal: a Study in Economic History, by Dr. James W. Putnam, has been issued by the University of Chicago Press. The study constitutes vol. X. of the Chicago Historical Society's *Collections*. The author relates the history of the canal and discusses its economic influence from its inception early in the nineteenth century well down to the present time, including a discussion of the problem, yet unsettled, of a great waterway from the Lakes to the Mississippi.

The articles in the September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* are a paper, by George B. Jackson, on John Stuart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District, and a sketch, by Roscoe Nunn, of William Ferrell, the meteorologist, whose earlier scientific work was done during a residence of about eleven years in Nashville or its vicinity. The documentary offering of this number of the *Magazine* is some correspondence of John Bell of Tennessee, namely, three letters to Willie P. Mangum and one from Mangum to Bell (1835), and twenty-six letters (1839-1857) from Bell to Colonel William B. Campbell of Tennessee. The Bell correspondence is edited, with introductions and notes, by Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

The second number (October) of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains a group of interesting letters written by Hon. Washington Gardner when a young soldier in the Civil War. The letters are of the years 1863 and 1864 and are written from Murfreesboro, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Nashville, and other points in Tennessee. Among the articles in the *Magazine* are: Teaching Michigan History in the Public Schools, by Alvin N. Cody; History of St. Mary's Parish, Marshall, Michigan, by Rev. James Cahalan; Government Survey and Charting of the Great Lakes from the Beginning of the Work in 1841 to the Present, by John Fitzgibbon; Michigan and the Holland Immigration of 1847, by Hon. Gerrit Van Schelven; and Holland Emigration to Michigan: its Causes and Results, by Hon. Gerrit J. Dickema. This number contains also a descriptive list of the papers of Governor Austin Blair in the Burton Library, Detroit.

The Michigan Historical Commission has inaugurated a series of prizes, similar to those of the National Board for Historical Service, for the best essays on the subject "Why the United States is at War?"

Volume XXIV. of the *Collections* of the Wisconsin Historical Society is probably published before the date of this journal and will be followed soon by volume XXV. The former is made up from the Draper Collection, under the title *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779 to 1781*; the latter is to consist of the letters of Edwin Bottomley, a pioneer farmer in Racine County, written to his father in England, in the years 1842-1850. The second volume of the *Calendars* of the Draper Collection will also appear before long.

To the *Minnesota Historical Bulletin* and to the *Michigan History Magazine*, whose first two numbers were described in our last issue, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin added in September another handsome journal of the history of the old Northwest, the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, to be issued quarterly. The first number makes an excellent beginning with an article by the editor, Dr. M. M. Quaife, on Increase Allen Lapham, first scholar of Wisconsin; a narrative by John L. Bracklin, lumberman, of a forest fire in northern Wisconsin in 1898; and a paper by Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg on Bankers' Aid in 1861-1862. Of the same period as the latter is an interesting diary kept at the University of Wisconsin in the spring of 1861, by the late Harvey Reid. Briefer contributions, on Wisconsin's first versifiers, on the spelling of Jolliet, on the first edition of the Zenger trial, on Colonel E. E. Ellsworth's activities in Wisconsin, on the Apostle Islands, and on the services of the Menominee in the Black Hawk War, appeal to a wide variety of interests. The number concludes with notes on the historical activities of the society and of other agencies in the state and Northwest. It is easy to predict that its successors will be looked for with great interest.

Two Wisconsin county histories which are to appear before long are one of Trempealeau by Dr. E. T. Pierce, to be published by the Cooper Company of Chicago and Winona, and one of Door County, by Hjalmar R. Holand, to be published by the Lewis Company of Chicago.

It is expected that the new building erected by the state for the Minnesota Historical Society will be dedicated in May, when the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will hold its annual meeting in St. Paul, but a partial occupancy of the building has already begun. The society has received from Professor W. W. Folwell a part of his files of correspondence accumulated during many years of service to Minnesota.

The *Minnesota Historical Bulletin* for August is mainly occupied with a thoroughgoing study of the development of banking in Minnesota, by Mr. Sidney A. Patchin.

Acta et Dicta, the organ of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, continues in its January number Archbishop Ireland's life of Bishop Cretin. Rev. J. M. Reardon has an article on Abbé Albert

Lacombe (1827-1916), Oblate missionary in the Canadian Northwest; and there is a translation of a lecture delivered in 1863 by Bishop Baraga of Marquette respecting the American Indian, and two letters of Bishop Loras of Dubuque, 1832 and 1836.

The State Historical Society of Iowa is publishing a series of small pamphlets bearing the general title *Iowa and War*. The five numbers thus far issued have the specific titles: Old Fort Snelling, Enlistments from Iowa during the Civil War, the Iowa Civil War Loan, Equipment of the Iowa Troops in the Civil War, and Iowa and War. The papers are by several hands. The society has recently issued *The Legislation of the Thirty-Seventh General Assembly*, being a guide to the legislation of the last general assembly of Iowa. Some of these appear also as articles in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

Missouri's centennial celebration will begin on January 8, 1918, her first petitions for statehood having been presented in Congress by her territorial delegate on that date in 1818. The date will be observed in schools and by the State Historical Society. The society reports accessions of nearly 500 volumes of Missouri newspapers.

The *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for October contains a paper by Professor William L. Schurz on the Manila Galleon and California, some Notes on Early Texas Newspapers, 1819-1836, by Professor Eugene C. Barker, an account of the Archivo General de Indias, by Professor C. E. Chapman, and an interesting collection of Contemporary Poetry of the Texan Revolution, contributed by Alex Dienst.

The Texas State Library has published *Governors' Messages, Coke to Ross, inclusive, 1874-1891* (pp. 820), inaugurating an "executive series" of the *Collections of the Archive and History Department*.

The Kansas State Historical Society has printed for distribution a list of duplicates of Kansas state and miscellaneous publications in its possession, which it holds for exchange and of which historical organizations elsewhere may be glad to know.

The University of Colorado will shortly bring out the first volume in a series to be called *University of Colorado Historical Collections*. It will contain the records of the Greeley colony, edited by Professor James F. Willard. The series is to be devoted to similar collections of documentary material dealing with the history of Colorado and contiguous territory.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* includes among its contents a Record of the San Poil Indians, by R. D. Gwydir; Port Orchard Fifty Years ago, by W. B. Seymore; David Thompson's Journeys in the Spokane Country, by T. C. Elliott; Washington Geographic Names, by Professor Edmond S. Meany; and a series

of letters bearing upon the attitude of the Hudson's Bay Company during the Indian War of 1855-1856, contributed, with an introduction, by Clarence B. Bagley.

The principal content of the June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is a continuation of Fred W. Powell's biography of Hall J. Kelley. T. C. Elliott discusses the question, Where is Point Vancouver? and John E. Rhees the meaning, origin, and application of the name Idaho.

Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, president of the Historical Society of Southern California and professor of economics in the University of Southern California, is preparing a biography of General John Bidwell, prominent California pioneer, agriculturist, and politician. He will greatly appreciate it if persons having letters or other Bidwell materials will address him at Los Angeles, in care of the university named.

The Philippines, in two volumes, by Charles B. Elliott, formerly justice of the supreme court of the Philippines and member of the Philippine Commission, comes with a preface by Hon. Elihu Root. The first volume is devoted to a history of the military régime, to the capture of Aguinaldo; the second brings the narrative down to the time of the reorganization of the government in 1916 (Bobbs-Merrill).

CANADA

The George H. Doran Company has brought out *The Canadian Confederation and its Leaders*, by M. O. Hammond, originally published in Toronto.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy's *Diplomatic Days*, which pertains to the days of Madero in Mexico, as her earlier work, *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico*, was concerned with the time of Huerta régime, has been brought out by Harper and Brothers.

A large section of Peruvian history in the nineteenth century is covered by J. Rada y Gamio in *El Arzobispo Goyeneche y Apuntes para la Historia del Perú* (Rome, Vaticana, 1917, pp. xlviii, 954).

A small volume of rather popular character by R. Levillier gives an account of *Les Origines Argentines: la Formation d'un Grand Peuple* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1917).

A committee of scholars in the faculty of philosophy and letters of the University of Buenos Aires is preparing a history of Argentine commerce, in five volumes, extensively documented and ably edited. Volume I., dealing with the period prior to 1810, is being edited by Dr. Emilio Ravignani of the faculty named, and will soon appear. It contains valuable documents dealing with the early trade relations between Argentina and the United States.

Georges Lafond writes with official experience and information in *L'Effort Français en Amérique Latine* (Paris, Payot, 1917). *L'Amérique Latine et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Hachette, 1916, pp. viii, 204) consists of articles by representative persons from most of the Latin-American countries expressing pro-ally, especially pro-French, sentiments.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: D. M. Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi in Georgia to Cosa in Alabama* (American Anthropologist, January); B. W. Barnard, *The Use of Private Tokens for Money in the United States* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, August); Susan H. Walker, *George Mason of Gunston Hall* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, November); J. S. Reeves, *Prussian-American Treaties* (American Journal of International Law, July); J. M. Morgan, *The Pioneer Ironclad* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, October); L. G. Tyler, *The South and Germany* (Confederate Veteran, November); E. D. Ross, *Horace Greeley and the South, 1865-1872* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Maj. R. E. Wylie, *The Quebec Campaign of 1759* [cont.] (Journal of the Military Service Institution, September-October); Desdevises du Dezert, *Vice-Rois et Capitaines-Généraux des Indes Espagnoles à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle*, II. (Revue Historique, September); Edith O'Shaughnessy, *Diplomatic Days in Mexico*, II., III. (Harper's Magazine, October, November); G. Porras Troconis, *Bolívar y la Independencia* (Cuba Contemporánea, November).

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY NOW IN PROGRESS AT THE CHIEF AMERICAN UNI- VERSITIES, DECEMBER, 1917

[In 1897 the compiler of this list began the practice of collecting, from professors of American history having charge of candidates for the doctor's degree, lists of the subjects of their dissertations. These were then circulated among the professors, in typewritten form, to avoid duplication and for other purposes. Subsequently the list was enlarged to include all subjects, and not solely the American. In 1902 the practice began of printing the lists. That for December, 1909, was accompanied by a list of those historical dissertations which had been printed. The list for December, 1912, was printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January, 1913; those for December, 1913, 1914, 1915, and 1916 in this journal (XIX. 450-465, XX. 484-502, XXI. 421-440, XXII. 486-508). Copies of the printed lists for the years 1910, 1911, 1914, 1915, and 1916 can still be supplied by the compiler, J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.]

GENERAL

- T. C. Shaffer, A.B. Pennsylvania 1910, A.M. 1911. History of the Theory of Sovereignty as Will. *Columbia*.
H. E. Barnes, A.B. Syracuse 1913, A.M. 1914. The Contribution of Sociology to the History of Political Theories. *Columbia*.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- C. H. Oldfather, A.B. Hanover 1906. Egyptian Education in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods. *Wisconsin*.
W. E. Caldwell, A.B. Cornell 1910. Development of the Ideas of War and Peace among the Ancient Greeks. *Columbia*.
Lida R. Brandt, A.B. Wellesley 1916. Some Aspects of Greek Society in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries. *Columbia*.
Carl Huth, A.B. Wisconsin 1904, A.M. 1905. Rights and Customs of Sanctuary in Ancient Greece and Rome. *Columbia*.
E. C. Hunsdon, A.B. Barnard 1908. Epigraphic Studies in the History of the Delphic Amphictyony. *Columbia*.
H. G. Teel, A.B. Dickinson 1911, A.M. 1912. Athenian Social Conditions represented in the Orations of Lysias. *Columbia*.
C. W. Blegen, A.M. Minnesota 1907; A.B. Yale 1908. Studies in the History of Ancient Corinth. *Yale*.
S. P. R. Chadwick, A.B. Harvard 1892, A.M. 1899. The Conditions of Italian Colonization during the Government of the Roman Senate. *Harvard*.
G. W. Leffington, A.B. Vassar 1913, A.M. 1915. Social Life in Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence. *Columbia*.

- L. A. Lawson, A.B. Upsala 1909; A.M. Columbia 1911. Social Conditions in the Principate of Augustus. *Columbia*.
- M. F. Lawton, A.B. Columbia 1904, A.M. 1912. Philanthropy in Rome and Italy under the Early Roman Empire. *Columbia*.
- D. McFayden, A.B. Toronto 1896; Ph.D. Chicago 1916. Studies in the Reign of Domitian. *Chicago*.
- Margaret Bancroft, A.B. Wellesley 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Popular Assemblies in the Municipalities of Spain and Gaul. *Columbia*.
- Maud Hamilton, A.B. Cornell 1902. The Sources of Metal and Ore Supplies in the Roman Empire. *Wisconsin*.
- J. M. Dadson, A.B. McMaster 1906, A.M. 1909, Th.B. 1909. Persistence of Paganism in the Roman Empire. *Chicago*.
- Elsie S. Jenison, Wellesley 1916. History of the Province of Sicily. *Columbia*.
- R. N. Blews, A.B. Greenville 1904; Ph.D. Cornell 1913. The Roman Law of Heraclea. *Cornell*.

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

- W. A. Tilley, A.B. McMaster 1910, Th.B. 1912; A.M. Chicago 1915. Attitude of Eastern Churchmen of the Fourth Century toward Property and Property Rights. *Chicago*.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- J. E. Dunlop, A.B. Ripon 1910; A.M. Michigan 1914. The Office of *Praepositus Cubiculi* in the Roman and Byzantine Empires from the Fourth to the Ninth Century. *Michigan*.
- J. B. Hubbard, A.B. Wisconsin 1912, A.M. 1913. The History of Economic Thought during the Middle Ages. *Harvard*.
- T. P. Oakley, A.B. Cornell 1909. The Penitentials. *Columbia*.
- Norman Winestine, A.B. Yale 1914. The Attitude of the Papacy toward the Jews, to 1216. *Pennsylvania*.
- Ernest Hahn, Concordia Seminary 1916. A History of the Monastery of Zwifalten from 1089 to 1138. *Chicago*.
- H. H. Maurer, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1909; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. Feudal Procedure in the Courts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Chicago*.
- T. C. Van Cleve, A.B. Missouri 1911, A.M. 1912. John Holywood's *Sphaera*. *Wisconsin*.
- W. K. Gotwald, A.B. Wittenberg 1905, A.M. 1910; D.B. Hamma Divinity School 1908. The Church Censure in the Fifteenth Century. *Johns Hopkins*.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- G. E. Nunn, S.B. Chicago 1906; A.M. California 1915. Geographical Explorations of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. *California*.

- M. W. Kingsley, A.B. Tufts 1903, A.M. 1904. *A Study of Italian Relations with Turkey, 1453-1488. Illinois.*
- A. P. Evans, A.B. Cornell 1911, Ph.D. 1916. *The Sectaries at Nuremberg, 1524-1528: an Episode in the Struggle for Religious Liberty. Cornell.*
- C. L. Grose, A.B. Findlay 1910; A.M. Harvard 1914. *A Study in Restoration Anglo-French Relations. Harvard.*
- Frances M. Fay, A.B. Radcliffe 1912, A.M. 1913. *Trade Policy of England and France from 1689 to 1715. Radcliffe.*
- F. J. Manning, A.B. Yale 1916. *Anglo-French Relations in the last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century. Yale.*
- Margaret W. Piersol, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. *England and France in the Mediterranean during the Continental System. Pennsylvania.*
- R. F. Kelley, A.B. 1915, A.M. 1917. *Diplomatic History of the Crimean War. Harvard.*
- J. V. Fuller, A.B. 1914. *The Foreign Policy of Bismarck's Later Years. Harvard.*
- W. E. Warrington, S.B. Pennsylvania 1915, A.M. 1916. *The Use of Railroads for Military Purposes in Europe. Pennsylvania.*

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- A. J. Meyer, A.B. Rutgers 1900; A.M. New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1904. *A History of the Observance of the Lord's Day, with special reference to Great Britain. Columbia.*
- A. H. Sweet, A.B. Bowdoin 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914; Ph.D. Cornell 1917. *The Relations of the English Benedictine Houses to the Papacy and the Episcopacy during the Thirteenth Century. Cornell.*
- W. O. Ault, A.B. Baker 1907; B.A. Oxford 1910. *The Private Court in England. Yale.*
- James Kenney, A.B. Toronto 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1908. *An Introduction to the Sources for the Early History of Ireland. Columbia.*
- J. L. Moore, A.B. Harvard 1914, A.M. 1915. *The Lawmen and the Justicia. Harvard.*
- C. W. David, B.A. Oxford 1911; A.M. Wisconsin 1912. *Robert Curthose. Harvard.*
- H. H. Holt, B.A. Oxford 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. *The Cost of Living in England, 1172-1183. Wisconsin.*
- H. A. Kellar, A.B. Chicago 1909. *King John: the Interdict and Exchequer. Wisconsin.*
- P. B. Schaeffer, A.B. Kansas 1913; A.M. Wisconsin 1915. *Gervase of Tilbury. Harvard.*
- Frederic Schenck, A.B. Harvard 1909; Litt.B. Oxford 1912; A.M. Harvard 1914. *London Merchants in the Reign of Edward I. Harvard.*
- Carl Wittke, A.B. Ohio State 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. *The History of Parliamentary Privilege in England. Harvard.*

- Harriett Bradley, A.B. Vassar 1913. *Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century in England. Columbia.*
- E. C. Macklin, A.B. Indiana 1911; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1914. *Social and Philanthropic Work of the Church of Scotland in the Sixteenth Century. Columbia.*
- Susan M. Lough, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.M. 1909. *Administration of Ireland in the Time of Elizabeth. Chicago.*
- J. E. Gillespie, A.B. Cornell 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. *The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. Columbia.*
- H. E. Grimshaw, S.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915. *Influence on England of India under the Rule of the Company. Columbia.*
- Anna K. Boutelle, A.B. Minnesota 1904, A.M. 1914. *A Biography of Robert Rich, Second Earl of Warwick, with special reference to his Colonial Activities. Minnesota.*
- R. G. Adams, A.B. Pennsylvania 1914. *The Foreign Correspondence of Robert, Second Earl of Essex. Pennsylvania.*
- A. P. Watts, A.B. Occidental 1914; A.M. California 1916. *Oliver Cromwell and the Capture of Jamaica, 1655. California.*
- B. C. Schmidt, A.B. Pennsylvania 1913. *John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester: his Life and Works. Pennsylvania.*
- F. C. Galpin, A.B. Yale 1910, A.M. 1907. *The Rise of Political Non-conformity in England after 1660. Yale.*
- G. F. Zook, A.B. Kansas 1906, A.M. 1907. *The Royal African Company, 1662-1715. Cornell.*
- Leland Jenks, A.B. Ottawa 1913; A.M. Kansas 1914. *Social Aspects of the Revolution of 1688-1689 in England. Columbia.*
- F. R. Flournoy, A.B. Washington and Lee 1905; A.M. Columbia 1912. *The Extent of Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy in Great Britain. Columbia.*
- R. G. Booth, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan 1914; A.M. Columbia 1915. *Some Social Aspects of the Development of the Natural Sciences in England in the Eighteenth Century. Columbia.*
- Alden Anderson, A.B. Bethany 1910. *British Trade in the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century. Yale.*
- E. S. Furniss, A.B. Coe 1911. *The Social Position of the English Laborer in the Eighteenth Century. Yale.*
- W. T. Morgan, A.B. Ohio 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910; Ph.D. Yale 1916. *The Whig Party, 1700-1720. Yale.*
- E. P. Smith, A.B. Goucher 1904; A.M. Columbia 1909. *The Rise of English Rationalism. Columbia.*
- Isabel McKenzie, A.B. Barnard 1912; A.M. Columbia 1914. *Social Activities of English Friends in the Period of the Industrial Revolution. Columbia.*
- R. L. Tucker, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. *The Relations of the Methodists to the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century. Columbia.*

- Witt Bowden, A.B. Colorado 1914. The Transition from Hand Manufacturing to Mechanical Production in England, 1754-1793. *Pennsylvania*.
- A. H. Basye, A.B. Kansas 1904, A.M. 1906; Ph.D. Yale 1917. The Board of Trade, 1748-1782. *Yale*.
- J. S. Custer, A.B. William Jewell 1907; B.A. Oxford 1910; Ph.D. Wisconsin 1917. The Constitutional Act of 1791: a Study in British Colonial Policy for the Period from 1774 to 1791. *Wisconsin*.
- Norman Macdonald, A.B. Queen's (Kingston) 1913. Henry Dundas, First Lord Melville, 1742-1811. *Cornell*.
- J. A. Woolf, Ph.B. Chicago 1912. The Political Theory of Jeremy Bentham. *Chicago*.
- Leland Olds, A.B. Amherst 1912. Social Unrest in England, 1811-1819. *Columbia*.
- F. C. Swanson, A.B. Illinois 1914; A.M. 1915. Education and the Democratic Movement in England, 1815-. *Yale*.
- D. G. Barnes, A.B. Nebraska 1915; A.M. Harvard 1917. Enclosures in England during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century. *Pennsylvania*.
- Paul Knaplund, A.B. Red Wing Seminary 1913; A.M. Wisconsin 1914. British Colonies and Imperial Defence, 1860-1915. *Wisconsin*.
- J. H. Park, A.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1913. The English Reform Bills of 1866-1867. *Columbia*.
- G. A. Hedger, A.B. Utah 1906. The Position of the British Labor Party in Relation to Foreign Policy. *Cornell*.
- Helen H. Taft, A.B. Bryn Mawr 1915. The Colonization and Early History of Australia. *Yale*.

FRANCE

- N. S. Parker, A.B. Chicago 1911; A.M. Harvard 1912; Ph.D. Chicago 1916. Trade Routes in Southern France in the Middle Ages. *Chicago*.
- R. Joranson, A.B. Augustana 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1914. The Dane-geld in France. *Chicago*.
- S. R. Packard, A.B. Amherst 1915; A.M. Harvard 1916. The Transition from Plantagenet to Capetian Rule in Normandy. *Harvard*.
- C. G. Kelly, A.B. Johns Hopkins 1908, Ph.D. 1916. French Protestantism on the Eve of the Religious Wars, 1559-1562. *Johns Hopkins*.
- F. C. Palm, A.B. Oberlin 1914; A.M. Illinois 1915. The Economic Policies of Richelieu. *Illinois*.
- J. S. Will, A.B. Toronto 1897. The Persecution of the Huguenots in France under Louis XIV. *Columbia*.
- L. B. Packard, A.B. Harvard 1909. Some Antecedents of the *Conseil du Commerce* of 1700. *Harvard*.
- H. L. Scott, Ph.B. Denison 1911. The Social Influence of Oversea Expansion on France, to 1785. *Columbia*.

- C. O. Hardy, A.B. Ottawa 1904; Ph.D. Chicago 1916. The Race Question during the French Revolution. *Chicago*.
- P. W. MacDonald, A.B. Wisconsin 1910, A.M. 1911. A Study of the Committee of Public Safety during the Reign of Terror, with regard to its Centralizing Policy and its Relations to the Local Authorities. *Wisconsin*.
- Annie Bezanson, A.B. Radcliffe 1915, A.M. 1916. A Study of the Industrial Revolution in France. *Radcliffe*.
- Lucy Lewis, A.B. Bryn Mawr 1893; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915. The Continental System and French Industry. *Pennsylvania*.
- D. P. Frary, A.B. Yale 1914. French Elections under the Restoration. *Yale*.
- E. T. Kelley, A.B. Missouri 1915, A.M. 1916. The Relations of England and France during the First Ten Years of the July Monarchy. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. W. Jamison, A.B. Yale 1911; A.M. Harvard 1917. Industry and Commerce in France, 1830-1848. *Harvard*.
- E. P. Brush, A.B. Smith 1909; A.M. Illinois 1912. Guizot in the Reign of Louis Philippe. *Illinois*.
- P. T. Moon, S.B. Columbia 1913. Development of the Political and Social Programme of the *Action Libérale* in Modern France. *Columbia*.
- D. O. Clark, A.B. Drury 1896; A.M. Illinois 1911. Cabinet Government in France. *Illinois*.

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

- A. F. Peine, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Illinois 1913. Cola di Rienzi and the Popular Revival of the Empire. *Illinois*.
- Keith Vosburg, A.B. California 1910; A.B. Oxford 1913. The Renaissance at the Neapolitan Court, 1435-1503. *Harvard*.
- Gertrude B. Richards, A.B. Cape Girardeau 1909; A.M. Wellesley 1910; Ph.D. Cornell 1915. Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola. *Cornell*.
- C. E. Asnis, A.B. Pennsylvania 1904, LL.B. 1907, A.M. 1913. The Development of Italy's Position in the Triple Alliance. *Pennsylvania*.
- A. Neuman, S.B. Columbia 1909, A.M. 1912. Jewish Communal Life in Spain during the Thirteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- J. G. McDonald, A.B. Indiana 1909, A.M. 1910. The Spanish *Corregidor*; Origin and Development. *Harvard*.
- F. E. J. Wilde, A.B. Wisconsin 1911, A.M. 1912. The Career of Don Antonio of Portugal. *Wisconsin*.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

- F. Lauer, A.B. Iowa Wesleyan 1908; A.M. Northwestern 1914. The Dominican Order in Germany. *Chicago*.
- H. C. Engelbrecht, Concordia Seminary 1917. Economic Aspects of Anticlericalism in Southwest Germany during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. *Chicago*.

- F. C. Church, A.B. Cornell 1909, Ph.D. 1916. Boniface Amerbach and his Circle. *Cornell*.
- C. F. Lemke, A.B. Wisconsin 1903. The Opposition to Stein's Reforms in Prussia. *Chicago*.
- H. C. M. Wendell, A.B. Princeton 1910. The Evolution of Industrial Freedom in Prussia, 1845-1849. *Pennsylvania*.
- V. H. Schleicher, A.B. Indiana 1913; A.M. Columbia 1914. The Opposition to Bismarck in the Prussian Parliament. *Columbia*.
- L. D. Steefel, A.B. Harvard 1916, A.M. 1917. The Schleswig-Holstein Question, 1863-1864. *Harvard*.

NETHERLANDS

- H. E. Yntema, A.B. Hope 1912; A.M. Michigan 1913. The Theory of Sovereignty in the Netherlands. *Michigan*.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

- Paul Fox, A.B. Western Reserve 1906, A.M. 1908; D.B. Oberlin 1907. Phases in the Social and Economic History of Poland. *Johns Hopkins*.
- Alexander Baltzly, A.B. Harvard 1912, A.M. 1913. Russia's Entry into European Politics: Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich in the Great Northern War. *Harvard*.

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

- J. K. Wright, A.B. Harvard 1913, A.M. 1914. A Study of European Knowledge of the Far East in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. *Harvard*.
- Sumio Uesugi, A.M. Chicago 1916. The Family in Japan. *Chicago*.
- L. H. Davis, S.B. Pennsylvania 1901, LL.B. 1904, A.M. 1912. The Doctrine of Spheres of Influence and the Open-Door Policy in China. *Pennsylvania*.
- C. M. P. Cross, A.B. Brown 1915, A.M. 1915. The Development of Self-government in India, since 1857. *Chicago*.
- H. L. Reed, A.B. Oberlin 1911; Ph.D. Cornell 1914. The Development of a Qualified Gold Exchange Standard in India. *Cornell*.

AMERICA: GENERAL

- H. C. Beyle, A.B. Central College of Iowa 1912; A.M. Chicago 1916. Constitutional and Administrative Aspects of Tenant Legislation in the United States. *Chicago*.
- A. R. Mead, A.B. Miami; A.M. Columbia 1910. The Development of the Free School and the Abolition of Rate Bills in the States of Connecticut and Michigan. *Columbia*.
- Lucia von L. Becker, Ph.B. Chicago 1909, Ph.M. 1911. The History of the Admission of New States into the Union. *Chicago*.

- T. P. Martin, A.B. Leland Stanford 1913; A.M. California 1914. The Confirmation of Foreign Land Titles in the Acquired Territories of the United States. *Harvard*.
- V. J. West, Ph.B. Chicago 1905. History of the Corrupt Practices Acts in the United States. *Chicago*.
- C. E. Martz, A.B. Yale 1915, A.M. 1917. The Growth of the Power of the Senate. *Yale*.
- W. W. Jennings, A.B. Illinois 1915, A.M. 1916. The Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ in the United States. *Illinois*.
- C. B. Goodykoontz, A.B. Colorado 1912; Litt.M. California 1914. The Home Missionary Movement. *Harvard*.
- H. M. Wriston, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. Special Agents in American Diplomacy. *Harvard*.
- J. O. Hall, A.B. Denver 1903, A.M. 1905. The Norse Immigration. *Columbia*.
- G. H. Ryden, A.B. Augustana 1909; A.M. Yale 1911. Rivers and Harbors Legislation of the United States. *Yale*.
- R. J. Swenson, A.B. Minnesota 1915, A.M. 1916. River and Harbor Improvements by the United States Government. *Wisconsin*.
- L. D. White, S.B. Dartmouth 1914. Origin and Development of Regulating Commissions. *Chicago*.

AMERICA: GENERAL, ECONOMIC

- Mary J. Lanier, S.B. Chicago 1909. Geographical Influence on the Development of the Atlantic Seaports. *Chicago*.
- T. G. Gronert, A.B. Wisconsin 1908, A.M. 1915, Ph.D. 1917. The History of the Business Corporation in the United States previous to 1860. *Wisconsin*.
- W. L. Abbott, A.B. Pennsylvania 1911, A.M. 1913, LL.B. 1913. The Development of the Theory of the Tariff in the United States. *Pennsylvania*.
- F. G. Crawford, Ph.B. Alfred 1915; A.M. Wisconsin 1916. The History of Manufacturing, 1860-1870. *Wisconsin*.
- F. E. Richter, A.B. Harvard 1913, A.M. 1916. The History of the Copper Industry in the United States. *Harvard*.
- H. A. Wooster, A.B. Wesleyan 1909, A.M. 1910; Ph.D. Yale 1916. The Rise of a Wage-earning Class in New England, 1790-1860, as related to the Evolution of the Factory System. *Yale*.
- H. D. Dozier, A.B. Vanderbilt 1908; A.M. Yale 1916. The History of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. *Yale*.
- H. H. Bass, Litt.B. Wisconsin 1902, Litt.M. 1903; A.M. Harvard 1912. The Woolen Industry in the Mississippi Valley prior to the Introduction of the Factory System. *Harvard*.
- M. K. Cameron, A.B. Princeton 1908; A.M. Harvard 1914. The History of Tobacco Growing in the Ohio Valley. *Harvard*.

- W. M. Babcock, jr., A.B. Minnesota 1914, A.M. 1915; A.M. Harvard 1917. The Relations between the Public Domain and the Cattle Industry in the United States. *Harvard*.
- E. H. Hahne, A.B. Nebraska 1911, LL.B. 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The History of the Meat-Packing Industry in the United States. *Harvard*.
- Clement Akerman, A.B. Georgia 1898; A.M. Harvard 1914. Studies in the Economic History of the Pacific Northwest. *Harvard*.

AMERICA: IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

- R. S. Castleman, Ph.B. Chicago 1914. Early Emigration from Spain to America. *Chicago*.
- G. A. Washburne, A.B. Ohio State 1907; A.M. Columbia 1913. Imperial Control over the Administration of Justice in the American Colonies. *Columbia*.
- J. P. Gillespie, A.B. Columbia 1905; D.B. Union Theological 1907. The Influence of Religious Ideas on American Colonial Life. *Columbia*.
- Hubert Phillips, A.B. Chattanooga 1908; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Development of the Residential Qualification on Suffrage in the American Colonies. *Columbia*.
- I. S. Mitchell, A.B. Maryville 1905. Roads and Highways as Factors in Colonial History. *Yale*.
- J. R. Young, A.B. Leland Stanford 1909, A.M. 1910. The Relation of Church and Clergy to Education in the Thirteen American Colonies. *Chicago*.
- A. H. Buffinton, A.B. Williams 1907; A.M. Harvard 1909. The Attitude of the Northern Colonies towards the Dutch and French, with special reference to the Subject of Expansion. *Harvard*.
- A. P. Scott, A.B. Princeton 1904; D.B. Chicago 1910, Ph.D. 1916. A Comparative Study of the Criminal Legislation of Massachusetts and Virginia in Colonial Times. *Chicago*.
- R. P. Bieber, A.B. Muhlenberg 1914; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915. The Lords of Trade and Plantations and the American Colonies, 1675-1696. *Pennsylvania*.
- L. S. Fuller, A.B. Smith 1904; A.M. Columbia 1905. Public Opinion in the American Colonies in the Early Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- J. A. Hofto, A.B. North Dakota 1913, A.M. 1914. Sir William Johnson and Anglo-American Indian Policy, 1743-1754. *Illinois*.
- R. L. Meriwether, A.B. Wofford 1912; A.M. Columbia 1914. The Southwest Frontier, 1740-1776. *Chicago*.
- Louise F. Perring, S.B. Temple 1909; A.M. Pennsylvania 1912. The Policy of Imperial Defence in the Southern Colonies during the French and Indian War. *Pennsylvania*.
- R. A. L. Clemen, A.B. Dalhousie 1913, A.M. 1914; A.M. Harvard 1915. The Relations between New England and the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1749-1815. *Harvard*.

- J. O. Knauss, A.B. Lehigh 1910; A.M. Harvard 1913. German-Language Newspapers in America before 1801, with a Study of Social Conditions revealed in Them. *Cornell*.
- L. H. Gipson, A.B. Idaho 1903; B.A. Oxford 1907. Jared Ingersoll, American Loyalist: a Biographical Study in the Field of British Colonial Administration. *Yale*.
- C. D. Johns, A.B. Randolph-Macon 1908; A.M. Chicago 1911. The Southern Loyalists. *Chicago*.
- E. E. Curtis, A.B. Yale 1910, A.M. 1911, Ph.D. 1916. The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution. *Yale*.
- G. C. Wood, A.B. Syracuse 1908. Congressional Control of Foreign Relations during the American Revolution. *New York*.
- K. Schoepperle (Mrs. O. S. Beyer), A.B. Illinois 1915, A.M. 1916. A Study of the Relation between Religious and Political Liberalism in the Period of the American Revolution. *Illinois*.
- O. W. Stephenson, S.B. Michigan Agricultural 1908; A.M. Chicago 1915. The Problem of Providing Munitions for the American Revolutionary Army, 1775-1783. *Michigan*.
- G. V. Burroughs, S.B. Whitman 1909; A.M. Chicago 1912, Ph.D. 1916. Outline Development of State Constitutions from 1776 to 1851. *Chicago*.
- K. H. Porter, A.B. Michigan 1914, A.M. 1916. The Development of Suffrage in State Governments. *Chicago*.
- J. L. Deming, A.B. Cincinnati 1899; A.M. Bethany 1900. Immigration to the United States, 1776-1820: a Study in Causes and Effects. *Columbia*.
- O. R. Richards, A.B. DePauw 1910; A.M. Columbia 1915. The Movement for the Constitution of the United States. *Columbia*.
- A. L. Kohlmeier, A.B. Indiana 1908; A.M. Harvard 1911. Commerce between the United States and the Dutch from 1783 to 1789. *Harvard*.
- K. E. Carlson, A.B. Nebraska 1915, A.M. 1917. Diplomatic Relations of Sweden with the United States. *Pennsylvania*.
- Jane M. Berry, Ph.B. Chicago 1904; A.M. Columbia 1913. Relations between the United States and Spain in the Southwest between 1783 and 1795. *Chicago*.
- Vernon Stauffer, A.B. Hiram 1901. Illuminism in America. *Columbia*.
- Anna C. Clauder, A.B. Bryn Mawr 1905. The Napoleonic Wars as reflected in the Commerce to Philadelphia and New York from 1806 to 1812. *Pennsylvania*.
- G. R. Poage, Ph.B. Chicago 1916. The Early Life of Henry Clay. *Chicago*.
- R. T. Hearon, A.B. George Peabody 1906; A.M. Wisconsin 1913. The American Free-Trade Movement, 1824-1860. *Wisconsin*.
- Florence Robinson, A.M. Wisconsin 1892. Social Movements, 1825-1860. *Wisconsin*.

- D. C. Orbison, Litt.B. Princeton 1912. American Diplomatic Relations with Russia since 1824. *Pennsylvania.*
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NEW ENGLAND

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- L. V. Roth, A.B. Colgate 1913; A.M. Harvard 1916. The New England Town Meeting and the American Revolution. *Harvard*.
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- D. Deming, A.B. Vassar 1914. The Towns of Connecticut during the Colonial Period. *Yale*.
- J. P. Senning, A.B. Union 1908. Legislation and Legislative Methods in Connecticut since 1818. *Yale*.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

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- Arthur MacMahon, A.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1913. The History of the Government of New York City. *Columbia*.
- H. M. Tracey, A.B. Brown 1906; A.M. New York 1909. Life and Influence of James Delancey. *New York*.
- C. E. Miner, A.B. City of New York 1906. The Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in New York. *Columbia*.
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- L. A. Frye, A.B. Minnesota 1907, A.M. 1908. The History of State Control of Public Service Corporations in New York. *Columbia*.
- Emil Nielsen, A.B. New York 1910, A.M. 1911. The Development of the Government of Westchester County (N. Y.), 1683-1916. *New York*.
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- W. M. Gevehr, Ph.B. Chicago 1911, A.M. 1912. The Great Awakening in the Southern Colonies. *Chicago*.
- H. B. Crothers, A.B. Monmouth 1903. The Attitude of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas toward Defence, 1750-1756. *Yale*.
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- L. K. Koontz, A.B. Washington and Lee 1908. The Virginia Frontier in the French and Indian Wars. *Johns Hopkins*.
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- W. B. Smith, A.B. Chicago 1902. White Servitude in South Carolina. *Chicago*.
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- O. C. Coy, Ph.B. College of the Pacific 1907; A.M. Leland Stanford 1909. The Settlement and Development of the Humboldt River Region, California. *California*.
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- Jacob Viner, A.B. McGill 1914; A.M. Harvard 1915. The International Trade of Canada, with particular reference to the Period since 1890. *Harvard*.
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- Vera L. Brown, A.B. McGill 1912, A.M. 1913. A Study of the Audiencia in Peru. *Bryn Mawr*.
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- A. C. Millspaugh, *Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, ser. XXXV., no. 3.)
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- A. E. Peterson, *New York as an Eighteenth-Century Municipality prior to 1731*. (New York, Columbia Univ. Studies, vol. LXXV., no. 1.)

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ERRATA

By error in our last number, page 230, the age of Professor Henry A. Sill was given as thirty-nine. It should have been given as forty-nine. On page 135, the signature of Dr. Robert J. Kerner of the University of Missouri, to the review of Mr. Temperley's *History of Serbia*, was erroneously spelled "Koerner"—Dr. Kerner is of Bohemian, not German origin. Also, page 145, the signature of Professor Robert H. Fife, jr., of Wesleyan University, should have been affixed to the review of Professor Ferdinand Schevill's *Making of Modern Germany*.

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT PHILADELPHIA

THE American Historical Association has now held at least two of its annual meetings in each of the four chief centres of American population. It held at New York the meeting of 1896 and the twenty-fifth-anniversary meeting of 1909; at Boston those of 1887, 1899, and 1912; at Chicago a summer meeting of somewhat special character in 1893, at the time of the World's Fair, and meetings in December of 1904 and 1914; and has now held two meetings in Philadelphia, those of 1902 and 1917. Anyone who has attended, at the same city, or in each of them, two of these meetings, ten or fifteen years apart, has ready means of measuring the society's progress and the advancement made in the range and quality of its proceedings. It is all very gratifying, and most of all because of the rich promise it offers of still further improvement in the future.

One or two aspects of the Philadelphia meeting were, however, especially gratifying. In November and December there had been, in this as in other scientific societies, evidences of doubt in some minds as to whether it were not better, in war-time, to omit these large annual gatherings, in the interest of economy of money and effort. They are indeed expensive. They are more expensive than they should be. No local committee of arrangements likes to show the American Historical Association any but the best hotel in its city, though few there be, among the members of that worthy but impecunious fraternity, who habitually put up at the best hotels in the cities which they visit on other occasions. To be forced to stay at an expensive hotel because it is headquarters is in some respects agreeable (especially if there is a cheap restaurant near at hand!), but when we add to the cost the expense and present difficulty of railroad travel, there is much to deter us, especially in war-time, from going far to attend the meetings of a scientific

society. With the next meeting scheduled to take place in Minneapolis, the Association did prudently in voting authority to the Executive Council to omit the meeting of December, 1918, or change place and plan, if conditions attending the war develop before September in such a manner that action of this sort seems to the Council expedient.

But with the pressure of the war no further advanced than it was in December, 1917, it could fairly be said that, if the transactions of a national historical society were what they should be, they were worth to the government and the country all that they cost. No national effort of such prodigious magnitude and power as that which we are called upon to make can be made by any nation which is not fully conscious of an inspiring past. Of all the factors that make a nation, a common history is perhaps the most potent; and the present war of nations is visibly a product of history. Much knowledge of European history is necessary toward its comprehension, much thought and feeling respecting American history toward bearing successfully our part in its prosecution. A national historical society with no thoughts above the level of antiquarianism might better not convene in such days as these, but a national historical society with the right spirit could not hold an annual meeting without sending its members home heartened to the performance of every patriotic duty, nor without extending in some measure throughout the nation the inspiring and clarifying influence of sound historical thinking and right patriotic feeling.

Fortunately—though not by accident, nor with any ground for surprise—such has been the spirit and temper of the American Historical Association. It is no accident that such men wish now, more than ever, to connect their studies of the past with the life of the present, to relate every portion of history to the impending crisis of civilization, and to concentrate attention on those parts that are really significant and directly helpful, yet to do all this without allowing the judgment to be warped by the events and passions of the hour, without ceasing to see the life of the race steadily and see it whole. At the Cincinnati meeting, and still more at that lately held at Philadelphia, those who made the programme and those who took part in it advanced from the ignoring attitude of 1914 and 1915 to a frank recognition of the war as the historical event now uppermost in all minds, from ground perhaps suitable to spectators to ground appropriate for participants, and did so without excitement or partisanship or loss of judgment. Such discussions by teachers and writers are surely useful to the nation.

Not only was the meeting marked by unwonted enthusiasm, but it was attended by much greater numbers than would generally be expected in such times. The registration amounted to 379, a figure which has only a few times been surpassed. No doubt the historic and other attractions of Philadelphia were in large part responsible for this unusually great attendance. No city has so many and so important associations with the beginnings of our national life, and none has so many visible memorials of those events to attract the patriotic pilgrim. A special occasion was provided, on one of the afternoons of the session, for visits to these historic scenes of old Philadelphia and to the American Philosophical Society.

Additional numbers may well have been drawn to the meeting by Philadelphia's established fame for hospitality. Besides all that was done privately to sustain those hospitable traditions, the University of Pennsylvania, in whose buildings all the sessions of one of the three days (December 27, 28, 29) were held, entertained all members to luncheon and to supper on that day. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in whose hall Mr. Worthington Ford delivered on the first evening his presidential address, followed that address, in its usual handsome manner, with a reception and supper. The conference of archivists and that of historical societies were held in the same building. Other sessions of the first and third days were mostly held in various rooms of the hotel chosen as official headquarters, the Bellevue-Stratford. The privileges of the College Club and of the New Century Club were extended to women members attending the meeting, those of the Franklin Inn Club to the men. The chairman of the committee on local arrangements was Mr. George Wharton Pepper, the vice-chairman Professor William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, to whom, and to other professors in that university, the attending members are greatly indebted. The chairman of the committee on programme was Professor John B. McMaster, the vice-chairman Professor Herman V. Ames, of the same institution.

Other learned societies which met at the same time and place were the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Society, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle West and Maryland. The session on ancient history was held as a joint session with the first two of these bodies; that on medieval church history as a joint session with the American Society of Church History, which, meeting as

usual in New York, adjourned to Philadelphia for this final session; the conference of teachers of history as a joint session with the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland; while the last session of all was held in common with the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society. At that session the members of the various societies were favored with an interesting informal address by the Honorable Robert Brand, deputy chairman of the British War Mission, well known for work connected with the federation of South Africa, on the British Commonwealth of Nations; Hon. Edward P. Costigan, of the United States Tariff Commission, read an address on Economic Alliances, Commercial Treaties, and Tariff Adjustments, partly historical in character, in so far as it touched upon the experiments of the United States in reciprocity since 1890;¹ and Professor Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota, read a paper, at once entertaining and of solid value, on the Pan-German Use of History.

At noon of the first day, the members of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association came together in a subscription luncheon, at which M. Louis Aubert, of the French High Commission, spoke eloquently of the aid of historians in winning the war, and Professor Guy S. Ford, of the University of Minnesota, who since May has been performing invaluable services as director of the Division of Civic and Educational Co-operation in the Committee on Public Information at Washington, described the educational work of that committee in detail and in a manner to convince all hearers of the high value of its labors. Several subscription dinners of those having a common interest in an individual field of history were arranged, in accordance with a custom which has been growing of late, and were eminently successful—a dinner of those interested in military history, one of members interested in the history of the Far East, and one of members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. There was also a breakfast of those interested in Latin-American history and in the foundation of the new *Hispanic American Historical Review*, of whose progress announcement is made on a later page; and a subscription luncheon of teachers, at which the subject of discussion was the War and the Teaching of History, and at which an interesting letter addressed to those present by M. Édouard de Billy, French Deputy High Commissioner, was read by M. François Monod.

¹ Mr. Costigan's paper appears in the supplement to the *American Economic Review* for March.

Though several of the sessions were entitled conferences and had in part that character, the familiar difficulty of eliciting real discussion of substantive papers confined those sessions mostly to formal written contributions; but there were, as usual, three conferences that call for independent description, the fourteenth annual conference of representatives of state and local historical societies, the ninth annual conference of archivists, and the conference of teachers of history.

The conference of historical societies now met for the first time under the constitution provided for it by the Association a year before, which gives it an autonomous status; and organized by the choice of Mr. Thomas L. Montgomery, librarian of the Pennsylvania State Library, as chairman, and of several committees. The secretary of the new organization is Dr. Augustus H. Shearer, of the Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, appointed to that position by the Council a year before. Preparations were made for the issue in 1918 of a hand-book of American historical societies. The proceedings of the conference were mainly occupied with the problem of the relations between historical societies and the various hereditary-patriotic societies, especially in the matter of co-operation in publication. Judge Norris S. Barratt, of the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas, read a paper on the publications issued by societies of the latter class, and the need of avoiding duplication. The plan of a joint committee, in which each such society should be represented, and which should systematize printing, and by agreement assign to each society the field and method of publication which it should adopt, was elaborated by Professor William Libbey, of Princeton University, and by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was voted that the president of the American Historical Association should be requested to appoint a committee of thirteen, representing all types of organization involved, to consider closer co-operation and report a plan for avoiding duplication of effort and securing a better and more systematic publication of historical material. For the remainder of the conference the topic was the collection by historical societies of local material on the present war; Professor Harlow Lindley and Dr. Solon J. Buck gave useful descriptions of methods pursued by the Indiana State Library and the Minnesota Historical Society respectively.²

The chief theme in the conference of archivists was the collection and preservation of war records. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the

² A fuller account of the proceedings, in a brief pamphlet of eight pages, has been prepared by Dr. Shearer, and may be obtained from him.

Carnegie Institution, secretary of the National Board for Historical Service, presented in outline the general subject of Archives of the War, on which he has been preparing for that board an elaborate report. He emphasized the great need of preserving properly the official documents and papers produced by the federal, state, and local governments of the Union in their various conventional departments, and showed in part what was being done in this direction, and by libraries; but he dwelt more largely on the need of preserving proper records of the doings of those newer governmental or semi-official or extra-official bodies which have been created in such numbers for purposes connected with the war. Starting without traditions of office and with instant needs for boundless activity, such organizations are likely to forget the importance of preserving for future times the records of their activities. Yet after all their achievements should hold as high and as instructive a place in the history of the war as those of all the traditional divisions of the old-line military or political mechanism, for the future historian of the war will see it, in this country as in others, as a prodigious and many-sided effort of the whole nation. What has been done to cause these newer bodies to conserve historical material was set forth by Mr. Leland in general terms, and was exemplified in a particular instance by a fuller description, presented by Mr. Everett S. Brown, of the Archives of the Food Administration as Historical Sources. Professor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University of America, editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*, speaking to the title, the Collection of Catholic War Records, described the systematic endeavors made, on a large scale, by the War Record Committee of the Catholic National War Council, operating through 119 diocesan sub-committees, to collect all sorts of material relating to the war which can be obtained from members of the Catholic Church, the portions relating to Catholics to be preserved ultimately in a special archive building to be erected in Washington at the Catholic University of America. Professor R. M. Johnston, of Harvard, Mr. R. D. W. Connor, of North Carolina, Dr. Buck, of Minnesota, and Dr. James Sullivan, of the New York Department of History, also spoke in this conference, partly by way of describing the earnest and intelligent efforts which historical departments and societies and the historical sections of state councils of defence have made to ensure the preservation of material on the war, partly upon the pressing need, which war conditions have emphasized, for better housing of the national archives at Washington. The conference was presided over by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, chairman of the Public Archives Commission.

The conference of teachers of history, presided over by Dean Marshall S. Brown, of New York University, attracted an exceptionally large attendance, especially of teachers in secondary schools. It will be remembered that the Association two years ago appointed a Committee of Thirteen to consider what progress could be made toward framing for American schools a more ideal programme in history, a course which, while defining more closely the fields of history recommended by the Committee of Seven, should also bring about a better co-ordination between the elementary and the secondary schools. This conference was planned to help forward these deliberations, and the principal paper was by Professor Henry Johnson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, chairman hitherto of that Committee on History in Schools. Professor Johnson's paper, on the School Course in History: Some Precedents and a Possible Next Step, a paper expressed with his usual wisdom and felicity, and the valuable remarks of the gentlemen who followed him in the discussion of the theme, Professor Rolla M. Tryon, of the University of Chicago, Dr. Arthur M. Wolfson, of the New York High School of Commerce, Professor Henry E. Bourne, of the Western Reserve University, and Professor Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth University, have been printed at length in another place.³ It must suffice here to say that Professor Johnson warned against the non-historical tendency to teach too much "current events", continually shifting the emphasis and interpretation of history to suit the interests of the hour, and against the temptation, active in such times as these, to turn the whole force of historical teaching to the stimulation of national patriotism—the very process which in Germany, glorifying one nation alone, has resulted in intellectual isolation from the civilization of the rest of the world. Advocating a connected programme of history for the whole school course, he especially commended as a model the French course of 1902, which endeavored to promote without bias a sympathetic understanding of the progress of humanity, and therefore attained a point of view universal and stable.

Among the formal papers read at the meetings, the place of first consideration belongs to the bright and engaging presidential address delivered by Mr. Ford, *facile princeps*, among American historical editors of whatever period, on the Editorial Function in American History. We have already had the pleasure of printing its text in full.⁴ Such summaries as we are able to give of the other

³ *History Teacher's Magazine*, February, 1918, pp. 74-83, pages of great value and importance.

⁴ *American Historical Review*, XXIII. 273-286.

papers may best be arranged in something approaching a chronological or systematic order, without regard to the order in which these papers appeared in the programme.

A group of papers in the session on ancient history discussed, in outline and suggestively, the problems of ancient imperialism, Professor Albert T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois presenting a paper on Oriental Imperialism, Professor William S. Ferguson of Harvard, one on Greek Imperialism, while a third, prepared by the late Professor George W. Botsford of Columbia University, dealt with Roman Imperialism. These three papers we expect to have the pleasure of printing in a future number of this journal.

In the same session, Professor Clifford H. Moore, of Harvard University, discussing the Decay of Nationalism under the Roman Empire, showed how the earlier patriotism of antiquity, based on the city state in the more advanced, on the tribe in the less advanced populations, never developed into a nationalism attached to a large area, before Roman conquest substituted provincial organization with its highly centralized form of government, broke up old relations, and destroyed many of the inter-city or intertribal ties. That a Roman nationalism developed under the Empire is difficult to maintain. The racial composition of the Empire, its vast extent, the early loss of political power under the principate, the individualism engendered by social and economic conditions and by philosophy and Oriental religions, caused Roman national spirit in reality to decline.

Aspects of cosmopolitan religion under the Empire were treated by Professor A. L. Frothingham of Princeton, in a paper on the Cosmopolitan Religion of Tarsus and the Origin of Mithra. He exhibited Tarsus as a typical exponent of religious cosmopolitanism, affected, by reason of its position and history, by Hittite and Anatolian ideas, by those of the Assyrians and the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans. One part of his paper essayed to show how influences from all these sources are reflected in the symbolism of the lion slaying the bull, a special device of Tarsus, and in its mythological interpretations. Another argued for the origin of Mithra in the Babylonian myth of the hero Gilgamesh. Among the comments made upon the papers in this session, especially valuable were those of Professor Frank F. Abbott, of Princeton, on the causes which broke down the individuality of the city states and brought about the decline of civic patriotism under the Roman Empire.

Professor Joseph C. Ayer, jr., of the Episcopal Divinity School

in Philadelphia, presented a paper on the Church Councils of the Anglo-Saxons. His conclusions were: (1) that the provincial conciliar system of the Church was as ineffectual and as irregular at this period in England as elsewhere; (2) that with the exception of the two provincial synods of Hertford and Hatfield under Archbishop Theodore, there were no Anglo-Saxon councils or synods representing the entire Church in England; (3) that there is no evidence, by way of church councils, of any such unity of church organization as could do much to advance the political unity of the nations in England; (4) that the earliest synods of Theodore, and probably the strictly provincial synods for some time, were called by the archbishop on his own authority, but that later it was on the king's authority that all councils, secular and ecclesiastical, were called, the church councils rapidly becoming assimilated with the witenagemot; (5) that the witenagemot took the place of the provincial synod for all ecclesiastical purposes at an early day, possibly at about 800 A. D.

In the session devoted to medieval church history, in which this paper was read, later church councils had an important place. The presidential address which Professor David S. Schaff of the Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh delivered before the American Society of Church History in this session was devoted to the Council of Constance, its Fame and its Failure, setting forth its personal aspects, the questions which it settled, and those which it failed to settle—the healing of the papal schism, the failure to reform the Church, or to fix the final seat of authority in ecumenical councils.

Dr. Harold J. Laski of Harvard, in a paper on the Conciliar Movement, dealt with that movement in its bearings upon fundamental political questions, still urgent: the nature of political authority, the question of sovereignty, the relation between the state and other organizations, the problems connected with representative government, and the problems of internationalism. The important question throughout the movement was that of constitutionalism against autocracy. The papacy refused to reform. The conciliar writers believed that only a constitutional government could end the evil. They were led to see that the Church is not *sui generis* but has the nature of other associations of men. The federal idea to which they came was overthrown by the conception of a sovereignty which because of its great purposes could know no limits, which refuses to admit a divided allegiance. The failure of the attempt gave birth to ultramontaniam, the parent of divine right and state-

absolutism. But even in failure, the idea that the consent of the governed is a fundamental element in government, the idea that there are rights so sacred that they must not be invaded, survived, to bear fruit later. The temporary failure was due to the secular forces of the time, demanding centralization.

In the last of the papers of ecclesiastical history, a paper on the Actual Achievements of the Reformation, Dr. Preserved Smith interpreted the reformation as a culmination of seven revolutionary processes, maturing throughout the later Middle Ages: a revolt of the national state against the ecclesiastical world-state and of Teutonism against Latin culture; the prevalence of the ideals of the bourgeoisie over those of the privileged orders; the change from a pessimistic, other-worldly order, to one optimistic and secular; the growth of individualism; the popularization of knowledge; the triumph of monotheism or monism; and the shift from a sacramental, hierarchical supernaturalism to an unconditioned, unmediated, disinterested, transcendental morality.

The special session for English medieval history was devoted to four papers on the history of English medieval taxation: by Professor William E. Lunt, of Haverford College, on Early Assessment for Papal Taxation of English Clerical Incomes; by Dr. Sydney K. Mitchell, of Yale University, on the Taxation of the Personal Property of Laymen down to 1272; by Dr. Norman S. B. Gras, of Clark University, on the English Customs Revenue to 1275; and by Professor James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, on the Assessment of Lay Subsidies, 1290-1332.

Mr. Lunt described the valuations made in 1201, 1217, and 1229, and discussed the assessments probably used for the taxes ordered in 1238, 1239, 1245, 1246, 1247, and 1252. Tentatively, he concluded that the three valuations named were apparently the only assessments of English clerical incomes made for papal taxation previous to 1254, and that they probably included only the spiritualities and did not extend to the temporalities. The last of the three, that of 1229, was the most thorough, furnished the precedents for the methods followed in later valuations, and was probably used for the assessment of all papal taxes imposed upon the income of the English papal clergy between 1229 and 1254.

Mr. Mitchell's paper dealt with the machinery created for the new taxation of the personal property of laymen. A special exchequer, modelled after that of Westminster but independent of it, was generally established to deal with the work of each county collector. This system was followed until the time of Edward I.,

when the work was assigned to the exchequer at Westminster and the wardrobe. In the endeavors after proper valuation, many experiments were made in the local machinery, adaptations and generalizations of devices already in use in the judicial organization of the kingdom, but one feature was constant, a body of royal commissioners, appointed in each county, who had general charge of the assessment and collection of the tax.

In respect to the early history of the English customs revenue, Dr. Gras controverted the current view that the origin of the national customs had lain in a gradual development of the royal right of seizure of goods from merchants, systematized and reduced to money payments. On the contrary he believed the national system to have developed from certain definite customs already existing, through a series of clearly defined actions, in each case an episode in the struggle between localism and nationalism. Among the early taxes on trade he instanced lastage and scavage as having characteristics of national taxes, and two later taxes on wine, cornage and prisage. The decrees or assizes on which these taxes were founded have been lost, but they were all national in being based on foreign trade, imposed on alien and denizen, and apparently imposed originally by the sovereign.

Professor Willard's paper was an account of the assessment of taxes on personal property in England from 1290 to 1332. Between these two dates the system provided for the appointment in each county of groups of commissioners called taxors, in whose instructions the fundamental principle was that the personal property of each individual was to be valued by men of his neighborhood. Sub-taxors reported their data to the chief taxors, who, after general survey, summarized the information in two large rolls for the county, which were brought to the exchequer. There is some uncertainty as to the kinds of personal property which were valued, and as to whether assessments were made from the true value, but apparently there was a good deal of conventional valuation.

In a paper entitled "The Association", Dr. J. Franklin Jameson discussed the development, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of that institution or mode of organization of which the Association of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, 1774, is a familiar example—a signed agreement to continue in a given course of political action. He traced its English history from the association for the protection of Queen Elizabeth in 1584, to instances of loyal association of a similar sort under the Hanoverian kings,

discussed the Scottish model on which the Association of 1584 might have been founded, but showed evidences that its model was rather the Dutch Compromise of 1566, which in turn most probably had its model in the French Catholic leagues of 1560 and the years immediately following.

The most generally interesting of all the sessions was doubtless that one which was devoted to a topic uppermost at that time in most minds, recent Russian history.

In this session, Professor Alexander Petrunkevitch, of Yale University, described in an illuminating manner the role of the intellectuals in the liberating movement in Russia. The real leaders of all Russian parties are intellectuals, since they alone have intelligence to formulate the desires and dreams of the workers. The party programmes express the opinions of the leaders, not of the masses; the wording of them is in the language of educated Russia. He described the intellectual position of each of the Russian political parties and its relations to the revolution, and explained why no one of them was able to control the forces which the revolution had unloosed.

Professor Samuel N. Harper, of Chicago, speaking on Forces behind the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, dwelt chiefly upon two distinct forces, operating through two sets of institutions: political liberalism, which took the initiative, acting through already existing institutions of a somewhat popular character, especially the Duma, and radicalism of a socialistic character, claiming to represent "revolutionary democracy" as opposed to the bourgeoisie, and acting through strictly revolutionary organizations, such as the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. The interaction of these forces, the failure of efforts toward coalition, and the chaos resulting from the triumph of revolutionary democracy, were described.

Next followed a vivid account of the First Week of the Revolution of March, 1917, by an eye-witness, Professor Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College. Adverting to the prevalence, before the war, of discontent with the government, and the frequent talk, in all circles, of the revolution that would follow soon after the war, he declared the present revolution to have been precipitated by the conduct of the Minister of the Interior. Fearing lest the revolutionary spirit should grow too powerful for the government to contend with, he instigated an uprising in order to suppress it seasonably and prevent worse outbreaks in the future, and so brought on a revolution which he was unable to control.

Finally, in a comprehensive paper on the Jugo-Slav Movement, Professor Robert J. Kerner, of the University of Missouri, traced the history of the Jugo-Slavs (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes) through an evolution of twelve centuries, from primeval unity, through a political, economic, and social decomposition of a most bewildering character, to national unity and the present demand for political amalgamation.⁵

We may bridge the transition from papers of European history to papers of American history by mention of that on the Functions of an Historical Section of a General Staff, read in a section devoted to military history, by Lieutenant-Colonel Paul Azan, of the French Army. The topic gains additional interest for American historical scholars from the recent action of the War Department in creating an historical section in the General Staff of the United States Army. Colonel Azan described the archives of the French Ministry of War, the organization of the Historical Section of the General Staff, its work, and its relations to the Centre des Hautes Études Militaires and the École Supérieure de Guerre in developing the theory of war.

First among the contributions to American history mention should be made of the notable paper by Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, on the Background of American Federalism.⁶ Its purpose was to show, first, that the essential qualities of American federal organization were largely produced by the practices of the old British Empire as it existed before 1764, and secondly, that the discussions of the period from that time to 1787, and, more particularly, those of the ten years preceding 1776, gathered very largely around the problem of imperial organization, and, in that field, around the problem of recognizing federalism as a principle, or of discerning the nature of federal organization, in which so-called powers of government are distinguished one from another. The insistence of the colonists was on the maintenance of the old, uncentralized empire; the contention of the Parliamentarians was that a denial of a single power to the Parliament was a denial that it was possessed of any power whatsoever. The result of the actual practices of the old empire, of the argument, of the war, and of the attempted solution in the Articles of Confederation, was the emergence of the federal empire of the United States.

⁵ It is understood that the four papers of this Russian, or Slavonic, session are to be published together, before long, in the form of a volume.

⁶ To be printed in the *American Political Science Review* for May, 1918.

The other papers relating to the first fifty years of United States history were those read in joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. That of Professor James A. James, of Northwestern University, entitled *To What Extent was George Rogers Clark in Control of the Northwest at the Close of the Revolution*, took up that question as an essential means for determining the importance of Clark's conquests. The author related the history of Clark's designs and movements against Detroit, concluding with the results of his expeditions against the Shawnee strongholds in November, 1782, which in both British and Indian view laid Detroit open to attack.

The essay by Professor Archibald Henderson, of the University of North Carolina, on the *Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee*, related to the events which ensued in the Tennessee region upon the extinction of the state of Franklin. The conspiracy was that whereby Gardoqui intrigued with John Sevier to secure the allegiance of the latter and his associates to Spain. An important letter of Sevier, from the Archives of the Indies, promising action of this nature, was read.⁷

In the same session, the Mission of General George Matthews on the Florida Frontier was described by Professor Isaac J. Cox, of the University of Cincinnati, who related Matthews's endeavors in 1810, as secret agent, to persuade Folch to surrender West Florida, his renewal of the attempt in the following year, his unauthorized instigation of rebellion in East Florida, his seizure of Fernandina, and the considerations which forced Madison to disavow his actions.

A paper by Professor Eugene C. Barker, of the University of Texas, on Stephen F. Austin, was devoted to a discussion of Austin's personality, as revealed in his work. His power as a leader was deduced from the control he exercised over the rapidly increasing population of his settlement throughout the whole period from 1821 to 1836, his skill as a diplomat from his ability to hold the confidence of Mexican statesmen and allay their fears of disloyalty on the part of the colonists despite the persistent efforts of the United States to buy Texas.

In a paper of much importance and value, Professor Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard University, set forth the Significance of the North Central States in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. The points mainly dwelt upon were the relations of geography and

⁷ Mr. Henderson's article appears in the April number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*.

population, the interplay and mixture of varied stocks, the influence of mid-Western agriculture, especially of wheat-farming, on both West and East, the development of business, the application of Eastern capital to banking, transportation, and commerce, the political developments and their relation to the processes of settlement and of economic growth, the formation of a new democratic society in this region, and the influence of the children of the pioneers in a wide variety of cultural fields.

Three papers dealt with the American war period of fifty years ago. Professor Louis B. Schmidt, of Iowa State College, spoke on the Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations during the Civil War. He developed in some detail Great Britain's dependence on American wheat and cotton. While the blockade withheld Southern cotton from shipment to England, Northern wheat supplied the deficit which other nations were unable to fill, and, since England had a series of crop failures in 1860, 1861, and 1862, her dependence on American wheat was most acute when the cotton famine was at its height. It may well be regarded as having contributed the decisive influence, overbalancing that of cotton, in keeping the British government from recognition of the Confederacy.

Secondly, Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in Notes on American Manufactures during the Civil War, explained why, though manufacturing in the South was disastrously interrupted, manufacturing at the North prospered during the period of warfare, partly because it had been brought to a stage where the plants were easily transformed into war factories, partly because of wider and more open markets. A surplus of manufactures above both civil and military needs of the nation was produced, exports to Europe were continued, and the general effect of the war was to accelerate manufacturing and to give it an impetus that was permanent until the panic of 1873.

The third of these papers was one by Professor Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin, on the Restoration of the Southern Railroads after the Civil War. He described the system under which, beginning in the spring of 1865, repairs and restoration proceeded under military authority. The reconstruction of these roads by the engineering corps of the army, on financial credit advanced through the War Department, solved the immediate transportation problem of the South, as it could have been solved in no other way. Considering the temper of the North toward the South and the American indi-

vidualist theories of the period, the process which ended in the summer of 1866 was little short of a miracle.⁸

In one of the evening sessions, a large audience derived much entertainment, as well as much profit, from a discourse on "A Generation of American Historiography", by Professor William A. Dunning of Columbia University, in which the progress of historical writing since the foundation of the American Historical Association in 1884 was set forth, with a light touch and with many humorous turns of phrase, but none the less with much sagacity and insight. Characterizing briefly the work of recent historians, Schouler, H. H. Bancroft, McMaster, Fiske, Henry Adams, Rhodes, Roosevelt, and others, he also exhibited the new factors and features of this latest period—the development of the historical monograph, of the doctoral dissertation, of the co-operative history, and the tendency toward economic and impersonal history.

In the same session, Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, gave a description, both interesting and instructive, of the Psychology of a Constitutional Convention, based on his recent experiences as a member of the constitutional convention of Massachusetts.

Students of Latin-American history, gathered in a special conference, had an opportunity of hearing five papers, most of which are likely to be printed later in the new journal of that specialty. An important and original paper, bridging the history of Spain and of Spanish America, was that in which Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, exhibited the Institutional Background of Latin American History, by showing how the institutions which Spain set up for the administration of her colonial empire were readily derived by adaptation from institutions which she had already been called upon to develop. The progress of southward conquest by the Spanish kingdoms in the Middle Ages required them to originate a system of royal and municipal officials, executive and judicial—*adelantados*, *alcaldes*, *corregidores*, *audiencias*, and councils—which were obvious models for viceroys and provisional governors, municipal organizations, and *audiencias* in the New World.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett of the University of California defined with precision, but in a manner impossible to summarize, the history of the Delimitation of Political Jurisdictions in Spanish North America, established prior to 1535, indicating the successive changes

⁸ The papers of Dr. Clark and Professor Fish will be printed before long in the *Military Economist and Historian*.

in those jurisdictions, and sketching the political readjustments resulting from those changes.⁹

The history of Portuguese America received equal attention with that of Spanish America. Professor William R. Manning, of the University of Texas, narrated the story of an Early Diplomatic Controversy between the United States and Brazil, namely that which Condé Raguet, American chargé d'affaires in Brazil from 1824 to 1827, waged with the Brazilian authorities over the blockade maintained by Brazil before Argentine ports, during the war over the question of Uruguay. Professor Percy A. Martin, of Leland Stanford University, showed the Influence of the United States on the Opening of the Amazon to the World's Commerce, beginning with the unsuccessful efforts made in 1850 and with Lieutenant M. F. Maury's somewhat truculent memorial of 1853, and described the effects of those efforts and of the work of Tavares Bastos who finally persuaded the Emperor Don Pedro II., in 1866, to sign the imperial decree opening the Brazilian portion of the Amazon to international commerce. Mr. Reginald Orcutt, of Washington, ended the session with a Review of the History of German Colonization in Brazil, from 1827 to 1914.

For those whose interest lies in the field of Far Eastern history, there was a profitable session on the last day of the convention, in which four papers, concerning the recent history of China and Japan and the relations of America to them, were read by Professors F. W. Williams of Yale University, Kenneth S. Latourette of Denison University, W. W. McLaren of Williams College, and the Rev. Dr. Sidney L. Gulick of New York, respectively. The first spoke of the Mid-Victorian Attitude of Foreigners in China. He described the ignorance of social and material conditions in the Chinese Empire on the part of the Europeans who gathered in the five ports thrown open to maritime commerce in 1842 by the Opium War, the economic and other sources of irritation, and the effects of the policy which Lord Palmerston followed in Europe in dealing with other powers, and of the extension of that policy to China, in the form of truculence and high-handed imposition, until, after another war, more conciliatory and educational methods of intercourse were proposed by Anson Burlingame, American minister to China, and inaugurator of the first plan for an open-door policy.

Mr. Latourette reviewed in detail the whole development of American Scholarship in Chinese History, lamenting the scantiness

⁹ The papers of Dr. Cunningham and Dr. Hackett appear in the first number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

of American contributions to that study, in contrast to the excellent work of European scholars, especially French and English, and expressing the earnest desire, which indeed all should share, that the subject should attract more attention in this country. Mr. McLaren's topic was Twenty Years of Party Politics in Japan, 1897-1917, Dr. Gulick's, the History of Naturalization Legislation in the United States, with special reference to Chinese and Japanese Immigration, his main historical thesis being that it is only since 1907 that the Act of 1875 has been uniformly interpreted by the courts as excluding Japanese from naturalization.

In the business meeting of the Association, which took place on the last afternoon of the sessions, the prevailing note was of adjustment to pecuniary limitations caused by the war. The many subscriptions which are called for from the class of persons chiefly represented in the Association have caused an unusual number of members to resign from it or to omit to pay their annual dues, and a serious diminution of revenue is already visible, while the efforts to increase endowment, hopefully undertaken at the beginning of 1917, have been nearly discontinued since the entrance of the United States into the war. The feeling has been that success was not to be expected in times so unpropitious. Yet it is impossible to remain permanently content with anything short of a large increase in the Association's scientific activities, for it is impossible not to feel with great earnestness the increased responsibility of America for maintaining the apparatus of the world's civilization. In every European country the sources from which scientific undertakings have been sustained will have been dried up or almost fatally diminished by the war. A recent German educational article sets forth, in plaintive accents, with many statistics, and with much truth, that "our superiority, anchored in the popular education of Germany and in the standard of our culture", will be impaired, that Germany's intellectual development "would be reduced to a wretched condition if Germany were to lose this war, or even if it were to be obliged to conclude a peace of renunciation". In any probable event of the war, America will emerge from it less damaged than any other combatant. When this shattered world resumes with pathetic courage the work of advancing civilization, it were shameful for America not to assume the chief part, if not in the labors of scholarship themselves, at any rate in their sustainment. Hers should be, in all departments of knowledge, the chief funds for the endowment of research.

At the moment, however, the American Historical Association

had nothing before it but to pursue a prudent course. The report of the secretary, Mr. Leland, showed an actual membership of 2654, less by 85 than was reported a year before. That of the treasurer, Dr. Bowen, of which a summary is presented at the end of this article, indicated net receipts, for the year, of \$8659, net expenditures of \$9454, a deficit of \$795. The assets were reported as \$28,516. They would have been less than those of the year preceding by the amount of the deficit mentioned, and by a decline of \$200 in the value of certain securities, but these losses had been more than counterbalanced by the payments made into the general endowment fund, for which it was reported that subscriptions amounting to \$3365 had been made, and \$1490 had been paid in.

The secretary of the Council, Professor Greene, reported its transactions, as required by the constitution, and a number of recommendations, all of which were adopted by the Association.¹⁰ Dr. Bowen, who had been the treasurer of the Association throughout the whole thirty-three years of its existence, having retired from that office, the secretary of the Council reported resolutions by which that body endeavored to express its sense of the society's indebtedness to Dr. Bowen for this long period of unselfish and efficient labor, and the Association with much warmth of feeling passed resolutions of similar tenor. The secretary of the Council also reported on the work of various committees, and also on the budget¹¹ and the necessary omission of appropriations to several of these committees. Mr. Shearer reported the results of the conference of historical societies, Professor Herbert E. Bolton, informally, on the latest meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch. Professor Edward P. Cheyney, chairman of the Board of Editors of this review, reported on its transactions and on the policy which it has adopted during war-time, and the Association took the final steps in adjusting the financial relations between the Board and the Association.¹² The committee on the Adams Prize, unable to report at the time of the business meeting, has since reported an award of the prize to Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum of the National Army, for an essay entitled "G. J. A. Ducher: an Essay in the Political History of Mercantilism during the French Revolution."

Upon recommendation by the Council, the conditions of award

¹⁰ The principal votes passed by the Council at the session held by it in New York on December 1, 1917, and at those sessions which it held in Philadelphia, December 26-29, are printed in an appendix to this article, and the principal votes passed by the Association in another.

¹¹ Printed in an appendix, as adopted by the Association.

¹² See below, pp. 524-525.

of the two prizes were so modified as to provide that the field of the Winsor Prize shall be American history, that of the Adams prize the history of the Eastern Hemisphere; that printed monographs as well as manuscript may be submitted and considered; and that a manuscript to which a prize has been awarded may be printed in the *Annual Reports*, publication in separate volumes being discontinued after the present year.¹³

The report of the Committee on Nominations was presented by its chairman, Professor Frank M. Anderson, of Dartmouth College. In accordance with its recommendations, Mr. William R. Thayer, first vice-president of the Association, was elected president, Professor Edward Channing first vice-president, Mr. J. J. Jusserand, ambassador of France, second vice-president. Mr. Waldo G. Leland, Professor Evarts B. Greene, and Mr. A. Howard Clark were re-elected to their respective offices of secretary, secretary of the Council, and curator. Mr. Charles Moore of Detroit, president of the United States Fine Arts Commission, was elected treasurer. The new members chosen to the Council were Professors William E. Dodd, of the University of Chicago, Walter L. Fleming, of Vanderbilt University, and William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania. The full list of officers, of members of the Council, and of committees, appears on a later page. The Council elected Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard, a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* for the period of six years from the adjournment of the meeting, in succession to Professor Ephraim Emerton, whose term then expired.

PRINCIPAL VOTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL¹⁴

DECEMBER 1, 1917

Voted, That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to prepare for an appropriate representation of the American Historical Association at the International Congress of the History of America to be held at Rio de Janeiro in September, 1922.

Voted, To recommend to the Association the following plan for the administration of the funds of the *American Historical Review*:

1. That the Treasurer of the American Historical Association be requested to institute a separate fund called the American Historical

¹³ Copies of the revised rules may be obtained from the secretary of the Association.

¹⁴ A pamphlet of 12 pages, containing statistics of membership, the treasurer's annual statement, and, in full, the minutes of the meetings of the Executive Council held at Cincinnati on December 29, 1916, and at New York December 1, 1917, was distributed at the time of the Philadelphia meeting, and may be obtained from the secretary of the Association.

Review Fund, to be used only for purposes of the *Review*, consisting at its inception of the balance now possessed by the Board of Editors, and now transferred by it to the treasury of the Association.

2. That the Macmillan Company's monthly payments of \$200, and any payments of profits by that firm under their contract, be hereafter paid to the treasurer of the Association and by him placed to the credit of the American Historical Review Fund;

3. That in order to meet the payments which the treasurer has to make to the Macmillan Company for numbers of the *Review* sent to members at 40 cents each, the Council of the Association at each annual meeting appropriate to the American Historical Review Fund a sum sufficient to cover a payment of \$1.60 for each of the estimated number of members to receive the *Review* during that year, such estimate to be certified by the secretary of the Association.

4. That all such payments as have heretofore been made by the treasurer of the Board of Editors be hereafter made by the treasurer of the Association on warrant from the managing editor.

(These recommendations were adopted by the Association.)

Voted, That the usual November meeting of the Council be omitted in 1918.

Voted, To recommend to the Association that the terms of award of the Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prizes be modified so as to provide:

1. That the publication of the prize essays in the present form be discontinued.

2. That competition for the prizes be open to monographs, submitted either in manuscript or after publication, provided that the date of publication has been within two years preceding the award.

3. That the competition be limited to monographs in the English language by writers of the Western Hemisphere who have not previously published any considerable work or won an established reputation.

4. That a monograph to which a prize has been awarded in manuscript may, if deemed in all respects available, be published in the *Annual Report* of the Association.

5. That the modified system of competition go into effect for the Winsor Prize in 1918, and the Adams Prize in 1919.

(These recommendations were adopted by the Association.)

Voted, That the secretary of the Association and the secretary of the Council be a special committee on membership.

DECEMBER 26-29, 1917

Voted, on recommendation from the Advisory Board of the *History Teacher's Magazine*, that the number of issues of that journal be reduced from ten to nine.

Voted, That the treasurer be instructed to send a bill for the October number of the *American Historical Review*¹⁵ to members whose dues remain unpaid on the first of June.

¹⁵ Sent before it can be known whether the member intends to pay the bill sent by the treasurer of the Association on September 1.

Voted, That in view of the present financial situation the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* be requested to consider ways and means of reducing the expenses of publication of the *Review*.

Voted, That the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* be authorized to negotiate with the Macmillan Company respecting the price at which the *Review* is furnished to members of the Association, with the understanding (1) that the price per number be forty cents as at present,¹⁶ (2) that the Association guarantee the publishers against deficit on account of the publication of the *Review* in 1918, to an amount not exceeding ten cents for each copy furnished to members of the Association.

Voted, To appoint a special Council Committee, of five members, on Policy, with instructions to report to the Council at its next meeting respecting the future scientific activities of the Association.

Voted, To recommend to the Association, 1. That the next annual meeting be held in Minneapolis; provided however, that if, in view of the emergency due to the state of war, there appears to the Executive Council to be sufficient reason for changing the place of meeting or omitting the meeting altogether, the Executive Council be authorized to take such action and directed to notify the Association of its decision not later than September 1;

2. That if the annual meeting of 1918 is omitted the officers of the Association shall continue in office until the next annual meeting of the Association;

3. That, except in respect to the adoption of the annual budget, the secretary of the Council be authorized to take the votes of the Council by mail, when, in the judgment of the president and the secretary, such a procedure is expedient.

(These recommendations were adopted by the Association.)

PRINCIPAL VOTES OF THE ASSOCIATION¹⁷

Voted, That By-law no. 2¹⁸ be amended as follows: In the second sentence change the words "first of October" to "fifteenth of September"; in the third sentence change the words "twenty days" to "one month"; insert the word "business" before the word "meeting" wherever it occurs in the by-law; in the fourth sentence change the words "five days" to "one day" and add at the end of the sentence the words "but such nominations by petition shall not be presented until after the Committee on Nominations shall have reported its nominations to the Association as provided for in the present by-law".

The following resolution, laid before the Association, was referred by it to the Council with power to act, and was subsequently adopted by the Council:

In view of the large educational, humanitarian, and missionary interests which American organizations have long maintained within the limits of the Ottoman Empire,

¹⁶ The contract price is 50 cents, but the publishers some years ago agreed to reduce it to 40 cents on certain conditions.

¹⁷ Additional to the votes approving recommendations of the Council, as indicated in the memorandum preceding.

¹⁸ See *American Historical Review*, XXI. 464-465.

Resolved, That the American Historical Association empower its president to appoint a committee of three to urge upon the government of the United States the importance of adequately safeguarding, during the course of any peace negotiations, the future rights and activities of American educational and scientific enterprises in the Ottoman Empire, having in mind especially:

General education for men and women; professional education, including medical schools and hospitals; training in agriculture, forestry, engineering, transportation and road-making, economic geology, and mining; geological and geographical explorations, scientific surveys, archaeological excavations, and the legitimate interests of American museums.

It is also recommended that a further function of this committee be to provide for the collection and presentation of all available information which would aid the representatives of the United States in securing the ends suggested in the above resolution.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, December 19, 1916.....	\$ 3,219.64
Receipts to date:	
Annual dues	\$6,834.59
Life membership dues	50.00
Dividends on bank stock	240.00
Interest on bond and mortgage.....	900.00
Loan, Clarence W. Bowen	1,642.00
Sales of publications	407.96
Royalties	134.27
Gift for London Headquarters	50.00
Miscellaneous	42.40
	<u>10,301.22</u>
	<u>\$13,520.86</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Office of secretary and treasurer	\$ 1,572.86
Executive Council, expenses of travel.....	239.04
Office of secretary of the Council.....	36.15
Committee on Nominations	77.50
Committee on Programme, 1917	123.39
Conference of Historical Societies	53.72
Committee on Publications	1,054.49
Editorial services	138.55
General Index	750.00
<i>American Historical Review</i>	4,261.20
Historical Manuscripts Commission	6.70
Public Archives Commission	82.70
Committee on Membership	10.00
Committee on Bibliography	5.00
Adams Prize	125.00
<i>Writings on American History</i>	200.00
<i>History Teacher's Magazine</i>	200.00
Special Committee on Finance	50.00
London Headquarters	150.00

Payment of loan	1,642.00
Bills payable December 19, 1916	318.21
Total disbursements	\$11,096.51
Balance on hand, December 19, 1917.....	2,424.35
	<u>\$13,520.86</u>

BUDGET FOR 1918¹⁹

APPROPRIATIONS

Offices of secretary and treasurer.....	\$2,000
Committee on Nominations	75
Pacific Coast Branch	50
Programme Committee	150
Conference of Historical Societies	25
Committee on Publications	1,000
Editorial services	150
General Index	250
<i>American Historical Review</i>	5,000
Historical Manuscripts Commission ²⁰	150
Winsor Prize Committee	200
London Headquarters ²⁰	150
Military History Prize ²⁰	250
Committee on Bibliography of Modern English History ²⁰	125
Bills payable	29
	<u>\$9,604</u>

ESTIMATED INCOME

Annual dues	\$7,050
Life members' fees	100
Publications	400
Royalties	125
Investments	1,100
Gifts	100
Registration fees, annual meeting	150
	<u>\$9,025</u>

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, William R. Thayer, Cambridge.

First Vice-President, Edward Channing, Cambridge.

Second Vice-President, Jean Jules Jusserand, Washington.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Detroit.²¹

¹⁹ Adopted by the Council on the understanding that subscriptions were to be asked for, to make up the deficiency. By the efforts of Dr. Bowen, subscriptions aggregating \$1336 have been obtained (apart from subscriptions to the general endowment fund), sufficient not only to provide against any probable deficiency in 1918 but also to cover most of the deficit of 1917.

²⁰ Trust funds.

²¹ For purposes of routine business, the treasurer should be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.; his personal address is 197 Parker Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

Secretary of the Council, Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.²²

Curator, A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

Andrew D. White, ²³	Andrew C. McLaughlin,
James Schouler,	H. Morse Stephens,
James Ford Rhodes,	George L. Burr,
John B. McMaster,	Worthington C. Ford, ²³
Simeon E. Baldwin,	Herbert E. Bolton,
J. Franklin Jameson,	Henry E. Bourne,
George B. Adams,	William E. Dodd,
Albert Bushnell Hart,	Walter L. Fleming,
Frederick J. Turner,	Samuel B. Harding,
William M. Sloane,	William E. Lingelbach,
Theodore Roosevelt,	Lucy M. Salmon,
William A. Dunning,	George M. Wrong.

Committees:

*Committee on Programme for the Thirty-Fourth Annual Meeting:*²⁴

*Committee on Local Arrangements:*²⁴

Committee on Nominations: Charles H. Ambler, University of West Virginia, chairman; Christopher B. Coleman, Carl R. Fish, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Victor H. Paltsits.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carl Becker, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 270 Beacon St., Boston, chairman; Dice R. Anderson, Mrs. Amos G. Draper, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt, Charles H. Lincoln, Milo M. Quaife.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Frederick L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Edward S. Corwin, Frank H. Hodder, Ida M. Tarbell, Oswald G. Villard.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Ruth Putnam, 2035 O St., N. W., Washington, chairman; Charles D. Hazen, Robert H. Lord, Louis J. Paetow, Conyers Read.

Public Archives Commission: Victor H. Paltsits, 2240 Grand Concourse, New York, chairman; Eugene C. Barker, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George N. Fuller, George S. Godard, Peter Guilday, Thomas M. Owen.

Committee on Bibliography: George M. Dutcher, Wesleyan University, Middletown, chairman; Frank A. Golder, Adelaide R. Hasse, William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, Bernard C. Steiner.

²² Until August, 1917, Professor Greene may best be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

²³ Those named in this list from President White to Mr. Ford are ex-presidents.

²⁴ Selection of these committees was deferred, in view of the vote of the Association respecting a possible postponement, or change of place, of the annual meeting.

Committee on Publications: H. Barrett Learned, 2123 Bancroft Place, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederic L. Paxson, Ruth Putnam, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on History in Schools: J. Montgomery Gambrill, Teachers College, chairman; Victoria A. Adams, Henry L. Cannon, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, James A. James, Daniel C. Knowlton, August C. Krey, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson, Rolla M. Tryon, William L. Westermann.

Conference of Historical Societies: Augustus H. Shearer, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, secretary.

Advisory Board of the History Teacher's Magazine: Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Fred M. Fling, Margaret McGill, James Sullivan, Anna B. Thompson, Oliver H. Williams.²⁵

Special Committee on Policy: Charles H. Haskins, Harvard University, chairman; Carl Becker, William E. Dodd, Guy S. Ford, Dana C. Munro.

Special Committee on the Historical Congress at Rio de Janeiro: Bernard Moses, University of California, chairman; Julius M. Klein, 1824 Belmont Road, Washington, secretary; Charles L. Chandler, Charles H. Cunningham, Percy A. Martin.

Special Committee on American Educational and Scientific Enterprises in the Ottoman Empire: Edward C. Moore, Harvard University, chairman; James H. Breasted, Albert H. Lybyer.

²⁵ The chairman and Miss McGill were appointed for a term of three years; the other members of this committee hold over.

THE MIKADO'S RATIFICATION OF THE FOREIGN TREATIES

FROM many points of view the most interesting period in the whole history of Japan lies between 1853 and 1868, between the appearance of Commodore Perry and his black ships in the Bay of Yedo and the restoration of the Mikado as the temporal ruler of Japan. It is the period in which Japan renewed her foreign intercourse, abandoned for more than two hundred years, and came into contact with the maritime countries of Europe and America. It is the period also of the rapid decline and fall of the Shogunate and the concomitant rise of the imperial power. Within a few years the question of foreign intercourse became involved, apparently beyond extrication, with the turbulent domestic politics of the time. This was not understood by the first foreign representatives at the court of the Shogun. They emphasized the importance of foreign rights and foreign relations, but the Japanese were far more concerned with the internal struggle, at times stained with blood, between the Shogunate and the supporters of the imperial house. As long as this interrelation of foreign and domestic affairs continued, there could be little hope of peaceful intercourse, for the lives of foreigners were sacrificed to serve some political end. Fortunately the separation came before the political crisis ended in civil war but it came under circumstances which have been but little understood and the significance of the event has not been properly appreciated, even at the present day.¹ Of all the events in that period of stress and turmoil, none had a greater or more lasting import than the Mikado's sanction of the foreign treaties on the 5th of November, 1865.

The fundamental difficulty lay in the disputed powers of the Shogun. For six and a half centuries the temporal power in Japan had been exercised almost without exception by military leaders, generally holding the office of Shogun. From 1603 until 1867 this office was held by members of the Tokugawa family, beginning with the great general and administrator, Ieyasu. During his lifetime and that of his strong successors there was no question of the power of the Shogunate to determine all administrative matters without

¹ For a more detailed study of the period see Treat, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-1865*.

even a reference to the Mikado at Kyoto.² The epochal edicts of exclusion and seclusion of 1624, 1636, and 1638, were issued without any reference to the throne; and the later laws governing foreign intercourse, such as the edicts of 1825, 1842, and 1843, were promulgated in the same manner.³ In this respect the foreigners were right when they believed that the Mikado had relinquished his temporal powers.

It was the Shogunate itself which raised the question of the reserved powers of the Mikado. Unwilling to accept the responsibility for altering the foreign policy of the empire, as proposed by Commodore Perry at his first visit in 1853, it referred the question to the throne and to the feudal lords. The imperial court at Kyoto and a majority of the *daimyos* (feudal lords) favored the maintenance of the exclusion laws, and the former sent down instructions to the Shogun at Yedo to drive the foreigners away.⁴ Some defensive measures were taken, but eventually the Shogunate determined to grant the requests of the Americans, and the treaty of March 31, 1854, was signed. In this, and some of the contemporary treaties, the Tycoon (Shogun) is spoken of as the Emperor of Japan. The Perry treaty, and the British and Russian compacts which soon followed, were reported to the Mikado and his approval was granted in February, 1855.⁵ Thus the weakness of the Shogunate had established two precedents, that treaties must be referred to the Mikado and approved by him, and that the *daimyos* might claim the right to be consulted about foreign affairs.

During the next few years the smouldering opposition to the Shogunate steadily increased, and its enemies made much of the weakness manifested in the reversal of the wise exclusion policy of the early Tokugawa.⁶ Within the Shogun's castle there were divided counsels, a small minority of enlightened officials using all their influence in favor of the maintenance of the new foreign relations. So when Townsend Harris, the first American consul-general, sought to secure a treaty of commerce in place of the earlier treaty of peace and friendship, the liberal leaders had to face a growing opposition. Fortunately Harris conducted himself so well during his fifteen

² Gubbins, *Progress of Japan, 1853-1871*, pp. 71, 269; Satoh, *Agitated Japan: the Life of Baron Ii Kamon-no-Kami Naosuke*, p. 5; Akimoto, *Lord Ii Naosuke and New Japan*, p. 113.

³ *Parl. Papers*, 1866, LXXVI. [3615], p. 4; *Senate Ex. Doc.* 59, p. 79, 32 Cong., 1 sess., serial 620.

⁴ Gubbins, *Progress of Japan*, p. 92.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶ The gradual weakening of the Tokugawa Shogunate in the preceding century cannot be considered here. The process was accelerated with the coming of Commodore Perry and the problems then presented.

months' residence at Shimoda that he won the confidence of the Japanese. That moral victory gained, it was possible for him to secure an audience of the Shogun, and later to convince the enlightened prime minister, Lord Hotta Bitchiu-no-Kami, that Japan's best interests lay in enlarged intercourse with all the great powers.⁷ With the negotiation of this master-treaty we are not concerned. But when it was almost agreed upon the Japanese commissioners stated that such was the opposition in the Castle that the treaty would have to be referred to the "Spiritual Emperor" at Kyoto for his approval, and "that the moment that approval was received, the *daimyos* must withdraw their opposition". Harris very naturally inquired what would happen if the Mikado refused his assent and was told "in a prompt and decided manner, that the government had determined not to receive any objections from the Mikado". If this was the case, he then asked, what was the use in delaying the negotiations "for what appears to be a mere ceremony", and he was told "that it was this solemn ceremony that gave value to it".⁸ He proposed, therefore, that they complete their work, but postpone signing the treaty until the end of sixty days. This was agreed to, the draft was completed on February 26, 1858, and Harris looked forward to April 21 when it would be signed.

The positive assurance of the Japanese commissioners was justified by all the previous relations between the Shogunate and the imperial court. Never had a request for the formal approval of an act been denied. So two minor officials were sent up to Kyoto to secure the imperial sanction for the treaty, Hayashi Daigaku-no-Kami, who had been one of the signatories of the Perry treaty, and Tsuda Hanzaburo. Hayashi presented to the imperial court a letter from Hotta, the prime minister, but the opponents of the Shogunate saw in the low rank of Hayashi and Tsuda a chance to make trouble and crying out that their presence was an insult to the throne they prevented a favorable reply.⁹ This was the first rebuff of the Shogunate.

Lord Hotta, alarmed at the evidence of open hostility in Kyoto, then went up himself to reason with the court. The address which he presented was a remarkable document, the work of a forward-looking statesman, amazingly modern in its point of view for that period.¹⁰ It pointed out the changed conditions in international

⁷ For a Japanese record of Harris's arguments see *U. S. For. Rel.*, 1879, pp. 620-636, serial 1902.

⁸ Griffiths, *Life of Townsend Harris*, p. 288.

⁹ Satoh, *Life of Lord Hotta*, pp. 69-71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-79.

affairs, the increasing relations between the world-powers, their mutual dependence, and the impossibility that any country should remain secluded. Hence Japan would either have to establish amicable relations with the powers or engage in a disastrous war. He strongly believed that this was the opportune moment for throwing off the traditional policy three centuries old, and for playing a real part in the affairs of the world. He would open intercourse with foreign countries, encourage reciprocal relations, exchange ministers, encourage shipping, remedy internal weaknesses, develop the national resources, and make military preparations. Believing in a world-state, he felt, as a loyal Japanese, that the Mikado alone was "so noble and illustrious as to command universal vassallage". "To have such a ruler over the whole world is doubtless in conformity with the Will of Heaven." In the meantime, however, he advocated something not unlike the modern "League of Nations".

When our power and national standing have come to be recognized, we should take the lead in punishing the nation which may act contrary to the principle of international interests; and in so doing, we should join hands with the nations whose principles may be found identical with those of our country. An alliance thus formed should also be directed towards protecting harmless but powerless nations. Such a policy could be nothing else but the enforcement of the power and authority deputed (to us) by the Spirit of Heaven. Our national prestige thus ensured, the nations of the world will come to look up to our Emperor as the Great Ruler of all nations, and they will come to follow our policy and submit themselves to our judgment.

It should be remembered, therefore, that at this time the Shogunate advocated foreign intercourse as a sound national policy.

At first Hotta was almost successful, but the hostile court nobles (*kuge*) compelled the *kuambaku* (imperial prime minister) to alter the text of the Mikado's reply, so that it denounced the foreign policy of the Shogunate, and demanded that the opinions of the Three Houses of the Tokugawa family¹¹ and of the *daimyos* be consulted before again asking for the imperial sanction.¹² Lord Hotta, baffled, returned to Yedo on June 1. Harris, in the meantime, had gone up from Shimoda, ready for the formal signing of the treaty on April 21, only to be told that Hotta had not returned. As he waited week after week, he is said to have threatened to go to Kyoto himself and there negotiate directly with the Mikado.¹³ When Hotta finally arrived, Harris was persuaded to agree to a further postponement, until September 4. In the meantime, Lord

¹¹ The princely houses of Mito, Owari, and Kii.

¹² Satoh, *Life of Lord Hotta*, pp. 84-85.

¹³ Griffis, *Life of Townsend Harris*, p. 314.

Ii Kamon-no-Kami, who had been appointed *tairo* or regent, hoped that he might be able to gain the approval of the imperial court.

At this time there was a further complication in the Yedo administration. It arose over the question of the succession to the office of Shogun. The incumbent, Iesada, was dying without an heir. Two claimants were presented, representing two of the Three Houses. We cannot dwell upon this incident, except to note that the action of the Shogun and Lord Ii in designating the young scion of Kii, instead of the more mature son of the former Lord of Mito, embittered the latter noble and his party in the Castle. Men who favored foreign intercourse went into opposition to the administration because of the dispute over the heir, and Nariaki, former lord of Mito, and one of the most influential of the feudal lords, became the open leader of the anti-foreign faction in the Yedo government. Iemochi was designated as heir on July 11, the imperial court approved the appointment, and on August 4 the formal installation was held.

Lord Ii, therefore, had settled the vexed question of the heirship, and he had until September 4 to win the Mikado's approval of the Harris treaty. But on July 23 the United States steamship *Mississippi* arrived at Shimoda with the news of the Tientsin treaties negotiated the month before between China and Russia, the United States, France, and Great Britain. It was thought that the victorious squadrons of the Anglo-French allies would cross over to Japan and demand a liberal commercial treaty. Harris at once started for Yedo to urge that the Japanese sign his treaty, without any compulsion, thus granting peacefully and with honor all that the European powers supported by their guns could demand.

The message which Harris sent to Yedo created a profound sensation in the Castle. A special conference of the higher officials was at once called. A majority favored signing the treaty at once. Lord Ii, the *tairo*, advocated a brief delay until the imperial approval might be obtained. But the majority felt that this was no time for further negotiations at Kyoto, and they finally had their way.¹⁴ Lord Ii instructed the two Japanese commissioners to consult with Harris, urging him to wait a while longer, if possible, but if he deemed it inadvisable, to sign the treaty at once. Harris repeated his reasons why Japan should conclude his treaty before the fleets arrived, Iwase and Inouye accepted them, and the treaty was signed early on the morning of July 29, 1858, on board the U. S. S. *Powhatan*.

This action of Lord Ii, in instructing the commissioners to sign

¹⁴ Akimoto, *Lord Ii Naosuke*, p. 159.

the treaty if it seemed best, furnishes an explanation of many of the events of the next seven years. A treaty had been signed without the imperial approval, and in violation of the imperial instructions. This involved the whole question of foreign affairs in the turmoil of internal politics; it gave a rallying cry to the supporters of the Mikado and the opponents of the Shogunate—"Honor the Emperor and expel the Barbarians"; and it placed the Shogunate at once on the defensive.

Yet there was little else for Lord Ii to do.¹⁵ He believed that the treaty should be signed, and he hoped to the day of his death to secure an *ex post facto* ratification by the Mikado. The tense situation at Yedo must also be recognized. On August 14, the Shogun died, but not until punishments had been meted out to the great lords who had opposed the appointment of Iemochi as heir. The new Shogun entered upon his administration with divided counsels instead of a strong Shogunate organization to oppose the rising influence of the Mikado. In August the Russian and British envoys arrived from Tientsin, as expected. The Dutch agent came up from Nagasaki, and in October the French envoy arrived. With all of them treaties were negotiated, based upon the Harris treaty and with slight modifications. And these treaties also were signed without the Mikado's approval.

It now became necessary for Lord Ii not only to secure the Mikado's sanction for the treaties, but also to curb the open opposition of the anti-Shogunate factions in Yedo and Kyoto. The court, encouraged by the division of counsels in Yedo, had secured an imperial decree ordering the *tairo* or one of the princes of the Three Houses to present himself in Kyoto with an explanation of the foreign situation.¹⁶ Lord Ii could not go himself, and two of the three princes were undergoing domiciliary confinement for their opposition to the designated heir, while the third was a minor. His failure to obey the summons further embittered the hostile party. Finally, in October, he sent up Lord Manabe, of the *roju* (cabinet), to appease the court, and stamp out the opposition there. Soon after his arrival in Kyoto a number of *samurai* and townspeople who had taken part in the hostile propaganda were arrested and sent to Yedo, where they were imprisoned with a number arrested there. These were punished by a special court, some beheaded, and others banished. At Kyoto some of the *kuge* were confined and others

¹⁵ Satoh, *Agitated Japan*, pp. 74, 88-89. Akimoto, *Lord Ii Naosuke*, p. 154.

¹⁶ Satoh, *Agitated Japan*, p. 93.

forced out of office.¹⁷ These strong measures of Lord Ii added fuel to the flames of opposition.

Then Manabe sought the imperial approval of the treaties. It must now be noted that the approval simply had to be gained. The Shogunate was no longer confident of its influence, it could no longer overawe the court. It was forced, therefore, to recede from its former wise position that the exclusion laws should be annulled for the best interests of Japan, and so fell back to the equivocal view that the treaties were but temporary evils which could not be avoided, that the Shogunate did not desire to cultivate friendly relations with the foreign powers, and that as soon as adequate armaments were prepared the barbarians would be expelled.¹⁸ This was a very different argument from that advanced by Lord Hotta only a few months before. It was no easy matter to secure the Mikado's endorsement of even this temporary measure; but finally, after three months of discussion, on February 2, 1859, the imperial answer was delivered. This took the form of approving the resolution of the Shogun, the *tairo*, and the *roju* to keep the barbarians at a distance and eventually restore the old policy of seclusion, and authorized the Shogun to take temporary measures to this end.¹⁹

This effort to secure the Mikado's approval of the treaties, covering a full year, indicates clearly the weakening of the Shogun's influence and the corresponding increase in the court's prestige. The change was further shown by the elation of the Shogunate at the conditional approval at length gained. Lord Ii, however, fully recognized the inherent weakness of such a sanction and worked strenuously for another year, and until his assassination, to improve the relations between the court and the Castle and thus gain an unqualified endorsement of the Shogun's foreign policy.

The commercial treaties, therefore, had been negotiated without the imperial approval, and the enlarged foreign relations then inaugurated were agreed to be but temporary. Hence the anti-Shogun, anti-foreign factions had ammunition close at hand. With increasing insistence they demanded that the period of temporary intercourse be brought to a close and that the loyal patriots unite to drive the barbarians into the sea. The Shogunate, during the next six years, had to pursue a temporizing policy. Convinced that foreign relations were absolutely necessary and eminently wise, it tried to live up to the treaties on the one hand, and to quiet the dangerous domestic opposition on the other. Hence its position was unenvia-

¹⁷ Satow, *Japan, 1853-1864*, pp. 31-34.

¹⁸ Satow, in *Cambridge Modern History*, XI. 838.

¹⁹ Satow, *Agitated Japan*, pp. 115-116.

ble. As the opposition became more violent, and the very existence of the Shogunate was in jeopardy, it tried to bring the foreigners to a realization of its problems and to an amelioration of some of the treaty terms which aroused most opposition in the country. But it always hoped that better understanding of the problem would convince the hostile imperial court of the wisdom of foreign relations.

With the opening of the new ports under the liberal terms of the commercial treaties, on July 1, 1859, friction at once developed. There were faults on both sides, but unquestionably the most offense was given by some of the pioneers of commerce and the first seamen to visit the ports. Blood was soon shed. In the next few years there were several attacks upon foreigners and two attacks upon the British legation. These outrages fall into two categories, those committed by the Japanese as reprisals for wrongs done, and those committed for political reasons—either to involve the Shogunate in war with the foreigners or else to destroy some of the hated barbarians whose presence in Japan was deemed a pollution. In the first class should be placed the murder of two Russian seamen on August 25, 1859, of two Dutch sea-captains on February 26, 1860, the second attack on the British legation on June 26, 1862, and the murder of Richardson on September 14. In the first two cases the crimes were probably in revenge for offenses committed by other Europeans, and in the last case, although Richardson had given offense, yet his assassination was in harmony with the anti-foreign views of the Satsuma men who committed it. In the second category we note the murder of the American interpreter, Heusken, on January 14, 1861; the first attack on the British legation, July 5, following; the murder of Lieutenant de Camus on October 14, 1863; and of Major Baldwin and Lieutenant Bird on November 21, 1864. The burning of the unoccupied British legation on February 1, 1863, was certainly a political act, and possibly the burning of the American legation on May 24 was incendiary and not an accident, as the Shogunate always protested.

With the assassination of Lord Ii, the masterful *tairo*, on March 24, 1860, the Shogunate lost its most virile defender. His successors, unable to carry on his policy of suppression of the opposition, soon reversed it and restored to favor those who had been punished, and turned against many of the pro-foreign leaders. But this *volte-face* was deemed weakness and failed to strengthen the declining administration. Early in 1861 the government determined to appease the anti-foreign agitators by securing a postponement of the opening of Yedo, Osaka, Hiogo, and Niigata. This matter was placed before the treaty powers and those in Europe assented in

terms similar to the London Convention of June 6, 1862. The American consent, although the first to be given in principle, was not formally announced until January 28, 1864.²⁰

The foreign representatives were now beginning to realize vaguely that the "ecclesiastical emperor" in Kyoto was a more powerful personality than they had been led to believe. On December 13, 1859, Mr. Harris warned the Shogunate officials that if they failed to observe the treaties and a war ensued, the powers would then negotiate directly with the representatives of the Mikado.²¹ But Harris always believed that the Mikado had given his consent to the treaties.²² Mr. Alcock, the British minister, first realized the flaw in the ratification, in June, 1861,²³ but when he asked the ministers for foreign affairs if the Mikado had sanctioned them he understood them to reply in the affirmative.²⁴ Yet in March, 1862, he recommended to Lord Russell that "the sanction of treaties" be one of the conditions attached to the postponement of the opening of the ports,²⁵ but Lord Russell doubtless felt that this question should not be raised. And in June, 1862, although the French minister did not believe that the treaties had been ratified, asserting that the Japanese ministers had admitted as much to Alcock and himself, yet the diplomatic corps agreed "to raise no questions which would imply a doubt as to the validity of the treaties".²⁶ This became the official attitude of the foreign ministers until Mr. Pruyn, the American minister, in 1863 raised the question anew.

With the successive attacks upon the foreigners, the demands for reparation rapidly increased until they reached a maximum after the Richardson murder. The Russians, the first to lose a national, had asked for no money indemnity. Mr. Harris asked for only \$10,000 as a support for Mr. Heusken's widowed mother. For the first attack on the British legation \$10,000 was asked for the two wounded men, but for the second attack £10,000 was demanded, and for the murder of Richardson £100,000 was demanded from the Shogun, and £25,000 and the punishment of the murderer, from the *daimyo* of Satsuma. The size of this demand, the assessment upon Satsuma, a feudal state with whom the British government had no direct rela-

²⁰ U. S. For. Rel., 1864, III. 484, serial 1218.

²¹ *Parl. Papers*, 1861, LXVI. [2829], correspondence respecting affairs in Japan, p. 55.

²² U. S. For. Rel., 1863, II. 1035, serial 1181.

²³ Alcock, *The Capital of the Tycoon*, II. 132.

²⁴ *Parl. Papers*, 1862, LXIV. [2929], correspondence respecting affairs in Japan, p. 31.

²⁵ *Parl. Papers*, 1863, LXXIV. [3079], pp. 15-22.

²⁶ U. S. For. Rel., 1863, II. 1035, serial 1181.

tions, and the method of collection, made it the most notable of all punitive demands upon a non-European state.

The growth of these demands paralleled the rise of the anti-foreign opposition and furnished arguments against the greedy and insulting foreigners. The maximum demands, in the Richardson case, came, moreover, at a most inopportune time.

The opposition to the Shogunate, using the unpopularity of its foreign policy as an issue, had rapidly increased. Kyoto, formerly neglected by the feudal lords, now teemed with *daimyos* under the leadership of powerful western feudatories, the *daimyo* of Choshuu, and the father of the *daimyo* of Satsuma. The result of their agitation was the sending of a mission to Yedo to demand, in the Mikado's name, the closing of Kanagawa (Yokohama)—offering Shimoda again in exchange—and to secure the Shogun's consent to one of three proposals, that he go up to Kyoto to consult with the court concerning the expulsion of the foreigners, that he appoint five of the anti-foreign maritime *daimyos* to act as regents (*tairo*), or that he appoint Hitotsubashi, the recent Mito candidate for the Shogunate, as guardian, and the ex-*daimyo* of Echizen as *tairo*.²⁷ The Shogun decided to accept the first and last of the three demands. This has been deemed by some to be the beginning of the end of the Shogunate. Never before had a Shogun been ordered to present himself at the Mikado's court. Not since 1634 had a Shogun visited Kyoto, and then Iemitsu paid his respects to the Mikado as an act of grace and not of duty. The Englishman, Richardson, was assassinated by members of the train of the Satsuma chieftain, who had been the escort of the imperial envoy to Yedo.

For almost a year the Shogun put off this humiliating visit to Kyoto, thus increasing the indignation among the hostile courtiers and feudatories. Just when it could be no longer delayed the British demands for reparation for the Richardson murder arrived and were withheld for twenty-three days by Colonel Neale, the chargé, pending the arrival of the British fleet.²⁸ When the demands were presented, on April 6, the Shogun was on his way to Kyoto.

Thus the crushing British demands played into the hands of the anti-foreign party at the great conference at Kyoto. The enormous amount demanded of the Shogun for the murder of a foreigner who had given, from the Japanese point of view, cause for punishment,

²⁷ Satow, *Japan, 1853-1864*, p. 58. Satow, *Kinse Shiriaku*, p. 29. In this version no choice is mentioned.

²⁸ *Parl. Papers*, 1864, LXVI. [3242], pp. 35-44.

was considered a grievous insult; and the fine assessed on Satsuma penalized one of the leaders of the pro-Mikado party. The negotiations at Yokohama between the Japanese and the Anglo-French allies, culminating in an offer of military assistance to the Shogunate against the hostile *daimyos*, and the rejection of the offer by the government, cannot be dwelt upon here.²⁹ At Kyoto the hostile party was in the ascendant. At the first conference between the Mikado and the Shogun the latter accepted the imperial commands to expel the barbarians, using peaceful negotiations if possible, but if this did not succeed then they were to be swept away.³⁰

Even after this agreement, the Shogunate officials hoped that they might prolong the negotiations and eventually find some outlet from the *impasse* in which they found themselves. But the opposition very shrewdly refused to trust the Yedo party. It demanded that a specific date be fixed for the expulsion. The Shogun and his advisers tried to avoid such a decision, but on June 5 the issue was joined, and the Mikado fixed the 25th of that month as the date for the expulsion of the barbarians.³¹ The Shogun dutifully accepted this decree, knowing full well that it could not be enforced, and fully intending to temporize further if possible. So, at Yokohama, on the morning of June 24, the representative of the Shogun paid over to the British chargé £110,000 in payment of the indemnities for the murder of Richardson and the second attack on the British legation, and shortly afterwards forwarded to the foreign ministers the following communication:

I have the honor to inform your excellency that I have received full powers to act on the subject herein stated.

I have received orders from his Majesty the Tycoon, now residing at Kioto, and who received orders from the Mikado to cause the open ports to be closed and the foreigners (subjects) of the treaty powers to be removed, as our people will have no intercourse with them; hence negotiation on this subject will afterwards take place with your excellency.³²

This order was the logical outcome of Lord Manabe's equivocal statement early in 1859. The Shogunate had asserted that the foreign relations were only a temporary evil. Now, with the rapid increase in the imperial prestige, the time had come when the Shogunate could be compelled to bring these relations to a close. But the Shogunate knew that it would be madness to attempt to expel the foreigners, especially when at that moment the largest fleet ever

²⁹ U. S. For. Rel., 1863, II. 1092-1098, serial 1181.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1114-1115.

³¹ Satow, *Japan, 1853-1864*, p. 87. *Parl. Papers*, 1864, LXVI. [3242], p. 68.

³² U. S. For. Rel., 1863, II. 1120, serial 1181.

assembled in Japanese waters lay off Yokohama. So it would continue to temporize.

At this time a constructive suggestion was made by the American minister, Robert H. Pruyn. On June 27 he forwarded to Mr. Seward a despatch in which he proposed that a naval demonstration be made at Osaka for the sole purpose of securing the Mikado's approval of the treaties.³³ He had at last perceived the absolute necessity of this sanction. Unhappily Great Britain refused to support this proposal³⁴ and the suggestion was not carried out until two years later.

As the Shogunate still controlled the administration, it believed that it could use the designated date as the time for opening negotiations, instead of expelling the foreigners. But one of the anti-Shogunate (and hence anti-foreign) *daimiyos* of the west determined to take matters into his own hands, and so on the early morning of June 26, the armed ships at Shimonoseki, at the entrance to the Inland Sea, in the territory of the *daimyo* of Choshu, fired upon the first foreign ship to come within range, the little American ship *Pembroke*.³⁵

This opened a new and interesting phase of Japanese foreign relations. In turn, Choshu fired upon a French and a Dutch ship of war, and then foreign shipping avoided the straits. The American minister sent down the *Wyoming* to destroy the offending vessels, and the French admiral later destroyed some of the batteries. For over a year the foreign ministers discussed the situation at Shimonoseki. The straits were closed by Choshu, the Shogun was unable to open them, and Choshu was actually in open rebellion against him. Most of the ministers and their home governments agreed that the opening of the straits was not worth the effort, and Great Britain especially adopted a policy of moderation, after the criticism aroused by the destruction of Kagoshima, the capital of the Satsuma fief, in August, 1863. Choshu also overreached himself and, after attempting to secure control of the Mikado's person, was ordered to retire from Kyoto.

The weakening of the anti-foreign party, after the loss of Choshu's leadership, was at once evidenced by the Shogun's withdrawal of the expulsion edict in November, 1863, although he still wished to discuss the closing of the port of Kanagawa. But Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British minister, who returned to his post in March, 1864, took the position that the only safety for foreigners and their

³³ U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1863, II. 1125, serial 1181.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 420, lviii-lix, serial 1180.

³⁵ U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1863, II. 1129-1137, serial 1181.

interests in Japan lay in the support of the Shogunate, that the court and most of the *daimyos* were hostile to foreigners, and that an example should be made of some of the trouble-making feudatories. As Choshu had given cause for punishment, and was still closing the straits, he believed that the blow should fall there.³⁶ Thus it was that an allied expedition was organized ostensibly to open the straits, but really to crush the leader of the anti-foreign party. Before it finally sailed from Yokohama, the aggressive conduct of Choshu had lost him his influence with the imperial court and he was actually an outlaw, with the Shogun instructed by the Mikado to carry out measures of reprisal. So the allied fleet, comprising British, French, and Dutch ships of war and a chartered American steamer, which sailed against Choshu (despite strict orders from the home governments—which arrived too late)³⁷ was sent to destroy an outlaw prince instead of the masterful leader of the pro-Mikado, anti-Shogun forces.

The batteries at Shimonoseki were destroyed in September, 1864. Choshu was humbled, and begged for mercy, promising to pay an indemnity to cover the damage he had done, the cost of the allied expedition, and a ransom for the town of Shimonoseki, which might have been destroyed. At Yedo there was suppressed rejoicing. The Shogunate, which had approved of the allied expedition, rejoiced that the Europeans had made the way easy for its own punitive expedition against Choshu, but it regretted that a Japanese *daimyo* had made so poor a showing against the foreigners. Moreover, it did not intend to permit direct intercourse between Choshu, a feudal fief, and the treaty powers. In the negotiations which took place at Yedo and Yokohama and which resulted in the convention of October 22, one of the first points to be raised by the foreign representatives was that the Shogun should secure the Mikado's sanction of the treaties, and a promise was given that every effort would be made to secure this ratification.³⁸ But this point was not touched upon in the convention, that document being solely concerned with determining the amount to be paid by the Shogun, instead of by Choshu, for indemnities, ransom, or expenses. This sum was fixed at \$3,000,000, and instead of paying part or all of it the Shogun might offer to open Shimonoseki or some other eligible port in the Inland Sea.

Like so many other conventions, that of October 22, 1864, created

³⁶ See his despatches in *Parl. Papers*, 1865, LVII. [3428].

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 56, 57. U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1864, III. 594, serial 1218.

³⁸ *Parl. Papers*, 1865, LVII. [3428], pp. 122-125, 129-130. U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1864, III. 559-560, 567-575, serial 1218.

more difficulties than it settled. The British and American ministers hoped that the Shogun would open a new port in lieu of paying the heavy indemnity, for they were more interested in the development of commerce than in the exaction of a money fine.³⁹ The Dutch consul-general agreed with them in part but the French minister and his government believed that the money was more to be desired than a prospective improvement in trade. However, as the plans for confiscating some or all of the Choshu territory had fallen through, because of the opposition of other western lords, the Shogunate decided that it would be better to pay the indemnity than to open a port in territory which it did not own. In announcing this decision, on April 5, 1865, it requested the postponement of the second installment of the indemnity.⁴⁰ This request left the door open for argument. The British chargé suggested that a proposal be made to reduce the indemnity in return for opening Hiogo at once, instead of in 1868, and a downward revision of the tariff.⁴¹ On April 25, he developed this idea in a despatch to Earl Russell, this time suggesting that, in addition to the two concessions already mentioned, the written adhesion of the Mikado to the treaties be included, and the three be accepted as equivalent to one-half or two-thirds of the indemnity.⁴² This proposal won the approval of Earl Russell and he at once undertook to gain the consent of the other treaty powers.

With the United States he had no difficulty; Holland, while preferring the indemnity, was ready to agree to the British proposal if the other powers would do so; but France flatly refused, asserting "that money was a substantial penalty which once received could not be recalled, whereas permission to trade at Shimonasaki might be rescinded at any moment", and later that the powers had no choice in the matter so long as Japan was willing to pay the indemnity.⁴³

But the joint action which Lord Russell could not bring about was finally accomplished by the forceful British representative in Japan. On July 18 Sir Harry Parkes arrived in Yokohama, as the successor of Sir Rutherford Alcock, who had been recalled actually but not ostensibly for violation of instructions in the Shimonoseki

³⁹ U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1864, III. 582, serial 1218. *Parl. Papers*, 1865, LVII. [3428], p. 137.

⁴⁰ U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1865, III. 247, serial 1246.

⁴¹ *Parl. Papers*, 1866, LXXVI. [3615], p. 15.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 29, 30, 31, 48.

affair.⁴⁴ Late in October he received a despatch from Lord Russell, penned on August 23, which instructed him "to ascertain the real state of affairs" in Japan, in conjunction with his colleagues and in communication with the *roju*. This despatch really called for an investigation and a report, but it also pointed out the views of the British Foreign Office. A man of less initiative and assurance would doubtless have followed the letter of his instructions, but Parkes intended to carry out their spirit as well. Wrongly interpreting a statement in one of Russell's despatches to mean that the French foreign minister had agreed that the four representatives in Japan should decide as to whether the three conditions should be accepted as a substitute for two-thirds of the indemnity, he at once summoned his colleagues to a conference.⁴⁵ As a matter of fact M. Drouyn de Lhuys had only suggested that the four representatives should decide whether the Shogun should be permitted to postpone the payment of the indemnity installments.⁴⁶ On October 26 Parkes easily convinced the French and Dutch representatives of the wisdom of the British proposals. He had the more satisfaction in winning over the former, because M. Roches had specific instructions to insist upon the payment of the indemnity. A memorandum was then agreed upon to the effect that it would be expedient for the representatives to proceed to Osaka and negotiate there with the Tycoon and four of the *roju* who were then at Kyoto engaged in the preparation of the second punitive expedition against Choshu. A long preamble was prefixed to this decision with the object of reconciling the divergent instructions of the four representatives.⁴⁷ When Mr. Portman, the American chargé, arrived from Yedo on the 30th he promptly signed the memorandum.

This was the second joint naval demonstration to be organized by the foreign diplomats in Japan, and once more they acted contrary to their specific instructions. Although ostensibly a peaceful undertaking, the fleet was a powerful one. The British furnished five vessels, the French three, the Dutch one, and as there was no American ship-of-war available Mr. Portman was invited to join the British frigate *Pelorus*. The squadron arrived off Hiogo on November 4. The next day letters were sent ashore from the foreign representatives to the Japanese ministers announcing their arrival for the purpose of determining "certain questions of grave importance arising out of the Convention of October 22, 1864".

⁴⁴ Lane-Poole, *Life of Sir Harry Parkes*, I. 478.

⁴⁵ *Parl. Papers*, 1866, LXXVI. [3615], p. 63.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴⁷ *U. S. For. Rel.*, 1865, III. 266-267, serial 1246.

In his letter Sir Harry Parkes stated that he and his colleagues would demand "a prompt and satisfactory settlement of the questions referred to", and emphasized the importance of securing the formal approval of the treaties by the Mikado, while he closed with the suggestive statement that he was accompanied by Admiral King, commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of Her Britannic Majesty in China and Japan, and that his letter was dated from the admiral's flag-ship.⁴⁸

Of course there were no "questions of grave importance" arising out of the Convention of 1864. The Japanese had paid the first installment of the indemnity almost a year before it was due, and they had asked for a delay of a few months in making the second payment. But this request was used as a lever for forcing certain concessions which the treaty powers desired. And the pressure was applied at a most opportune time, for Japan was threatened with civil war because of the Choshu complications.

In a conference between Abe Bungo-no-Kami and the foreign representatives, on the 11th, it was pointed out that the opening of Hiogo and Osaka had been postponed only on certain conditions as set forth in the London Protocol of 1862, that the conditions had not been kept by Japan, and that hence Great Britain could insist upon the immediate opening of the port and city.⁴⁹ Also, the powers would insist upon the punctual payment of the indemnity. Therefore it would be better for the Shogun to grant the three demands of the powers—that Hiogo and Osaka be immediately opened, that the formal consent of the Mikado to the treaties be obtained, that the tariff be reduced to a five per cent. basis—in return for the remission of two-thirds of the indemnity.⁵⁰

Lord Abe agreed that the Shogun had not been able to carry out the conditions of the London Protocol, but explained the difficulties under which he labored and craved the indulgence of the powers. He also maintained that the opening of Hiogo and Osaka was out of the question at the present time, whereupon the ministers replied that if the Shogun would not open Hiogo then the powers might insist upon it under the treaties of 1858, and it was even suggested that there was nothing in the treaties to prevent them from opening trade with the *daimyos* at their own ports. This was an indefensible position, taken to frighten the Shogunate into submis-

⁴⁸ *Parl. Papers*, 1866, LXXVI. [3615], p. 78.

⁴⁹ The representatives had no instructions to raise this point. Russell had proposed it to the powers in July 12, 1865, but no agreement was reached. *Parl. Papers*, 1866, LXXVI. [3615], p. 21.

⁵⁰ *U. S. For. Rel.*, 1865, III. 268-272, serial 1246.

sion, for nothing would be more dangerous at this time than for the foreigners to supply munitions and armaments directly to Choshiu and other western *daimyos*.

On the 14th a second interview took place, in which two lesser officials announced that the Tycoon agreed to the justice of the representatives' demands, especially as to the ratification of the treaties, but that it would take time to convince the Mikado, and that a delay of fifteen days should be granted. In reply the representatives said that at most they would wait for eight or ten days, and in order to hasten the decision of the Shogun they added that in the interval they might visit Shimonoseki or other places in the Inland Sea, which they knew the Shogun would be most anxious to prevent.⁵¹

In Kyoto there was great excitement. The leading Shogunate officials urged the court to ratify the treaties, lest war between Japan and the allied powers ensue.⁵² But the conservatives were not easily convinced. This proceeding would rob them of their mightiest weapon against the Shogunate. On the 19th Lord Abe and Lord Matsumai were dismissed from the *roju* on orders from the Mikado. This news reached the representatives, and they were convinced that a conservative reaction had set in at Kyoto. So they sent identic notes to the Tycoon, which were delivered in Kyoto on the 23d, to the effect that if a categorical reply to the proposals were not made in writing within the allotted ten days, which would expire on the 24th, they would consider "that its absence denotes a formal refusal of our conditions on your Majesty's part, and we shall, in that case, be free to act as we may judge convenient".⁵³

This scarcely veiled threat produced an immediate effect. On the afternoon of the 24th a member of the *roju*, and other Japanese officials, came aboard the flag-ship to announce that the Mikado had ratified the treaties, that the Tycoon had agreed to the downward revision of the tariff, but that instead of opening Hiogo and Osaka, the Tycoon would pay the full amount of the Shimonoseki indemnity.⁵⁴

⁵¹ U. S. *For. Rel.*, 1865, III. 272-274, serial 1246.

⁵² Note the Shogun's memorial to the Mikado, in Adams, *History of Japan*, II. 24-27.

⁵³ *Parl. Papers*, 1866, LXXVI. [3615], pp. 82-85.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

The above survey of the effort to secure the Mikado's ratification of the treaties indicates how carelessly Captain Brinkley has treated this question in his excellent *History of the Japanese People*, p. 675. "While things were at this stage, Sir Harry Parkes, representative of Great Britain, arrived upon the scene in the Far East. A man of remarkably luminous judgment and military methods,

The Osaka demonstration won for the powers two of their three demands without their yielding a penny of the indemnity. The refusal to open Hiogo and Osaka was a small loss, for these cities would be opened in any case on January 1, 1868. The tariff was revised by the Yedo Convention of June 25, 1866, and remained in force until the treaties of 1894, in spite of all the Japanese efforts for revision after 1872. But the most important of the concessions was the Mikado's ratification of the treaties. It was a great pity that this fundamental act was coupled with a tariff revision for the benefit of the commercial powers.

With the Mikado's sanction of the treaties of 1858-1861, it no longer became the patriotic duty of loyal Japanese to strive for the expulsion and extermination of the foreigners. For the first time in seven years, foreign affairs were divorced from domestic politics. On the one hand, all Japanese were free to take advantage of the material and moral contributions of the West, and on the other the treaty powers were freed from a dangerous dependence upon the Shogunate. Up to this time, as Alcock so often pointed out, the Shogun was the strong support of the treaties, and with his power their maintenance was inextricably involved. But with the Mikado's sanction, the foreign treaties had behind them the rapidly increasing prestige of the Emperor. Hence the supporters of the imperial house realized, as Satsuma had realized in 1863 and Choshiu in 1864, that it was eminently advisable to be pro-Mikado and pro-foreign at the same time, to use foreign materials to beat down the Shogunate, whereas up to this time the Shogunate had largely profited through foreign intercourse. This good understanding with the imperial court made it easy, in 1868, when the Shogun had resigned, and civil war broke out, for the treaty powers to open direct relations with the restored Mikado. If the ratification had not taken place in 1865, or at some time before the civil war, it is quite possible to believe that some, if not all of the treaty powers, would have at once gone to the aid of the Shogunate forces—as the French minister actually proposed—and thus become involved in a terrible civil war between the supporters of the Mikado and those of the Shogun. As it was, a measure of suspicion lingered for some years,

this distinguished diplomatist appreciated almost immediately that the ratification of the treaties by the sovereign was essential to their validity, and that by investing the ratification with all possible formality, the Emperor's recovery of administrative power might be accelerated. He therefore conceived the idea of repairing to Hyogo with a powerful naval squadron for the purpose", etc. As a matter of fact, Parkes merely carried out what Mr. Pruyn and Mr. Winchester had proposed.

the imperialists suspecting the powers which had been so closely associated with the Shogunate, and some of the powers believing that the new imperial government might be anti-foreign as the old Kyoto court had been.

From every point of view, therefore, the ratification of the treaties of 1858 by the Mikado becomes a subject well worth careful study. Every event in the relations between Japan and the foreign powers from 1858 until 1865 was affected by this question. Once it is understood and appreciated, much that seemed unintelligible to the diplomats of that troubled period now seems measurably clear.

PAYSON J. TREAT.

THE COMMITTEE ON THE CONDUCT OF THE CIVIL WAR¹

To what extent, with due regard to the public welfare, may the unprofessional civilian control military policy and decide questions of strategy and tactics? The question is surcharged with possibilities of controversy; yet it is a vital one when a democracy, and particularly the American democracy, determines how it will conduct a great war. In the time of the Civil War, there was created a joint committee of Congress on the conduct of that war, which sought and secured a share in the performance of the important functions mentioned in the query—functions commonly associated with the executive department of the government. The results and lessons of the experiment may have contemporaneous interest and importance.

The committee was primarily an investigative body, and as such, it was not without precedent in American history. Such a committee was established in 1791 to investigate the expedition of General St. Clair against the Indians of the Northwest, which had resulted in disaster.² Despite a prejudice against St. Clair, the reports exonerated him, after two investigations, but, possibly on account of that prejudice, they were not published. A Committee on the Conduct of the War was proposed by Bradley, of Vermont, in 1813, to "inquire into the multiplied failures of the arms of the United States". The House of Representatives declined to appoint the committee at that time, because the session of Congress was drawing to a close, but in the next session the resolution in modified form was adopted and a committee created to make the inquiry.³ Although these earlier committees had less scope and less influence than that established in 1861, they served as precedents for it, and were mentioned as such.

In 1861 the United States was unprepared for war. It lacked

¹ Much of the material contained in this article was collected some years ago when I was a graduate student at Columbia University, my purpose being then, as it is still, to publish a history of the committee in book form. The subject was originally suggested by Professor W. A. Dunning, to whom I am indebted for many suggestions.

² *Annals of Congress*, 2 Cong., 1792, pp. 490-493, 602, 877, 895.

³ *Ibid.*, 13 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 413-421. The debates were similar to that of the Senate in 1861.

trained soldiers; it had no officers experienced in the control and management of large forces in the field; and, perhaps still worse, public opinion was ignorant of military science, rather contemptuous of it in fact, yet demanded an influence in the formation and execution of military plans. The people and the press insisted upon immediate activity, a campaign against Richmond; and the Lincoln administration, responsive and sensitive to the popular will, yielded.⁴ The disaster at Bull Run had as one cause premature haste, the result, partially at least, of popular demand. Not long after this untoward event, on July 27, 1861, General McClellan, summoned from his successful campaigns in West Virginia, was placed in chief command in the field of military forces of the United States. He proceeded during the autumn of 1861, as both enemies and friends agree, with extraordinary ability to organize the inexperienced volunteers into a disciplined army capable of sustained military effort. This imperatively necessary step caused a delay, whether justified as to length or not, and the public became again impatient and later, as the months passed without the appearance of a general movement, vocally insistent for action. Representing the radicals, the "Jacobins" as John Hay called them, Senators Wade, Chandler, and Trumbull came to Washington on October 26 "to worry the administration into a battle".⁵ They conferred with the President, and the first two then visited the camp of the Army of the Potomac where they interviewed McClellan. Senator Wade later in a speech to the people of Cincinnati described this meeting as follows:

It was at a time when the very capital of the nation was almost in a state of siege, when foreign nations began to look upon us as a conquered people, and when all the friends of the government were overwhelmed with shame and humiliation. Smarting under the effect of this state of things we went down to the camp and found a man who was General-in-Chief of the whole army of the United States. We found him in command of 190,000 of the best men that ever marshaled under the banner of battle. Never was an army got together, comprising the patriotism and intelligence that were found under that General. It was the first rally of the patriotic host—the flower of the Republic to save the nation from destruction. . . . Yet the rebels were almost in sight of the capital, flaunting their rattlesnake flag in our very faces. How could you ask us to submit to this degradation without at least knowing the reason for the necessity? We had an interview with Gen. McClellan, and remonstrated with him for permitting this disgrace and dishonor of a great nation. We exhorted him, for God's sake, to at least push back the defiant traitors. Why can't you do it?

"Oh, I have not men enough." (Laughter.)

⁴ Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, pp. 37, 60-61; Johnston, *Bull Run, its Strategy and Tactics*, p. 113.

⁵ Hay, *Diary and Letters*, I. 48; quoted, Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

How many men have you? I know you have 160,000.

"Well, you have got nearer the number than others have."

And more, I know that you have 190,000. How strong, pray tell, are the rebels?

"Oh, they are at least 220,000 or more, and they are behind fortifications stronger than those of Sebastopol."⁶

Wade said that they then protested to Lincoln, who sought to reassure them with the statement that McClellan was a good general. Despairing of effecting further results by these means, they turned to Congress with the hope that some impression might be made by legislative action.

Prior to this interview and possibly to the entertainment of the idea of an appeal to Congress, there occurred an incident which, stimulating or confirming that idea, brought about a determination for at least an investigation. This event was the disastrous affair at Ball's Bluff on October 21. Here, at a point on the river above Washington, a considerable force, first under the command of Colonel Devens and later under that of Colonel Edward D. Baker, which had been sent over for reconnoissance purposes, was attacked by a superior Confederate force and cut to pieces. The casualties were heavy, many men were captured, and many driven into the river. Among those who were killed in this engagement was Colonel Baker, a prominent senator from Oregon, a dear friend of President Lincoln, and a popular orator. The loss of this senator, the crushing defeat of the Unionist forces which had greatly elated the South, and the discontent of the radicals at the failure of McClellan to advance, made an investigation of the Ball's Bluff matter inevitable. On the first day of the regular session of Congress, December 2, 1861, Roscoe Conkling in the House of Representatives introduced a resolution requesting the Secretary of War to give information whether any, and, if any, what steps had been taken to ascertain who was responsible for the disaster at Ball's Bluff.⁷ The resolution was adopted without debate.

In the Senate, three days later, Chandler, of Michigan, introduced a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of three members to inquire into the disasters at Bull Run and Edwards's Ferry (Ball's Bluff).⁸ As soon as this resolution was offered, other senators wished to amend it by the addition of names

⁶ Wade, *Facts for the People* (pamphlet), pp. 1-2; cf. *Cincinnati Gazette*, October 24, 1864.

⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., p. 6. The request was refused. Cf. Conkling's speech, January 6, 1862, Conkling, *Life and Letters of Roscoe Conkling*, pp. 139-148.

⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., p. 16.

of disasters which they thought should be investigated. Senator Grimes said that he preferred to substitute for the pending resolution one that would authorize the committee to "inquire into the causes of the disasters that have attended the public arms".⁹ Chandler opposed any addition to his list, holding that the duties of such a committee would be arduous, that it would have to visit various parts of the country, whereas the scenes of the disasters he desired to investigate were within easy reach from the capital. He stated, however, that he would vote for such a committee as that desired by Grimes. Senator Lane, of Kansas, persisted in thinking that Wilson Creek, where the brave General Lyon fell, and the failure of the authorities to relieve Lexington, required investigation; and finally that the country deserved to know the truth about General Frémont's administration. The Senate refused to add these disasters to the list of Chandler. Grimes then offered a resolution creating a committee of two members of the Senate and three of the House of Representatives with power to inquire generally into the disasters that had befallen the Union arms. On the request of Fessenden, the consideration of the matter was postponed for a day to allow the senators to reflect on the subject.

In the important debate which took place the next day, Senators Chandler, Pomeroy, McDougall, Grimes, Foster, Fessenden, Sherman, and others participated. Chandler expressed the hope that the Senate would not give the proposed committee a "roving commission" to go over the United States looking for disasters to investigate. If a comprehensive inquiry was to be made, he favored a number of committees, each having a special topic and a particular field. Pomeroy appeared to fear, as did several others, that the investigations might implicate certain civil officials, thus leading to impeachment; and, because of this possibility, he thought that the committee should originate in the House of Representatives. Grimes, proposing to change his resolution by having three members of the Senate and four of the House, said: "I believe that the best interests of the country, the reputation of the country, the reputation of the Army, and the reputation of the officers of the Army, require that there should be some investigation",¹⁰ and he pointed out that with respect to Bull Run there had been explanations claiming that the presence of civilians had caused the defeat, that the disaster was attributable to the fact that the battle had been fought on Sunday, and again that it was due to the cowardice of the militia and

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the incapacity of the officers. The country should know which of these explanations, if any one, was true; and it should know about the administration of General Frémont. "Let the country know the facts. If they condemn General Frémont, let him be condemned; if they justify him, then in God's name let him be justified." To Grimes, also, success in the future depended upon an intelligent use of knowledge respecting the faults and errors of the past—which knowledge could be supplied by such a committee as that he proposed. Foster, of Connecticut, made perhaps the strongest speech against the plan of having a congressional committee of investigation. He foresaw many difficulties and embarrassments, such as the practice of calling soldiers away from the battle-field to testify when their services were needed. And after all, he said, such an inquiry was a matter for the military authorities.

I believe in letting the military authorities manage the army. If they manage it badly we shall make a bad matter worse by tampering and interfering, and that is all that will grow out of our action. If it is badly managed now I am sorry; I do not believe it is; but if it be, in Heaven's name do not let us make it worse by tampering, for worse we shall make it, and only worse.

Senator Fessenden, in a powerful speech, stated that he had doubted the expediency of creating such a committee, but on reflection he had concluded that it would do much good. In his opinion, it was the duty of Congress in war-time not to limit itself merely to making appropriations for the use of the executive in conducting the war, as some seemed to think, but it behooved the legislative department to look carefully into the proceedings relating to that conduct of war affairs, not in a carping spirit, but with every wish to expedite it. Instead of agreeing with Foster, he said:

Sir, I hold the very contrary of the doctrine that we are to leave everything without question, without the slightest complaint, without any inquiry even as to the conduct of this war by the public agents. We know that every day wrongs are perpetrated; we know that every day there are gross frauds perpetrated upon the country by a certain class of men; we know that the people of this country, the soldiers of this country, have in some instances been sacrificed without reason; and we do not know how it was done or by whom it was ordered. . . .

But, sir, while there is this agitation in the public mind; while there are so many ideas afloat; so many accusations, unfounded, perhaps, in a very great degree; and no inquiry is made and no step taken to enlighten the public in relation to the matter—that public which carries on this war, and which furnishes the means for carrying it on—shall we, who are the agents of that public, be told that during its progress, be it longer or shorter, we . . . know nothing, say nothing, and inquire nothing about it? . . . I hold it to be our bounden duty, impressed upon

us by our position here, to keep an anxious, watchful eye over all the executive agents who are carrying on the war at the direction of the people, whom we represent and whom we are bound to protect in relation to this matter.¹¹

By such a committee, it is to be presumed, Fessenden thought to redress the balance between the executive and legislative departments, which, as a result of the vast accretion of power to the President incident to the war, was in the opinions of many Congressmen sadly out of adjustment.

Senator Sherman contended that the resolution did not go far enough, and that the committee should do more than inquire into disasters. He said:

The business of voting appropriations is easily disposed of; but if we ignore the high duty imposed upon us as representatives of the people to investigate the conduct of the war and of all the officers of the Government, we neglect the chief duty that is now imposed on us. To confine this inquiry to the disasters of the war would be to cripple and limit the proposed committee in all its operations. In my judgment, this ought to be a committee of inquiry into the general conduct of the war.¹²

There were many things, he said, that ought to be investigated, such as the commissary department, the treatment of fugitive slaves, and the department of the adjutant-general. With respect to all of these potential inquiries, Sherman remarked, "I do not care whom it strikes, where it strikes; if any man in this Government should, with good or bad motive, do anything to injure his country, he ought to be exposed, whatever may be the consequences".

To meet the views of Sherman and Fessenden, Grimes altered his resolution, substituting one which provided for a committee "to inquire into the conduct of the present war, and that they have power to send for persons and papers". Speaking in favor of the new committee, Senator Wilson, chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, said:

I am willing; sir, to have this investigation. I have no doubt a committee of the two Houses of Congress will act judiciously, and that facts will be brought out that may explain the affairs that have taken place, and put the responsibility of mistakes where it justly belongs; but I go for it more for the future than for the past, for we should teach men in civil and in military authority that the people expect that they will not make mistakes, and that we shall not be easy with their errors. The public voice demands that all the capacity, all the character, all that men have and are, shall be given to the cause of the

¹¹ *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., pp. 30-31. Cf. editorial comments of *New York Times*, December 6-10, 1861.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

country. I want military men to understand that they are not to stand upon technicalities for the preservation of the old Army, or the getting up of a new one. . . . I should like to see the responsibility of the errors of the past placed where it belongs; but I think the proposition before us, showing the tone and temper of Congress, showing, I think, the will of the people at home, will teach a lesson that may be heeded, and may be, therefore, conducive to the public good.¹³

A vote was then taken and, after the yeas and nays were called for, the result was thirty-three in favor of the resolution and three in opposition.

The resolution came up in the House on December 10, where it was adopted unanimously and without debate, Mr. E. B. Washburne having moved the previous question, which operated, of course, to prevent any discussion.¹⁴

In addition to the motives for the creation of the committee, which have been expressly stated or vaguely suggested in the foregoing, there were others which apparently exerted no little influence. There was great resentment felt in Congress that the leading generals were Democrats, who appeared not to favor radical action on the slavery questions, and that the heads of various departments concerned with the supplies, munitions, and army patronage were men of that faith. George W. Julian, in a vehement speech in 1863 entitled "The Rebellion—the Mistakes of the Past—the Duty of the Present", said in relation to this condition:

Democratic policy, in the year 1861, gave us as commanders of our three great military departments McClellan, Halleck, and Buell, whose military administrations have so terribly cursed the country; while it impressed upon our volunteer forces in the field such officers as Fitz-John Porter, General Nelson, General Stone, and very many more whose sympathies with the rebels were well known throughout the country. . . . Of the major and brigadier-generals in our armies Demo-

¹³ *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., p. 32.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40. The 38th Congress, in January, 1864, reconstituted the committee, giving it additional powers. The Senate, in this case, proposed to create a committee on the conduct and expenditures of the war. In the House, however, on the recommendation of Thaddeus Stevens, the resolution was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, which reported it in the following form:

"That a joint committee . . . be appointed to inquire into the conduct and expenditures of the present war; and may further inquire into all the facts and circumstances of contracts and agreements already made, or that may be made, and such contracts and agreements hereafter to be made prior to the final report of the committee, by or with any department of the Government, in anywise connected with, or growing out of the operations of the Government in suppressing the rebellion against its constituted authority; and that the said committee shall have authority to sit during the sessions of either House of Congress, and during the recess of Congress and at such times and places as said committee shall deem proper." *Ibid.*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., pt. I., p. 260.

cratic policy has favored this Republican administration, if I am not mistaken, with over four-fifths,—certainly an overwhelming majority; while those great hives of military patronage the Adjutant-general's Department, the Quartermaster's Department, the Commissary Department, the Ordnance Department, and the Pay Department are all under Democratic control, and have been during the war.¹⁵

There was also a sort of contempt for the scientific soldier which, whether wholly unjustified or not, caused many to have little respect for what seemed the over-careful methods of the so-called West Point plan of conducting the war. As the Committee on the Conduct of the War put it, the "rebellion" could be ended by fighting and *only* by fighting.¹⁶ Lastly it may be said that the radical element of Congress, led by Stevens, Sumner, and Wade, desired that slavery, at least in the Confederacy, should be abolished by using the war powers of the Constitution, and when this was opposed by the administration and the conservatives, the radicals had to content themselves with this Committee on the Conduct of the War. It was, from this point of view, therefore, the reply of the extremists to the conservatives.

On motion of Chandler, who publicly declined the chairmanship, and privately suggested Wade, the Vice-President was empowered to appoint the three members of the Senate who were to serve on the committee.¹⁷ That official then appointed Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio, Zachariah Chandler of Michigan, and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. On December 19, the Speaker announced the membership of the House committee as being Messrs. Daniel W. Gooch of Massachusetts, John Covode of Pennsylvania, George W. Julian of Indiana, and Moses F. Odell of New York. Wade, Chandler, Gooch, Julian, and Odell were continued as members of the committee throughout its existence. Johnson withdrew on his appointment as military governor of Tennessee and his resignation from the Senate.¹⁸ He was followed on the committee successively by

¹⁵ Julian, *Speeches on Political Questions, 1850-1868*, pp. 202, 204. Cf. Bancroft, *Speeches of Carl Schurz*, I. 209, 210, 211, 217, 218.

¹⁶ *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, 1863, pt. I., p. 66. The citations to the reports hereinafter to be made will be in the form: C. C. W.

¹⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 sess., pt. I., p. 110.

¹⁸ Riddle, *Life of Benjamin F. Wade*, p. 247, says: "I think Johnson never acted upon this committee. It was no place for him." The statement is without foundation, for Johnson, as the Journal shows, was an active member of the committee. After he acceded to the presidency, which fact was immediately pleasing to the committee, Wade, on April 15, 1865, asked for an interview, saying, "I am instructed by the Committee on the Conduct of the War to inform you that your old associates upon that committee would be pleased to wait upon you. . . ."

Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, who served until his term expired, by Benjamin F. Harding of Oregon, who was appointed during the 38th Congress, but resigned from the committee in January, 1865, and by Charles R. Buckalew of Pennsylvania. Of the House committee, the membership remained constant with the exception of Covode, who was succeeded by Benjamin F. Loan, a radical from Missouri, the sole member of the committee who had served in the army.¹⁹ On December 20, the committee met for organization in the room of the Senate Committee on Territories, of which Wade was chairman, as he was to be of the joint committee. No one of the members, with the exception of Chandler, had participated in the debate; so there is no immediate expression of opinion from the committee other than that all voted for the resolution.

All of the members, excepting Chandler, who was a successful merchant of Detroit, were lawyers; but no one of the committee, as first organized, had had any military experience. Four—Wade, Chandler, Julian, and Covode—were members of the radical faction of the Republican party. Julian was a son-in-law of Joshua R. Giddings; Wade had been Giddings's law-partner; both of them together with Chandler were out-and-out abolitionists, admirers of General Frémont, and all were hopeful that the war would not end without drastic action being taken upon the institution of slavery.²⁰ Gideon Welles attributed to Wade, at this time of his career, a fine character, describing him as being plain, single-minded, honest, unambitious; and, by others, he was called "Honest Ben Wade".²¹ He was the most prominent and powerful member of the committee and exercised a controlling influence.²² Chandler, more of a radical than Wade even, was also an able man, though he has been described as coarse and vulgar.²³ He was certainly unduly suspicious and sometimes not a little crude, though he was an eloquent speaker. His great influence in the committee was felt in the deliberations

They wished to communicate "valuable information" obtained during their recent trip to Richmond. The committee also ordered the clerk to enter upon the Journal that an "exceedingly satisfactory interview" had occurred. *Journal, C. C. W.*, 1865, pt. I., p. xxxvi.

¹⁹ He had been a brigadier-general of Missouri volunteers, but had withdrawn from the army when elected to Congress in 1862. He was immediately appointed to a place on the Committee on Military Affairs, but was shifted to that on the Conduct of the War when it was reconstituted in 1864.

²⁰ For Julian, see his own *Political Recollections*; and for Wade, Riddle, *op. cit.*

²¹ Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles*, III. 362-363.

²² Montgomery Blair thought that Wade should have been made Secretary of War instead of Stanton.

²³ The *Detroit Post and Tribune*, *Zachariah Chandler*, pp. 215-249.

over policy, and as the friend, adviser, and confidant of Wade. Since he was not a lawyer, he participated but little in the questioning of witnesses. Of the House committee, Gooch was clearly the most active. He was a conservative Republican, a supporter of the President, though he believed in the work of the committee and gave to his share of it both enthusiasm and ability. The Democratic minority in the committee had a degree of influence not ordinarily possessed by minorities in the committees of that time. So long as Johnson remained in the Senate, he took an active part, examining witnesses and serving on subcommittees, but his successors were not allowed the same powers. Odell, of the House committee, was a War-Democrat, who wanted a vigorous war and who did not support McClellan.

The majority of the committee became progressively more radical as the war continued, so that by 1864 it was an anti-administration organization. Wade and Chandler became acrimonious in their criticism of Lincoln. Yet at its inception the committee was not considered hostile to the administration nor was its creation necessarily a break between the legislative and executive departments of the government. The reports and journal of the committee show a willing co-operation with the executive. Nicolay and Hay, in their biographical history of Lincoln, and Welles, in his *Diary*, make no allusion to any initial hostility of the committee nor to any overt opposition of the President to its creation.²⁴ Such a committee, if one considers the character of the war, was probably inevitable; and, as its creation was symptomatic of the popular unrest, Mr. Lincoln with his usual tact and political discernment yielded. And the committee, although constituted as a sort of censor of the government and of necessity a check upon the executive, seems to have made no attempt, at least during the first two years, to compromise the government. The committee, remark the aforementioned biographers of Lincoln, were "always earnest, patriotic, and honest". If we resolve in their favor any doubts—and there have been some—as to the last-named characteristic, the statement is correct. The committee were certainly in earnest and, furthermore, were thoroughly and unalterably patriotic.²⁵

The simple yet comprehensive statement of the resolution, that the committee should inquire into the conduct of the war, seems to

²⁴ Welles, *Diary*, I. 262; cf. his attitude later, II. 226. That the President did at first oppose the committee is shown by Senator Edmunds, *The Republic*, April, 1875.

²⁵ Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: a History*, V. 150. Optimistic patriotism was characteristic of their reports.

have conferred on it plenary powers of investigation. These powers were as broad as they were absolute, for it is difficult to discover any large activity of the administration in that period from 1861 to 1865 that did not have a more or less close relation to the conduct of the war. Such vastly important affairs as military policy, tactics, and strategy; availability and fitness of commanders; army organization in all details; munitions and supplies; army police regulations and military prisons; hospitals; battles and disasters—all, with corresponding aspects of naval organization, practices, and policies, had, of course, a direct and obvious relationship to the conduct of the war; and it did not require a loose construction of the resolution to demonstrate the legal propriety of investigations into any or all of these subjects. From time to time, also, a large number of special inquiries were assigned to the committee by Congress, each assignment carrying with it authority sufficient for the matter in hand or drawing upon the large grant of power delegated in the original concurrent resolution. As has been mentioned already, the 38th Congress, in January, 1864, in addition to the general powers of investigation, laid specific emphasis upon certain classes of inquiries that should be made, such as into expenditures and contracts, made or to be made, which were associated with the attempt to bring the war to a successful conclusion.²⁶ Thus, the committee was legally empowered to inquire into any activity of the public agents associated immediately or remotely with the prosecution of the war.

The committee conceived that its duties would be best fulfilled not by advocating legislation, but, to put it in their language,

by endeavoring to obtain such information in respect to the conduct of the war as would best enable them to advise what mistakes had been made in the past and the proper course to be pursued in the future; to obtain such information as the many and laborious duties of the President and his cabinet prevented them from acquiring, and to lay it before them with such recommendations and suggestions as seemed to be most imperatively demanded; and the journal of the proceedings of your committee show that, for a long time, they were in constant communication with the President and his cabinet and neglected no opportunity of at once laying before them the information acquired by them in the course of their investigations.

There is abundant evidence to show that the committee exercised these advisory powers. The question immediately arises as to whether such powers were granted by Congress and whether such had been the purpose of Congress in creating the committee. It is

²⁶ *Report C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 4.

doubtful whether these questions can be authoritatively answered. Some of the enemies of the committee were ready to admit that a "candid and systematic inquiry" into the conduct of the war was both legitimate and highly desirable, but when, as they said, the committee arrogated to itself conciliar powers and sought to interfere in the conduct of the war, they felt that it had transcended its delegated authority and its abilities.²⁷ However this may have been, the functions and activities of the committee divide themselves roughly into two divisions—the investigative and the recommendatory or advisory; and it will perhaps be acceptable to treat these respective classes of activity in that order.

Most of the investigations of military affairs were made in the East; the most systematic related to the Army of the Potomac.²⁸ With the exception of Grant, an inquiry was made into the administrations of all the generals in command of that army. The exception mentioned was due to the peculiar relationship of General Grant and General Meade, who remained in immediate command, and to the fact that the civil authorities interfered less in the Virginia campaigns of Grant than in those of his predecessors. The battles and campaigns investigated in this connection were as follows: the Peninsula campaign and the battles incident to it, the second battle of Manassas and the Pope campaign, and the Maryland campaign of McClellan. At the same time with these investigations, an inquiry was made into the disasters at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff.²⁹ Investigations of the battles of Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Gettysburg were made, and the last two were accompanied with searching examinations of the military administrations of Generals Hooker and Meade.³⁰ Later, testimony was taken respecting the battle of Petersburg and the affair at the Crater.³¹

Thorough investigations were made of the Red River and Fort Fisher expeditions.³² Testimony was taken, but no reports were prepared, on a large number of expeditions, battles, and what might be called detached military operations: the campaigns of General Rosecrans;³³ the Hatteras Inlet expedition; the Fort Royal expedition; the Burnside expedition; the battle at Fort Donelson;

²⁷ Hurlbert, *General McClellan and the Conduct of the War*, p. 160.

²⁸ *Report C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 4.

²⁹ *Journal, C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., pp. 67-68; *Report, ibid.*, pts. I. and II.

³⁰ *Report C. C. W.*, 1865, pt. I., pp. xli-lxxvii, 3-524; cf. *Senate Rep. No. 71*,

37 Cong., 3 sess.

³¹ *Report C. C. W.*, 1865, pt. I., third division, pp. 1-247.

³² *Ibid.*, pt. II.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

the capture of New Orleans; the invasion of New Mexico; the Accomack expedition; the battle of Winchester; the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*;³⁴ the operations against Charleston; the operations in the Gulf Department; and the battle of Cedar Mountain.³⁵ Notably important investigations relating more directly to the civil aspects of the war or to the work of supplying the army may be grouped as follows: heavy ordnance,³⁶ light-draught monitors³⁷—on the testimony taken in these inquiries reports were submitted—treatment of Confederate soldiers in Union prisons, the paymaster's department,³⁸ the administration of the quartermasters located in New York and Philadelphia, ice contracts, returning slaves to their "rebel" owners,³⁹ trade regulations as applied on the Mississippi River,⁴⁰ trade in military districts,⁴¹ "protecting rebel property", treatment of wounded from Front Royal, the convalescent camp at Alexandria, and the Sherman-Johnston terms of surrender.⁴² One of the most interesting investigations of the committee was that of the Western Department or Missouri during the Frémont régime, which evidenced their peculiar partizan politics and their radicalism.⁴³ Another such inquiry was made of the administration of General Steele in Arkansas, but it had not the same political interest nor was it accompanied with a report as in the other case.⁴⁴ An investigation was made of the cruel massacre of the Cheyenne Indians, and a report was made strongly condemning Colonel Chivington.⁴⁵

The committee also essayed to investigate the way in which the Confederates conducted the war. The most important of these inquiries was that of the alleged massacre at Fort Pillow, and of the report and testimony 20,000 copies were printed for the use of the Senate and 40,000 for the House of Representatives.⁴⁶ Analogous investigations were those on the treatment of Union soldiers in Southern prisons, "rebel barbarities", and the use made by Southerners of the Indians.

³⁴ *Report C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. III.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1865, pt. II.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1862-1863, pt. III.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1862-1863, pt. III.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1863, pt. III.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Sen. Rep. Com. No. 63*, 38 Cong., 1 sess.

In addition to the work of the committee already mentioned, Congress by special resolutions directed it to investigate many important yet minor details of the conduct of the war. Others may be referred to by way of illustration, such as: the truth of an editorial of the *Chicago Tribune* in which it was alleged that some of the cartridges supplied for the Burnside expedition had no powder in them;⁴⁷ the treatment by the rebels of the remains of Union soldiers at Manassas; certain claims of individuals, notably that of Marshall O. Roberts for the loss of his ship, *The Star of the Golden West*; the acts of Congress respecting commercial intercourse with rebel states; the military expedition to the coast of Florida; petitions for the removal of certain generals; the construction of iron-clad steamers; the employment of disloyal persons in the navy yards; the prison of the provost guard at Alexandria; the truth of the charge that the authorities armed disloyal persons in Missouri; the Wilmington expedition; and the treatment of negroes by General Jefferson C. Davis of Sherman's army.⁴⁸ It is very significant also, as showing the attitude of the War Department toward the committee, that the secretary requested the committee to investigate the quartermaster's department at New York.⁴⁹

In order to obtain testimony, the committee not only held sessions in Washington, but travelled to various parts of the country in search of it. The inquiries outside of Washington were usually made by subcommittees, and the combinations of men most often used for this purpose were either that of Wade and Gooch, or Gooch and Odell, the most active men on the joint committee. In their travels, the committee or subcommittees visited the cities or towns of Alexandria, City Point, Fortress Monroe, Manassas, Centreville, Falmouth, Petersburg, and Richmond, in Virginia; New York City, Baltimore, Annapolis, Boston; Mound City and Cairo, Illinois; Columbus, Kentucky; and Fort Pillow and Memphis, Tennessee. They not only visited battle-fields, but on one occasion at least, when the Confederates were before Washington, certain members personally reconnoitred the enemy works and fortifications in

⁴⁷ *Journal, C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 80.

⁴⁸ *Report C. C. W.*, 1864-1865, pt. III.

⁴⁹ *Journal, C. C. W.*, 1865, pt. I., xvi. Supplementing these various reports and investigations, authorized by the 37th and 38th Congresses, the 39th Congress, in 1866, ordered the publication of a two-volume report. This supplement consists of the answers of Generals Sherman, Thomas, Pope, J. G. Foster, Pleasonton, Hitchcock, Sheridan, and Ricketts to certain questions which had been sent to them by the committee in 1865. There is also a communication and a memorial of Norman Wiard. *Supplement, Report C. C. W.*, 1866, vols. I. and II.

order to form an opinion as to the expediency of an advance by the Union armies.

An inquiry usually followed promptly on a disaster, and one penalty of failure was a hearing before the grim committee. At these times, as well as at others, the chairman and Gooch were likely to be the most active interrogators, for the committee did not have an attorney, nor did they permit the presence of counsel for those who testified. They were frequently charged with unfairness in framing their questions, that is, with asking questions which did not elicit the whole truth, questions which avoided certain vital points. The witness was usually permitted, even requested or ordered, to state all that he wanted to say, or to tell all that he knew, about the matter under consideration; yet these lusty partizans could and sometimes did use their great powers very much as their critics have described. General Meade, who, as we shall see, was one on whom the eyes of certain members of the committee rested for a time unfavorably, wrote in this connection:

I feared the Committee on the Conduct of the War was against me, and that their examination would be *ex-parte*; to which their organization, the absence of myself or counsel, the ignorance I am under of what is testified against me, all combine to give a great power for injury, if abused.⁵⁰

In this passage, reference was made to the secret sessions of the committee. The members were pledged not to reveal the secrets of the committee, nor the information which came into their possession there, although this rule was modified on July 15, 1862, to the effect that any member might use the testimony in any way he chose in speeches in either house of Congress.⁵¹ While there were sometimes rumors, newspaper reports, and surmises as to what was being testified before the committee, the subject-matter on the whole was kept secret. But the methods of the committee in taking this testimony, and in seeking for a victim when investigating disasters, have received severe criticism. Speaking of the part the committee had in the arrest and imprisonment of General Stone, one of these critics said:

The Committee on the Conduct of the War proceeded to investigate Ball's Bluff by the methods common to nearly all similar bodies. Witnesses were summoned and examined without order; there was no cross-examination; the accused was not confronted with the witnesses nor told their names, nor the charge upon which he had been already tried,

⁵⁰ Meade, *Life and Letters of General Meade*, II. 179.

⁵¹ Journal, C. C. W., 1863, pt. I., p. 100. This was the day before Chandler made his famous speech against McClellan.

condemned, and sentenced before he was even allowed to appear. No one was responsible. Of many important details there was no record.⁵²

Similar to this was the vehement, but unavailing, protest of General W. B. Franklin against the injustice which he alleged to have been done him in the committee's report on the battle of Fredericksburg:

It is a sad commentary upon the disjointed condition of the times, that at the very moment when the Nation is offering its blood and treasure without stint in the effort to preserve inviolate the principles of civil liberty, a citizen of that nation, however humble, shall be accused, tried and condemned of an infamous crime, before a tribunal sitting in secret session, without notice, or even an intimation of the charges made against him; without the opportunity to confront or examine the witnesses brought against him; to be himself called and interrogated, in utter ignorance that he is under trial; and, finally, to be denied permission to produce witnesses, when the fact became apparent to him that he was, for some unexplained reason, in danger of condemnation.⁵³

The committee had stated that General Franklin had failed in a crisis in the battle of Fredericksburg to attack with his entire force, which attack, if it had been made, would have brought the army, in the words of the committee, "a most brilliant victory". On this interesting matter, a letter of General Meade throws considerable light. "My conversations", said Meade, "with Burnside and Wade satisfied me that Franklin was to be made responsible for the failure at Fredericksburg, and the committee is seeking all the testimony they can procure to substantiate this theory of theirs". Of the report of the committee he said, "It is terribly severe upon Franklin"; and later, after he had investigated the matter somewhat, he stated that he knew that Franklin was blameless. Franklin himself charged the committee with making an unjustified report, with taking excerpts from his testimony dissociated from the context, and with suppressing the testimony as a whole. Even in this case, however, the general and leading question was: "Will you describe fully and particularly what was done by the left wing of our army at the battle of Fredericksburg, or that portion of it under your command?" Such a question certainly gave an ample opportunity for testimony and defense.

Another method, said to have been utilized in the case of McClellan and certainly employed in the investigation of Meade, was to omit to call witnesses who were in sympathy with the person against whom the antipathies of the committee had been aroused.

⁵² Irwin, in *Battles and Leaders*, II. 133.

⁵³ Franklin, *A Reply of Major-General W. B. Franklin*, p. 5.

One of McClellan's friends charged that such generals as Howard, Porter, and Meagher, who had a high regard for their commander's generalship in the Peninsula, were not called before the committee.⁵⁴ The same friend alleged that the committee admitted much hearsay evidence and asked many leading questions, indicating to the witness the nature of the reply desired. The criticism of the methods of the committee, however, reached further than merely to the character of the questions. There was something of the character of the Court of Star Chamber about the committee. Whether this similarity was due to the very nature of the institution, to the personal animus which sometimes seemed to control the members, to the fact that a political favorite required exoneration, or that the immediate problem was shot through with political considerations—is difficult to determine.

One of the severe critics of the committee, after stating that they did not limit themselves to an inquiry into things actually accomplished, said with reference to the duties otherwise assumed: "They considered themselves to be a sort of Aulic Council clothed with authority to supervise the plans of commanders in the field, to make military suggestions, and to dictate military appointments."⁵⁵ The committee, having constant meetings or communications with the Secretary of War and conferring at intervals with the President—sometimes at their request and sometimes at his invitation—many of which meetings lasted for hours—having the support of a great majority of Congress, and being, as they maintained, the true representatives of the people—did exercise the high powers mentioned in the quotation. Whether they did it well or ill was a matter of controversy, but, when they proposed legislation, advised the President and his Secretary of War as to the proper methods and policies, promoted the fortunes of certain generals, and unmade those of others, they were exercising functions which to their minds were not ancillary and subordinate, but primary and essential.

Although they did not conceive it as one of their duties to consider and urge legislation, two important measures were advocated by them. The first, a joint rule of parliamentary procedure, pro-

⁵⁴ Ketchum, *General McClellan's Peninsula Campaign* (booklet). There is the charge, too, that the committee published the report before giving the testimony to the press, the inference being that many would read the one, form their opinions, and ignore the other.

⁵⁵ Hurlbert, *op. cit.*, p. 160; cf. Swinton, *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*, p. 89, in which he wrote of the committee as a "species of Aulic Council" by which, with the aid of Stanton, "all the larger of the war-questions were determined". For the Aulic Council, see Herchenhahn, *Geschichte des Kaiserlichen Reichshofraths* (Mannheim, 1791-1793).

vided that when the executive desired immediate action upon any matter pertaining to the prosecution of the war, either or both houses of Congress should promptly go into secret session for the consideration of it, and the debate, in case the previous question should not be ordered, was to be limited to five minutes for any member.⁵⁶ In the second place, Senator Wade proposed a bill to authorize the President to take possession of the railway and telegraph lines.⁵⁷

A suggestion was sent by letter to the Secretary of War, January 23, 1862, to the effect that, from evidence received from high officers, it appeared that the army had sufficient cavalry force and that new regiments then in process of mobilizing could be dispensed with. This was urged as "a very important matter" in view of the great expense of that arm of the service.⁵⁸

With respect to the blockade of the Potomac by the Confederate forces and batteries, the committee took a decided stand, insisting that the tolerance of the blockade was a disgrace, and was damaging the country in the eyes of the outside nations, and that the failure of McClellan to break it constituted a grave blunder. A subcommittee, composed of Wade and Johnson, called on the Secretary of War to lay before him the ideas of the committee. As reported by Johnson, Wade represented to Stanton the serious importance of the matter, and told him of the complaints of merchants and the letters of American citizens abroad which revealed the foreign attitude. To all of these views Stanton gave ready agreement, saying "that he did not go to his bed at night without his cheek burning with shame at this disgrace upon the nation". He then brought McClellan, who was in the building, into the room, to whom the complaint and suggestion of the committee were repeated. After stating that the subject had been considered by him and that it was a matter of days when he would take active steps to remedy the situation, McClellan said that he was opposed to sending men over the Potomac without adequate numbers and provisions for their safe retreat. He proposed to construct a bridge. Wade declared that with 150,000 of the best troops in the world, there was no need of a bridge, that he ought to take the men over to fight, and if they could not defeat the enemy, "let them come back in their coffins". Johnson then said that

⁵⁶ *Journal, C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 76.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77; cf. testimony of General Heintzelman, p. 119; testimony of General Franklin, p. 122; General Pleasanton, *Supplement*, 1866, II. 3-4.

the interview with the Secretary had been a very satisfactory one; that the Secretary listened attentively to all that the chairman said, and although the chairman sometimes made his statements to General McClellan in pretty strong and emphatic language, the Secretary endorsed every sentiment he uttered.⁵⁹

After hearing the testimony of several generals and consulting many scientific works on the subject, the committee decided that the army ought to be divided into *corps d'armée*, and they set about with characteristic energy to secure such an organization by carrying the matter to Lincoln and later to the President and the Cabinet. Having a good cause, their determination became the more fixed as McClellan appeared to oppose the idea. He declared that his reason was not opposition to the principle, but that he did not want to promote men to the grade of major-general without having first tried them on the battlefield. The committee won in the contest, and the President on the eve of the departure for the Peninsula campaign issued an order requiring such an organization and appointed, to command the corps, men who had not been previously approved by McClellan.⁶⁰

Another suggestion of the committee is mentioned as being in itself important and as showing the methods of the committee in making use of testimony. An investigation was made of the conditions of the hospital called "Camp Convalescent" at Alexandria, where certain abuses had appeared. A subcommittee, consisting of Gooch, Covode, and Odell, visited the Secretary of War, made representations to him, and urged that barracks and proper accommodations be provided for the sick and wounded. They insisted upon the appointment of an inspector who should visit the various hospitals and have authority to discharge men who were unfit for further service in the war.⁶¹ Here was an effort to break through bureaucratic red tape and official routine.

One of the most important activities of the committee, and perhaps the most interesting, was its exercise of the power to discipline general officers and commanders. The most notable instances of this sort of activity were the cases of Generals Stone, Franklin, McClellan, Meade, Sickles, Burnside, and Brown.⁶² There were

⁵⁹ Journal, *C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., pp. 84-85.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 86; McClellan, *Own Story*, p. 113.

⁶¹ Journal, *C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 103.

⁶² Space is not available to treat all of the cases. Of those not mentioned in the body of the article, it may be said that Sickles was reported to the Secretary of War because of alleged irregularities in his quartermaster's department and that Brigadier-General Brown's removal as a commander in Missouri was demanded. But the committee could aid as well as injure. A story of Meade's

cases, also, when the committee loyally supported men with an equal intensity of purpose, such as Frémont, Hooker, Butler, and Stanton. Most of the instances of the committee's censuring prominent generals occurred in connection with the Army of the Potomac. The son and biographer of General Meade says:

The Army of the Potomac unfortunately furnished, through its proximity to the capital, a fine opportunity to the committee for the exercise of its peculiar theories as to the proper mode of conducting a great war, and at the committee's door can justly be laid the incentives to most of the intrigues, rivalries, and dissensions that marred the otherwise brilliant record of that army.⁶³

He speaks of "animus", "machinations", and "conspiracy" in association with the committee; so have others who have written in defense of men who felt the weight of the committee's disapproval.

The first victim was General Charles P. Stone, against whom was made what amounted to a charge of treason. It was reported to the Secretary of War that he was in undue communication with the enemy. The evidence was trivial, the charge unfounded, but when it seemed to be confirmed by a refugee Stone was arrested and confined without trial at Fort Lafayette.⁶⁴ Another decision of the committee which appears to have been unjust was the determination to fix upon General Franklin the blame for the failure at Fredericksburg.⁶⁵ The attitude of the committee toward McClellan was that of bitter animosity, and their hostility extended to the officers who were friendly to him. In this case, the committee members were in alliance with Stanton and Chase of the Cabinet. The situation was a very complex one. The committee sought to play a large part in the military game and McClellan, though very reticent as to plans, allowed himself to write many political letters, some of which were decidedly in bad taste. In practical politics, the committee were easily his masters, and they were better as military men than he was as a politician. He had a contempt for the committee as meddling civilians; they felt that he was incapable, that his heart was not in the struggle, that his plans were wrong,

seems pertinent. Halleck said to Colonel Poe, who sought promotion and who bore letters of recommendation, "to be frank with you, Colonel Poe, with only such letters your chances of promotion are about equal to those of a stumped-tail bull in fly-time". Meade adds that merit without political influence is no argument to the authorities. Chandler was opposed to Poe. Meade, *op. cit.*, I. 324.

⁶³ Meade, *op. cit.*, II. 171; cf. also II. 169-170.

⁶⁴ Irwin, in *Battles and Leaders*, *ubi supra*; Porter, in *Memory of General Charles P. Stone*; McDougall, *The Arrest of General Stone*, speech, April 15, 1862.

⁶⁵ Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, II. 442. He thought Franklin should have succeeded McClellan; cf. *Battles and Leaders*, III. 106.

that he would never act with energy, and ultimately they came to charge him with treason. On his side, it was alleged that the politicians were in a conspiracy, that they did not want him to win the war, and that he was finally removed just when he "had the game in his hands".⁶⁶ The radicals increased the pressure they were able to exert upon the President. Chandler, on July 16, 1862, speaking for the committee, and with the approval of Stanton, described the general manner in which the war had been conducted, closing with a terrific attack upon McClellan. The committee held no session from July 6 to December 5, 1862; so when McClellan was removed on November 7, it had no corporate part in it, yet probably it was largely instrumental in effecting McClellan's fall.⁶⁷

In their relations with Burnside as commander, the committee appeared as the deputies of Congress on mission to the army, and, on their return to Washington, they acted as advisors of the administration. To state the history briefly, the committee was directed by special resolutions adopted after the assemblage of Congress in December, 1862, to investigate the disaster and the later movements of Burnside. The first resolution was passed on the 18th, the examination of witnesses at Falmouth, Virginia, to which point the committee went, occurred on the 19th, and a report was read in the Senate on the 23d. In it there were the familiar references to the failure of the authorities to send the pontoon bridges in time to make an advance across the river so that Fredericksburg might have been seized before the enemy could concentrate, and there appears also the unfortunate and unjust criticism of General Franklin. It was significant that the first witness to mention an opinion that Franklin had been remiss was General Hooker. This provisional report, however, consisted of testimony alone, it being submitted without any save explanatory remarks by the committee.⁶⁸ General John Cochrane attacks the committee's next step, to paraphrase his remarks, as follows: When it appeared that Burnside was contemplating a second movement, the inquisitorial committee appeared on the battle-field to question the men about conditions there and about the fitness of Burnside to command. This fact made the general

⁶⁶ McClellan, *Own Story*, p. 650.

⁶⁷ Irwin, *op. cit.*, III. 102-104; *Detroit Post and Tribune*, *op. cit.*, p. 229. The committee had little or nothing to do as an organization with the Fitz-John Porter case. The radicals, however, demanded his sacrifice, and the committee probably endorsed the decision of the military court, though, because of the investigation made by that court, it did not "make so thorough an investigation of that campaign [Manassas] as they would otherwise have done"; cf. *General Fitz-John Porter's Reply to Secretary Chandler*.

⁶⁸ *Sen. Rep. No. 71*, 37 Cong., 3 sess.

the subject of camp-fire debate, and was detrimental to discipline and *morale*.⁶⁹

If there were questions of this nature asked on the visit of the committee to the army headquarters they did not appear in the report, but such questions were asked of the witnesses who were summoned to Washington. On January 26, the committee was directed to inquire if Burnside had formed any plans for a forward movement and whether any subordinate officers had visited Washington to interfere with the execution of such plans. The testimony secured with respect to this matter exhibits one of the most curious episodes of the war. Generals Newton and Cochrane went to Washington to submit complaints against Burnside, to give testimony that he was incapable of commanding a large army, and to show that his new plans were certain to fail. They first sought to find the committee and give the information to them. Failing because of the holiday recess and the absence of the members from the city, they secured an interview with President Lincoln through Secretary Seward's mediation. They then made the revelations to Mr. Lincoln which caused him to order Burnside not to make any general forward movement without first consulting him.⁷⁰ This procedure brought about the complications which finally led to Burnside's relief from command, after which Hooker, the favorite of the committee, was appointed.

Despite Hooker's incapacity to command large bodies of troops, he had the favor of Chase, of the majority of the radicals, and of the committee, the last of whom remained faithful to him throughout the war. He was opposed by Stanton and Halleck, and, when removed, was succeeded by General George G. Meade. When the committee came to investigate the battle of Gettysburg, Generals Sickles and Doubleday, who had been called as witnesses, and later others, testified that General Meade had contemplated a retreat and had prepared an order to that effect before victory was secured, but was prevented from retreating by the attack of Lee. Wishing Hooker restored to command and possibly thinking, certainly alleging, Meade to be incompetent, Wade and Chandler sought the President. On March 4, 1864, the chairman ordered the clerk to enter the following upon the Journal:

Having become impressed with the exceeding importance of the testimony taken by the committee in relation to the army of the Potomac,

⁶⁹ Cochrane, *The War for the Union*, a very interesting criticism from a radical.

⁷⁰ *Report C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 58.

more especially in relation to the incompetency of the general in command of the army, he and Mr. Chandler had believed it to be their duty to call upon the President and the Secretary of War, and lay before them the substance of the testimony taken by them, and, in behalf of the army and the country, demand the removal of General Meade, and the appointment of some one more competent to command. They accordingly did so yesterday afternoon; and being asked what general they could recommend for the command of the army of the Potomac, they said that for themselves they would be content with General Hooker, believing him to be competent; but not being advocates of any particular general, they would say that if there was any general whom the President considered more competent for the command, then let him be appointed. They stated that Congress had appointed the committee to watch the conduct of the war; and unless this state of things should be soon changed it would become their duty to make the testimony public which they had taken, with such comments as the circumstances of the case seemed to require.⁷¹

A number of high officers held that Meade should have attacked after the third day of Gettysburg, and this opinion was also cited as proof of incompetency. From the testimony and the facts before the committee, it is difficult to see how they could have thought otherwise than they did, though politics was involved, complicating a situation which should have remained a military one only. The testimony and the report based upon it severely condemned General Meade, but the cherished design of the committee, the restoration of Hooker as commander, was not achieved.

During the first years after the creation of the committee, it was in more or less constant communication with the executive.⁷² This co-operation was rendered less friendly by the dismissal of Hooker, and was practically discontinued after the presentation of the President's message of December, 1863. Lincoln's plan of reconstruction, or more properly of restoration, encountered the bitter opposition of the majority of the committee, as well as of the radicals in Congress who preferred that of the Wade-Davis Bill, and who endorsed the sentiments of the Wade-Davis Manifesto. This important fact and the no less important one of Grant's appointment, with the consequent diminution of civil interference, greatly diminished the opportunities of the committee in their advisory capacity. It became, therefore, after 1864, less of a council and more of an investigative body.

Another phase of this relationship developed during the election

⁷¹ Journal, *C. C. W.*, 1865, pt. I., p. xix. At the same time, Meade asserted that Wade assured him that there were no charges against him before the committee. Meade, *Life and Letters of General Meade*, II. 169; Walker, in *Battles and Leaders*, III. 406-419.

⁷² Journal, *C. C. W.*, 1863, pt. I., p. 4.

campaign of 1864 and after Frémont and Cochrane had agreed to retire from the contest in favor of Lincoln. The committee then came to the substantial aid of the candidate of the Union party. Wade became a campaigner for the President, after the reconciliation effected by the enforced retirement of Montgomery Blair from the Cabinet and the withdrawal of Frémont from the campaign, and employed in his speeches some of the testimony which had been taken by the committee. His speech "Facts for the People" largely consisted of data gathered as chairman of the committee and contained quotations from the testimony of Generals Heintzelman and Hooker. It was widely distributed by the campaign committee. It evoked many replies, such as those by Ketchum, Amos Kendall, and Hurlbert, which served to indicate the importance attached to it by McClellan's associates.⁷³

The tangible evidences of the committee's work are the eight stout volumes of testimony, papers, and reports. Much of the activity of the committee as a conciliar body took the form of suggestions, advice, and intrigue—to employ a term then much in vogue—and is thus somewhat imponderable, susceptible rather of an interpretative than of an expository treatment. In the present connection, we have opportunity only to summarize a few of the reports, to estimate the value of the testimony, and to state the use which has been and can be made of it by historians. Reports accompanied the testimony in the following investigations: the Army of the Potomac, Bull Run, Ball's Bluff, Frémont's administration in Missouri, the Red River expedition, the Fort Fisher expedition, the Crater affair, the massacre of the Cheyenne Indians, light-draught monitors, and the Fort Pillow massacre.

Enough has been written above, respecting the Army of the Potomac, to show that the committee were highly critical of McClellan's generalship and suspicious of his integrity; that with little enthusiasm for Burnside they were yet ready to excuse him; that they were ardently and faithfully loyal to Hooker, publishing and endorsing many of his explanations of failure and condemning his removal on the eve of the battle of Gettysburg; that they condemned Meade and his campaign of manoeuvres in Virginia, though they

⁷³ Ketchum, *General McClellan's Peninsula Campaign*; Kendall, *Letters exposing the Mismanagement of Public Affairs by Abraham Lincoln*; Hurlbert, *General McClellan and the Conduct of the War*. Another campaign booklet which was distributed and which was highly critical of McClellan was that of General Barnard, *The Peninsula Campaign*. It contains his own testimony before the committee and that of Generals Keyes, Heintzelman, Sumner, McCall, Hitchcock, and others. Disseminated by the Union Executive Congressional Committee.

gave the views of generals who approved of him. The investigation of Frémont, largely conducted by Gooch, revealed many irregularities, despite which a majority exonerated him, heartily endorsing his famous proclamation setting free the slaves of disloyal persons, while Gooch and Odell preferred to submit the testimony without comment. There was disagreement as to the proper interpretation of the testimony respecting the Red River expedition, Gooch this time preparing a dissenting report. With reference to the Fort Fisher expedition, the committee absolved Butler, justifying his determination not to assault the fort, and ascribing the failure to a want of "cordiality and co-operation" between army and navy and to a lack of effectiveness of the bombardment.

Investigations of governmental inefficiency and of what may be termed scandals occurred in the cases of light-draught monitors, ice contracts, heavy ordnance, employment of disloyal persons in government work, hospitals and the treatment of wounded, and illicit trade with the Confederates. That there might have been more of such investigations is suggested by the reflection that the committee and Stanton were allies—a fact which led Welles to remark that the committee covered up whatever Stanton desired to conceal.

The Fort Pillow report severely indicted the Southerners and General Forrest. While the testimony largely supported such a verdict, it is interesting to note that the testimony imputed to the negro witnesses was curiously literate.

The space available for this article does not permit the quotation or analysis of any of the testimony. From the standpoint of the student, however, this testimony is an invaluable source of information about the war. It has a value beyond that of the reports of officers. Such reports permit false statements and can be used to defend questionable actions, whereas the testimony was given under oath and the witnesses were examined by men who, when political considerations were absent, were zealous seekers for the truth. Such testimony has been considered authoritative original material by such writers as Rhodes, Johnston, Ropes, Swinton, Lossing, Hosmer,⁷⁴ the contributors to *Battles and Leaders*, and others, and must be taken into substantial account by any future historian of the war.

As to the usefulness of such a committee, opinions have widely differed. In writing of an institution to which some have compared the committee, the Aulic Council, Jomini said:

In my judgment, the only duty which such a council can safely un-

⁷⁴ Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, pp. 318-319.

dertake is that of advising as to the adoption of a general plan of operations. . . . I mean a plan which shall determine the objects of a campaign; decide whether offensive or defensive operations shall be undertaken, and fix the amount of material means which may be relied upon in the first instance for the opening of the enterprise, and then for the possible reserves in case of invasion. It cannot be denied that all these things may be, and even should be, discussed in a council of government made up of generals and ministers; but here the action of such a council should stop; for if it pretends to say to a commander-in-chief not only that he shall march on Vienna or Paris, but also in what way he is to manoeuvre to reach those points, the unfortunate commander-in-chief will certainly be beaten, . . .⁷⁵

Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson held that while war is something more than an "outgrowth of politics", the civilian authorities must take a part by judging of the merits of commanders, the character and variety of objectives, and finally of the achievement or non-achievement of the same, but added, "It is hardly necessary to observe that no civilian minister, however deeply he might have studied the art of war, could be expected to solve for himself the strategic problems that come before him."⁷⁶ The committee was criticized by him for weakening discipline when making inquiries of subordinates respecting a commanding officer's plans and fitness.⁷⁷ Other than this, there is no complaint by any high authority of the investigative powers and rights of the civilian—although there may be, as there has been, criticism of the methods employed.

From these statements, it would seem that the work of investigation was legitimate; that the committee might seek to understand, even to determine, the objectives; that they might suggest, even control, the general character of the campaigns—if it be granted that they had the requisite ability for such important duties. From such views, however, there has been dissent, some holding that the conduct of a war is purely an executive function, a thing for experts. And there have been those who said the committee was unfair and partizan. That they made mistakes, as in overrating Hooker, in underestimating McClellan, in blaming Franklin, and in misinterpreting Meade, may be granted, although they certainly had testimony to substantiate their conclusions. In defense, it may be contended that the committee succeeded in their aims; that they brought speed and energy into the conduct of the war; that they ferreted out abuses and put their fingers down heavily upon governmental inefficiency; and that they labored, for a time at least, to preserve a

⁷⁵ Jomini, *Précis de l'Art de la Guerre*, II. 47; quoted in Swinton, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

⁷⁶ Henderson, *The Science of War*, p. 18.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

balance and effect a co-operation between the legislative and executive departments. That the committee were not experts, nor men of the highest rank of statesmanship, nor of lofty character, are arguments *ad hominem* rather than *ad institutum*. They were partizans, but they were men of energy; they were often rash and impetuous, but their hearts were in the struggle. If their service as a council be discounted—though the writer is far from asserting that it should be—there was still their great service in giving publicity, in some cases pitiless publicity, to faulty military and questionable political transactions. Exception may be taken to their claim that they had not “sought to accomplish any purpose other than to elicit the truth”, but they were confidently ready to be judged by the result.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.

AUSTRO-GERMAN RELATIONS SINCE 1866

THE diplomatic relations of Austria-Hungary and Germany in the last two generations present a singularly complex evidential problem. The two ends of the period are firmly rooted in the certainty of established fact, but any attempt to fill in the period between them involves the peril of writing the history of the present war in the light of the quarrel of 1866 or of extending present issues back further than facts will warrant. Evidentially we possess firm ground for the aftermath of Sadowa, for the effect upon the relations between Austria-Hungary and Germany of the creation of the Empire and the formation of the Dual Alliance. Out of these grow naturally the Triple Alliance and the latter phases of the statesmanship of Bismarck as he himself liked us to think they were. Then in 1889-1890 comes a radical change. Public relations between the two countries cease to present important incidents, open controversies, or official utterances of obvious importance. From time to time we learn that the Triple Alliance has been renewed, that one emperor has visited the other or has occupied a prominent place at some ceremony,¹ but we have no direct evidence as to the terms on which the Triple Alliance was renewed or as to the real subjects discussed at imperial visits. Inference, guess-work, suggestion, opinion we have in profusion; evidence there is none. We have in addition for this period subsequent to 1890 a documented narrative of parliamentary proceedings and ministerial policies, both in Austria and in Germany, which tells of strong Slav parties pretty definitely hostile to any extension of friendly relations with Germany, of the Magyar fear of the increase of Austrian influence in the Balkans. We see the emperor choose his premiers and foreign secretaries more frequently from these parties than from the German elements and we see the public affairs of the Monarchy conducted in the legislative assemblies on a general basis which leaves us strongly in doubt whether or not Austria ever acts in entire

¹ One expects to find press and diplomats drawing conclusions about Austro-German relations from the prominence of the German Kaiser at the Empress Elizabeth's funeral, though nothing more was necessarily implied than the published text of the Triple Alliance would explain; but one hardly expects to find among the causes solemnly enumerated for Italy's entrance into the war in a semi-official history the failure of Franz Josef to return the visit of Humbert in 1882. Luigi Carnovale, *Why Italy entered into the Great War* (Chicago, 1917), pp. 246-247.

harmony with Berlin. We learn constantly that Germany and German policy have aroused grave concern at Vienna or Pesth and conversely that the officials on the Wilhelmstrasse consider the acts of their confrères singularly blundering and inept,² while the foreign correspondents and diplomats are genuinely in doubt whether the Austrians understand their own internal conditions or international complications.³

Then suddenly we are plunged into the war of 1914 and at once find these conclusions in regard to the previous relations of Austria-Hungary and Germany—apparently well documented and supported by reliable testimony from all sorts of participants and observers—diametrically opposed to the actual relations revealed by the outbreak of the war. Austro-German history as written has been dominated by the memory of 1866, by the jealousy, suspicion, and hatred of Prussia, which it has been supposed was transferred in 1871 to the new empire. Yet such an assumption is definitely negatived by the war of 1914. Pan-Germanism required for its preparation so great a length of time and demanded for its adequate execution so perfect a correlation of effort between the two countries; the part of each was so dependent upon the work of the other; each must necessarily be so thoroughly convinced of the other's dependability; and both so entirely staked upon the issue their destiny as nations, that the fundamental fact of their relations must have been for some considerable period that degree of mutual faith which the great scheme, of whose existence we are now thoroughly assured, made so decidedly essential. So far as the Germans were concerned, Austria and Hungary were two essential links in the confederation. Success would be unthinkable without secure reliance on them, because upon their continued co-operation, without coercion or thought of disloyalty, would depend the control of the Balkans which were to be entrusted to them and the all-important access to Turkey and to Asia Minor. Before the Germans could have dared to devote so much effort to a scheme upon whose success they risked so much, they must have been convinced beyond a

² This is the commonest conclusion. See Fullerton, *Problems of Power* (1915), pp. 201, 244, 326, 335. Even so evident an official apologist as Charmatz complains on the appointment of Aehrenthal of "eine empfindliche Schädigung" "durch die laxen Führung der äusseren Politik." *Geschichte der Auswärtigen Politik Oesterreichs*, II. 131, 132.

³ "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy deserves perhaps to head the list of States whose policy has been guided by fundamental ignorance of the foreign questions most nearly affecting them." Steed, *Hapsburg Monarchy* (London, 1913), p. 280. The author was for a long time correspondent of the *Times* at Vienna and is now foreign editor of that newspaper.

shadow of doubt of the loyalty and dependability of the Hapsburg monarch and of his ability to direct and control the elements apparently hostile to them in his vast domains. Those who still cling despite the present war to the older view, of the continuity of the legacy of 1866, take refuge in the implication that Austria was less interested in the new policy than Germany; was dragged into it unwillingly; and is not yet conscious that it is on the whole contrary to her political and economic interests.⁴ They see the Monarchy dominated by Germany despite the monarch or see Austrian and Hungarian statesmen anxiously trying to awaken their aged and senile leader from his fatuous delusion.⁵ This is plain assumption, not evidence, and rests upon the idea that the past hatreds must have continued to influence policy. It is inconsistent with the assumption, evidentially perhaps no better but from the point of fact immensely stronger, that the present war would have been for Germany an act of the wildest folly so long as any possible doubt remained as to the sureness of Austrian co-operation. Nor could such doubt be dissipated except by the knowledge that the more important elements in Austria and in Hungary were conscious of direct and immediate advantages to accrue to Austria-Hungary, commensurate with the effort which the execution of the plan would involve. To have undertaken so extensive a war, as this was almost certain to be, with a corpse around Germany's neck;⁶ with the only ally of any strength or capacity seditious and disloyal; lacking, too, in any conviction of the value of the effort to her, would have made the beginning of such an aggressive war the product of plain lunacy and would render its continuance problematical, if not impossible. The continuance of the war alone must negative such an assumption until we are confronted with the most positive evidence, beyond the ability of press bureaux or imaginative correspondents to fabricate.

⁴ Such was the text of most of those foreigners who treated of Pan-Germanism at all. The ablest of these is André Chéradame, whose numerous books had some influence on certain sections of French opinion before the war. His summary of his contentions in his more elaborate treatises is *L'Allemagne, la France, et la Question d'Autriche* (Paris, 1902).

⁵ This is the common ante-bellum implication of the numerous statements that the bond between Austrian and German politics was close. It does not usually imply or connote the existence of Pan-Germanism. So Sosnosky writes in the *Contemporary Review*, CVI. 222, of the "timid, anxious, feeble policy which the Monarchy had pursued since Andrassy". So Chéradame: "sans doute, les 'poussées' de Germanisme ont déterminé la politique vacillante de François Joseph". *L'Allemagne, la France, et la Question d'Autriche*, p. 123.

⁶ A remark concerning Austria credited by English sources to the German ambassador as he was leaving London in 1914.

Pan-Germanism is as fundamentally advantageous to Austrian interests as to German. Indeed, it far more directly conforms to the traditional policies and ambitions of the former than to those of the latter. The Hapsburg problem has been singularly difficult and a solution has been so long imperative that its postponement has almost ceased to terrify Austrian statesmen. The dissolution of the Monarchy has been for so many generations predicted and proclaimed that they have almost come to feel that a state of suspended animation is the only possible condition of continued existence.⁷ On the one hand, Austria has found the gravest danger from the steady growth of Russia in men and economic resources, partly because of the contiguity of Russian territory, partly because of Russian ambition to achieve Constantinople and a preponderant influence in the Balkans. Austria and Hungary too need to open the windows and to acquire dependable access to the ocean highways, but unfortunately for Austria, the only possible solutions thwart the traditional policies of Russia and of Italy. Then, the singularly numerous and discordant congeries of races of which the Monarchy is composed have long found it difficult to exist together and thus far impossible to get along without each other. It has therefore seemed essential to the Hapsburg rulers that the Monarchy should become something decisively more, if it was to offset the powerful influences attempting to make it something considerably less. Pan-Germanism seemed better fitted than other plans to cope with the ambitions of Russia along the Danube and the Straits and with the desires of Italy to overrun the western Balkans and turn the Adriatic into an Italian lake. It also promised to provide some permanent solution of racial antagonism within, by the inclusion of the Monarchy in the larger unity of the Pan-Germanic confederation.

The true evidential difficulty however lies not in the fact that this conclusion is based upon inference or deduction rather than upon documentary evidence concerning the prime factors which it involves, nor that it contravenes an older view which is sustained by evidence. The truth is that the older view was also based on inference and assumption. Strictly speaking, what has too frequently been called evidence is nothing better than testimony. We have a considerable number of printed statements, written or spoken by men who may have known the truth, but we have no proof at all that they saw fit to tell us any of it.⁸ The first-hand direct infor-

⁷ Best exemplified by the policies and speeches of Taaffe.

⁸ Obviously, von Bülow, *Imperial Germany*; zu Reventlow, *Deutschland's Auswärtige Politik*; Zimmermann, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kolonialpolitik*. So Sir Horace Rumbold's various volumes.

mation from participants is not necessarily reliable testimony. The witness may have intentionally deceived us. We have a much larger number of books written by men who were quite anxious to tell the truth, but who were not necessarily aware of what the truth was.⁹ Such books are merely printed testimony, and as information are perhaps no better than hearsay. There are, too, the reminiscences and personal experiences, in some number, of people on the fringe of diplomatic life.¹⁰ There is a grave doubt whether they knew anything to tell. It has been too much the habit to write the history of Austrian foreign policy as if it were the independent work of ministers responsible to a parliamentary majority in the British sense, bound therefore to present as much truth as possible to it, and whose statements could be accepted precisely because they were those of responsible officials. This was to forget that Austria did not possess parliamentary government in any proper sense. Indeed the difficulty of a study of Austro-German relations lies not in the dearth of material, but in an entire lack of any material since 1890 which can be accepted as valid evidence of the real facts we wish to establish. The interest shown in the subject by students, trained in scientific method, competent to handle its complexities with impartiality and disinterest, has been small.¹¹ The best historical work, if such it can be called, has been done by diplomats, lawyers, professional agitators,¹² newspaper correspondents,¹³ nearly

⁹ The real indictment of the whole ante-bellum literature of Austro-German history is its failure to treat Pan-Germanism as an organic part of German policy. The majority ignore it altogether.

¹⁰ *Seven Years in Vienna, a Record of Intrigue* (Boston, 1917), very decidedly belongs in this category.

¹¹ With Friedjung's books and articles, Wertheimer's *Andrássy*, Fournier's *Wie wir zu Bosnien kamen* (Vienna, 1909), S. Goriainov, *Bosfor i Dardanely* (1907; Fr. tr., *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, 1910), our list ends. Yet even these are not free from the suspicion of official influence.

¹² There is a voluminous literature by the Czechs, the Serbians, the Rumanians, and the Slavs generally, in French, German, and English, most of which is so obviously prejudiced as to be useless even for local history. See, however, J. Spalaikovitsh, *La Bosnie et l'Herzégovine: Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique de Droit International* (Paris, 1899); A. Stead, *Servia by the Servians* (London, 1909); I. F. Voïnov, *La Question Macédonienne et les Réformes en Turquie* (Paris, 1905); V. Mantegazza, *L'Altra Sponda: Italia e Austria nell' Adriatico* (Milan, 1905).

¹³ It is surprising to note how largely the literature on recent Austrian history in English is the work of newspaper correspondents. Dr. E. J. Dillon is almost as well known as de Blowitz used to be. Fullerton and Steed were *Times* correspondents at Vienna; Chéradame of various Parisian reviews; Schierbrand represented the American Associated Press in various capitals; as did H. A. Gibbons. Norman Angell was long a correspondent at Paris; Bérard, a per-

all of whom have been vehemently anxious to present some particular view of it as true. There are no countries in the world where more varieties of ideas have sought verisimilitude from quasi-historical investigation. Scarcely any phase of German history and certainly none of Austrian or Hungarian diplomacy or history but has been since 1866 and is still the subject of the most acrimonious controversy in those countries and in the outside world. The majority of books have been written as propaganda, if not for consumption in Austria-Hungary or Germany then for perusal in some other country.¹⁴ In no countries has the influence of the state and its policies upon the writing of history been so consciously extended, so determined, and so successfully concealed.¹⁵ Evidence has probably been manufactured for immediate consumption ever since the printing press began to be used, but certainly no issue has ever been treated by any state with such elaboration and continued thought as Austro-German relations.

Unfortunately, too, the testimony and events which we must evaluate, and from which we must exclude prejudiced material, are themselves to be evaluated on the basis of independent conclusions about fundamental factors whose correctness the author assumes rather than proves. The truth is that the few bare facts definitely ascertained, when read by themselves, prove too little; read in the light of preconceived conclusions they prove too much. The variety of opinions therefore on Austro-German relations, as on

sonal friend of Delcassé, was correspondent of the *Revue de Paris*. Interesting as many of the books written by these men are, they cannot be regarded as the result of historical study, and frequently betray ignorance of vitally important facts about past history and about the history of other countries. Diplomatic history is a tangled web of which only a fraction is visible in the policy of any one country, and which must be viewed as a whole with perspective and with an objective purpose if anything better is to result than the casual testimony of an intelligent bystander. Editors, like Villari, Tardieu, and Harden, attain something more like detachment, but are apt to be unduly influenced by their own environment and by the immediate political situation. Steed's *Hapsburg Monarchy* is an admirable and carefully written book which has won itself a place with serious students.

¹⁴ The numerous and otherwise excellent books of Chéradame all have a definite subjective purpose and usually were written to expound some particular phase of policy desirable for France, rather than merely to analyze the situation in an objective way. So too the works of R. W. Seton-Watson have in some ways the aspect of a cautious, subtle, but definite championship of the cause of the Southern Slavs.

¹⁵ Excellent statements of the official view of Austrian history and of relations with Germany as with other powers are to be found in the small volumes by R. Charmatz, *Geschichte der Auswärtigen Politik Oesterreichs* (Leipzig, 1909); *Deutsch-Oesterreichische Politik* (*ibid.*, 1907).

Austro-Hungarian foreign policy, is due simply enough to the variety of conclusions about Austrian, Hungarian, and German history, about parliamentary, administrative, local, economic, national, racial controversies, in the light of which the bare skeleton of diplomatic material is interpreted and from which it at once, like a chameleon, borrows color and form. Definite or indefinite notions in regard to the relative strength of Austria and Hungary, the willingness of the Czechs to sacrifice Austrian international interests to achieve something more of autonomy, the comparative influence of the emperor and his statesmen, the influence over him of the German Kaiser, the ability of the Magyars to dictate to Austria—these are the premises upon which most conclusions regarding Austro-German relations are really based.

It is idle for us to cavil at the use of conclusions reached by inference and deduction rather than established by direct and unimpeachable evidence, because, unfortunately, we shall probably never have direct evidence for the facts and relationships of the greatest importance. Metternich, Bismarck, and others less illustrious have called our attention to the fact that no direct first-hand testimony and no written evidence will ever be available regarding the conversations and agreements upon which the most significant decisions of the nineteenth century probably rested. The sovereigns met in person so that there might be no witnesses, no documents, no record of what was said. The archives will therefore yield nothing, nor will the papers of the statesmen nearest the monarchs give us anything better than their own guesswork and surmise. Our problem is really to do what we can to supply this deficiency of evidence by some inference or deduction, which we must admit in advance cannot be documented, but which will at least aid us to evaluate the testimony and to separate, however roughly or imperfectly, the material prepared to deceive us from that which reflects some ray of the truth.

We must start then from the war of 1914 and the conclusion that the nature of the aggressive plan out of which it grew involved for some years a degree of co-operation between Austria-Hungary and Germany of the closest description. We shall then interpret Austro-German relations in the light of this offensive and defensive agreement as soon as its existence can be demonstrated. The events consistent with it will afford us some light upon its character and extent. Those inconsistent with it we must perforce treat as the work of men unaware of its existence or as the result of intentional deception. In attempting to assign a date for the beginning

of this close co-operation, we are assisted by a fairly definite knowledge that the earlier stage of the relations from 1871 ended between 1887 and 1889.

The paramount fact in Austrian policy became in 1871 a close alliance with Germany, based upon Austrian fear of Russia, because of the enmity revealed by the Crimean War, by the neutrality of Russia in 1866, and by the aggressive schemes suspected of her after 1870 which could be furthered only at Austria's expense. The Franco-Prussian War had left France for the moment too weak and disorganized to afford Austria any real assistance; Great Britain was not dependable, and only an alliance with Germany could thwart the schemes of Russia in the Balkans and neutralize her weight in the scale until France should recover. For this aid Austria was forced to pay by a support of German policy. This was based upon the necessity of isolating France in Europe so as to make impossible an assault upon the new German Empire before it should have achieved administrative and economic cohesion. This, too, involved an agreement with Russia, which alone was able and willing to aid France and cripple Germany. An understanding therefore with Russia on behalf of Austria became essential for Germany, and one between Germany and Austria against France no less important in case the actual attack should take place and Russia should intervene in favor of France, for fear lest she might this time be too greatly weakened. The interests of each of the three therefore lay principally in preventing action by the other two, and this would continue to be the immediate basis of policy so long as Russian ambition persisted, and so long as there was danger of either an attack by Germany upon France or one by France upon Germany.

Aggression therefore against Russia in the Balkans by Austria was unthinkable so long as German assistance was foreclosed by the necessity of remaining free to deal with a France bent upon revenge. Germany, too, must protest an entire lack of interest in Balkan and Turkish problems, to be able to convince Russia that she would assist her should Austria attempt to overturn the *status quo* along the Danube.¹⁶ Austria therefore must forbear to execute the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin to which Russia was clearly hostile despite the agreement at Reichstadt. This too coincided with the domestic policies required by the strong Slav and Magyar parties in Austria and Hungary, who were anxious on the one hand to limit

¹⁶ See Herbert von Bismarck's statement to Crispi of what his father said to the tsar in 1888. Crispi, *Memoirs*, II. 346. "The Triple Alliance has no interest in dragging Turkey within its orbit. . . . It would be perfectly useless."

German influence and on the other to prevent the acquisition of further Slav territory. 1887 and 1888, however, with the defeat of the Jingo and Boulangist agitation in France saw the adoption of a defensive policy, a reduction of the army, and the accession to power of statesmen from whom Germany had little to fear. Certainly in 1889, if not a year earlier with the publication of the Dual Alliance, the Wilhelmstrasse concluded that the danger of attack from France was no better than a remote possibility.¹⁷

In attempting to assign some moment when the prosecution of the Pan-Germanic scheme became practical politics or when it first began to dominate the secret policies of both Austria and Germany, we shall much promote the inquiry by defining what we mean by Pan-Germanism. We shall imply a confederation of states protecting an all-rail highway to the Far East and the Persian Gulf against the land-power of Russia on the one hand and against the sea-power of England on the other. In this bond the countries of the confederation would find the only definitive defense against the future physical growth of Russia and the only possible basis of an aggressive contest with the existing British sea-power. The essential preliminaries would be the railroad from Constantinople to the Persian Gulf, the control of the Balkans by Austria, the control of the Baltic and the North Sea by a new German fleet. Is it not therefore remarkable that in 1888 the first application should have been made for the construction of the Bagdad Railway, that in 1889 Wilhelm II. should have visited Constantinople, from which moment German influence in Turkey has commonly been dated, that in 1890 the Anglo-German agreement should have ceded to Germany Heligoland, its present fleet base in the North Sea? In 1890, furthermore, Germany declined to renew the Reinsurance Agreement with Russia and no less an event occurred than the resignation of Bismarck. There came also a demand from the Kaiser in the Reichstag for a decided increase in the army. In the light of what we know now these events are scarcely coincidences. It seems reasonable and safe to infer that they were the result of the adoption of the policy (perhaps then in its first stage) of what we now call Pan-Germanism. They imply precisely that complete harmony of relationship, that mutual confidence by Germany and Austria-Hungary in each other's dependability, which is precisely what we are most interested to establish. But the immediate execution of

¹⁷ The importance however attached to the possibility of war in 1888 is revealed by Crispi's statements of Bismarck's account of Germany's preparations. *Memoirs*, II. 412.

a new policy upon the disappearance of the old fear of France would seem to show that the agreements upon which it rested must have been the work of the years preceding.¹⁸

The relation of Bismarck to Pan-Germanism and the real reasons for his resignation are questions of the utmost importance. If this great change in German policy took place at this time, it seems scarcely probable that he was not cognizant of it and had not some share in it. That his resignation was entirely without relation to it seems more unlikely, and that the scheme itself was hatched and adopted without consulting him, most improbable. Still less plausible is the official explanation so carefully prepared at the time in which so much was made of the Kaiser's wilfulness and Bismarck's temper.¹⁹ Taking his earlier policy by and large, and reading the new scheme in the light of it, it seems probable that he objected not so much to Pan-Germanism itself, its objects and purposes, as to an immediate attempt to execute it, involving a radical change in the defensive character of German alliances and dispositions—on the ground that the Empire was not yet sufficiently developed industrially, nor yet secure enough internationally to risk such an aggressive policy. Austrian problems, too, he may have objected, were not yet sufficiently well solved, nor the attitude of Slavs and Magyars well enough established, to make sure that the emperor could speak for his people and insure their co-operation. The progress toward Pan-Germanism must be slow, and such direct steps as were being undertaken would be inexpedient perhaps for a generation. These are, to be sure, assumptions, but unfortunately we shall probably always in this matter be forced to check the direct testimony of those who did not really know the facts in the light of just such assumptions.

Pan-Germanism also explains the refusal to renew the Reinsurance Agreement, just as the quarrel over Pan-Germanism between Bismarck and the Kaiser will explain Bismarck's promise to renew it and Caprivi's immediate refusal to do so. The agreement did not bind Russia in the very matter now of most consequence, an

¹⁸ Bismarck said to the Duke of Genoa in 1883: "Austria had completely abandoned her ancient policy of hostility against Germany and Italy alike, a policy which had greatly weakened the House of Hapsburg in the past. Germany, therefore, now found herself on terms of perfect intimacy with the neighboring Empire." Crispi, *Memoirs*, II. 158.

¹⁹ The official case is excellently stated by A. Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, 1917), I. 139-146. Two further confirmatory statements, of those already familiar to students, are in Crispi, *Memoirs*, II. 427-434; and from Russian archives, by Goriainov, in the last number of the *American Historical Review*, XXIII. 343.

attack by Germany upon France, a necessary step in the execution of Pan-Germanism. It also underwrote Russia's prior claim to Constantinople and the domination of the eastern Balkans.²⁰ Aimed primarily at Great Britain, it also excluded Austria. Pan-Germanism however proposed to extend Austrian control over the whole of the Balkans and to appropriate Constantinople and Turkey, to say nothing of Asia Minor, for Germany herself. Bismarck in all probability had quietly informed the Austrians of the Reinsurance Treaty, just as he had shown the Russians, when the treaty was signed, the text of the Dual Alliance with Austria. The argument against secrecy is weak. Moreover, should Russia and France then conclude an alliance, it would not be dangerous either to Germany or to Austria, because it had been abundantly clear as early as 1876 that Russia proposed to aid France directly in the field in case of an attack by Germany. No treaty could strengthen Russian resolve and no German argument had been able to weaken it. The Reinsurance Agreement therefore was not renewed, less because secret from Austria and therefore a breach of the Dual Alliance, than because unnecessary after the events of 1888 and 1889.

The Pan-Germanist movement in Austria and the Pan-Germanist literature in Germany cannot be accepted as evidence of the true character of Austrian policies or of German intentions, still less of the real relationship between the two countries.²¹ Indeed, the Pan-Germanists in Austria have been no better than a racial group created in imitation of the other nationalist groups in order to defend the racial interests of Germans threatened by the Slavophile policies of the ministers.²² Their work has been mainly obstruction in the legislative bodies and agitation outside, at elections, of a char-

²⁰ Crispi has revealed an attempted agreement on the Near East between Austria, Italy, and Great Britain in 1887, which was of course directed against Russia. *Memoirs*, II. 189.

²¹ G. Weil, *Le Pangermanisme en Autriche* (Paris, 1904, second ed. 1914), seems to have demonstrated these statements by figures collected by other students and by himself. Chéradame takes very decidedly the opposite view and therefore concludes Pan-Germanism contrary to Austrian interests, and hence decides that Austria cannot be a reliable ally of Germany. *L'Allemagne, la France, et la Question d'Autriche*, pp. 140 ff.

²² The date of the Pan-Germanist movement in Austria, M. Chéradame places as early as 1877; *op. cit.*, p. 140. See however internal evidence in S. von Madeyski, *Die Deutsche Staatssprache oder Oesterreich ein Deutscher Staat* (Vienna, 1884); and H. Hainisch, *Die Zukunft der Deutsch-Oesterreicher* (Vienna, 1892). The difficulty is to find the date when the nationalist agitation begun by Schönerer expanded into something larger. We must again beware of supposing that all German Pan-Germanists had credentials from the Wilhelmstrasse, and that their relations with him and others gave his work semi-official sanction.

acter which can hardly have found approval at Vienna or at Berlin. Its leaders, Schönerer, Wolf, Iro, were too indiscreet, blatant, and irrational to be trusted with real secrets. Of the coldness and lack of sympathy in Berlin for their schemes they have bitterly complained. Their propaganda shrieks for the annexation of the German provinces of Austria to Germany itself, thus freeing those Germans from the control of the Slavs. They have also plunged into the anti-Semitic agitation and launched a radical Protestant crusade under the slogan "Los von Rom". Possibly their activities may have been a part of the elaborate policy of deception practised by both the Austrian and the German governments, but it seems more likely that the real work of spreading German propaganda in Austria was done in other ways by other agencies, more quietly and more effectively. The avowed Pan-Germanists in Austria did not in forty years succeed in developing real strength or influence.

The most difficult fact to explain of those happenings whose verity is beyond denial is the apparent pursuance by Austro-Hungarian foreign ministers of anti-German policies. The majority of the speeches delivered in the legislative assemblies, the undoubtedly sincere professions of the various racial groups, are certainly hostile to Pan-Germanism or to any such close relationship between the two states as it necessarily demands. Yet it is not so difficult to harmonize this mass of material with Pan-Germanism, the war, and this extremely close relationship, without resorting to the claim that Austria has been cozened, cheated, coerced, and dominated contrary to her desires and interests by Germany. She was too indispensable to the war and too able to block its execution by mere inertia ever to be subordinate in any real sense. As Bismarck saw, no ally who was indispensable could ever be a subordinate. "From the moment when the conviction is established in Vienna that the bridge between Germany and Russia is broken down, Austria will assume a different attitude toward the German Empire, and Germany will run the risk of becoming in a sense dependent upon Austria."²³ Only Austria's willing co-operation could suffice and that could continue only so long as the Austrian statesmen were satisfied that she had been accorded unstinted recognition of equality as an ally. This again is inference, but it raises a presumption which only definite evidence can alter.

The existence of Pan-Germanism must on no account be suspected by the other European powers. The public relations of

²³ Hofmann, I. 314. January 28, 1891. See *id.*, II. 6. January 24, 1892.

Austria-Hungary and Germany must therefore be dictated by the imperative necessity of concealing the existence and extent of the offensive and defensive alliance between them. They must act and speak as if no relationship existed. To confess it would give an international signal of the existence of Pan-Germanism, warn other governments of the intended preparations, and effectually forestall the execution of any such elaborate plan. France, Russia, and Great Britain would certainly believe that Germany would not dare start so ambitious a movement without support. Hence so long as a genuine doubt of the loyalty of Austria and of the closeness of the bond with Germany could be preserved in their minds, the concealment of the great scheme would be complete and the preparations might go forward securely. The more so because Germany must take the important steps. She alone could assail France, she alone must contest the seas with England, and she was certain to receive the first attack from Russia. Nor did the internal political conditions in Austria make similarly elaborate preparations feasible without the risk of revealing the scheme itself. It was therefore a foregone conclusion that the public relations of Germany and Austria must be built upon the assumed legacy of suspicion and hatred bequeathed by the rivalry of the Metternich system and the war of 1866. At international crises, moreover, it might be possible by a certain coolness and aloofness of attitude to increase the verisimilitude of this effect. There was some suspicion that at Algeciras Austrian support of the German contentions was lukewarm and public opinion in Austria hostile. This was useful to the two and not at all dangerous. It was obvious from the first that they could not prevail against Great Britain and France on the Moroccan question, even if they stood together. The only chance of success lay in Germany's ability to intimidate the new Entente or to play upon the mutual suspicions of its members. The open adhesion of Austria could not turn the tide if Germany should fail. In fact, a stand sufficiently united and determined to put pressure upon their opponents would promptly reveal to the European states the extent of the alliance between the two and, what was perhaps quite as undesirable, would make it known to the representative bodies at home. They would expose their hand without the chance of a commensurable gain. The value of this policy was at once apparent in 1908 when the initial doubt as to whether Germany would support the annexations was the one thing which delayed the concerted action of the powers until really too late.

Nor must the truth about Pan-Germanism and the close alliance

with Germany be suspected by the Czechs and other Slav peoples in Austria. They were already too much afraid of German domination in Austria, too anxious to nullify it, to permit them to view with anything but extreme apprehension the support of German Austria by the might of Germany itself, and the propagation of a scheme almost certain in its ultimate outcome to rob them of such influence upon Austrian policy as they already possessed. The public foreign policy of Austria must therefore be so conducted as to disarm their suspicions and not to weaken and disrupt the state by an increase of the existing antagonism, at the very time when as considerable an increase of its unity and strength was essential as might be attained. Ostensibly Austria must be anti-German. Foreign ministers in the legislative bodies must continually declare such policies as would be consistent with this general position, and, to be politically valuable in parliamentary debates, they must be ignorant of the real truth. Otherwise, in a moment of indiscretion or passion, they might blurt out something which could never be retracted or disowned. The emperor must therefore be his own foreign minister.²⁴ The real negotiations of importance he must conduct in person. Occasionally he might find some man like Aehrenthal intelligent and trustworthy enough to be told at least a portion of the truth, but even he should never know the full extent of the scheme.

Still less must the truth be suspected by the Magyars and by the Southern Slavs. The Magyars were already outnumbered and any addition to the Slav population of Hungary would invite vehement opposition because of its results upon local politics and their own political hegemony. Inasmuch as Slav territory added to the Monarchy must be joined to Hungary (save along the Adriatic), Austrian aggression in the Balkans such as Pan-Germanism predicated must be conducted with the utmost secrecy and finesse. The Magyars no less than the Powers must be confronted with a *fait accompli*. So too the Southern Slavs. Their hopes for autonomy or independence would find slight chance of realization, as they well knew, if the Monarchy should embark upon a scheme of expansion in the Balkans. That would necessarily tighten administrative control of the adjacent provinces both for military and for diplomatic reasons.

The autocratic and non-parliamentary character of the Austro-Hungarian constitution made such concealment simple. Foreign affairs were already the prerogative of the monarch nor was there

²⁴ Bismarck declared Franz Josef the real link binding Austria to Germany. *Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman*, II. 280. See also Steed, *Hapsburg Monarchy*, p. 208.

a firm tradition that the minister would necessarily be responsible for policy. Certainly there was no imperative need for communicating the truth to any legislative body, because the monarch was not politically responsible for his policy to any of the various chambers. The group system in all these houses intensified the racial hostility and produced a general instability and lack of harmony which made all groups prefer to leave many important questions to the monarch, rather than to risk a decision upon them at the hands of the other racial parties. The foreign ministers accordingly should serve the parliamentary needs of the local situation. Both the chambers and the ministers might be depended upon to produce that precise anti-German policy and sentiment most useful in the international situation. We see, therefore, in most histories, exactly what we were meant to see, an Austria-Hungary by no means sure to act in concert with Germany; ministers whose speeches and actions constantly aroused grave resentment in Berlin and who themselves not infrequently give vent to genuine expressions of displeasure in regard to German policies; an Austrian diplomacy sometimes blundering, inept, the result of the failure to understand internal conditions in both Austria and Hungary and in particular the result of an entire failure to appreciate correctly the great forces in Europe. Best of all, this camouflage would be the work of perfectly sincere and entirely honest men, who would do it for reasons of their own, as all Europe could discover and demonstrate. If such was Austrian policy, if such were Austrian ministers, surely Austria was scarcely a dangerous member of the European family, not at all likely to be a dependable ally of Germany. Above all, if such were Austrian interests and sentiments, she was not in the least likely to be a dependable ally in the execution of Pan-Germanism.

Any discussion of Austro-German relations since 1890 other than a narrative of this elaborate camouflage as it now seems to us, involves a consideration of the whole web of European diplomacy in relation to the present war. While so large a subject can not be treated in an article of this length, it may be useful to treat a few incidents of it in the light of the premises just laid down. The diplomatic field was divided. The two powers should not act together, still less negotiate in concert, and should never openly support each other unless very serious interests demanded it. The Triple Alliance, already made public, would explain a considerable cousinly interest, but German policy must be one thing and Austrian policy must very decidedly be another. Germany should accord-

ingly deal, in the interests of both, with the general foreign policy in Europe, and should invariably take the aggressive stand, if one must be taken. In such cases it should be Austria's duty to hang back and raise objections. The physical location of Germany, moreover, made her naturally the power to negotiate with Great Britain, France, and Spain, and to deal with African and colonial problems. She, too, on account of the wars of 1866 and 1870, had direct treaty relations with Italy which made simple her participation in Italian affairs as an offset to the hostility Italy still felt to Austria. Austrian diplomacy should limit itself to the affairs of Russia, Turkey, and the Balkans, partly because past Austrian ambitions and obvious primary interests were such as to justify an explanation, on Austrian grounds alone, of that precise type of aggression or peaceful penetration most useful to the two conspirators. The Treaty of Berlin, moreover, had provided Austria, whether or not with prevision, with a bundle of treaty rights and possibilities which would give color to the exact measures to be undertaken in the Balkans. Turkey, however, Germany must control and direct. Austrian interests in Constantinople were too considerable to make it possible to suppose that Russia or Great Britain would see an extension of direct Austrian influence at the Porte without the gravest apprehension. So long, too, as any suspicion could be kept alive of the extent of the alliance between Austria and Germany, German control of Constantinople would rouse no particular apprehension.

Austria had therefore certain very obvious and important tasks to perform. She must allay the suspicions of the Slavs in her own domains and win their allegiance to the Monarchy. She must allay the suspicion of Italy, roused already by the events of 1878 and 1879, and hold Italy to the Triple Alliance, at any rate preventing a real entente or alliance between Italy and Great Britain or France. Russia, if possible, must be conciliated, her suspicions disarmed, and she must be won away from the alliance signed with France in 1892 and certainly her suspicions of Great Britain kept active. To increase Austrian territory and influence in the Balkans without antagonizing these interests was the true task. Somehow or other their consent must be won little by little to the execution of the Treaty of Berlin, to the establishment in Bulgaria of the Austrian house, and to the establishment of an *entente cordiale* with Rumania. For this reason in 1897 a verbal agreement was made with the Italians to recede from their territorial pretensions in Albania and to guarantee Albanian autonomy. This was confirmed in writ-

ing in 1899 and 1900, confirmed again in 1905 and 1906, and was operative still in 1912 and 1913. At the same time here and there the Italians were allowed privileges and concessions in return for certain gains and changes which the Austrians felt to be indispensable.

Not later than 1896 the existence of the Franco-Russian treaty was suspected at Berlin and Vienna and, anxious to ascertain its extent, the Austrian emperor visited St. Petersburg in August, 1896, and there began the combination which was to continue until 1908, to break that alliance if possible, and if so much might not be had, to secure Russian consent to the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The tsar promptly countered with a visit to Paris, at which the existence of the Franco-Russian defensive alliance was practically admitted. Not until 1902 was the question again actively urged, this time in the guise of necessary reforms in Macedonia. Presently a meeting of the emperors produced both the February and the Mürzsteg programmes.²⁵ The fear in Paris and London was great that the very reasonable reforms announced portended a secret agreement to divide the Balkans between Austria and Russia and exclude British and French influence altogether. Naturally the French feared lest such a secret agreement might weaken their own alliance with Russia. The British accordingly—presently, as a result of the Anglo-French agreement of April, 1904, backed by the French—insisted that the reforms in Macedonia should be internationalized. They meant, of course, that they could not accept any such exclusion from the Balkans as the Austro-Russian agreement tacitly implied, and that they must insist upon public recognition both of their interests and of those of France in the Near East. The new arrangement changed the general understanding reached at Berlin in 1878, that all the powers were interested in the Balkan settlement. Both the Austrians and the Russians felt it better to yield, and accordingly submitted both the arrangements and their execution for consideration and action by the powers as a whole.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War promptly caused very great and continued activity by the British and the French in the Balkans to prevent Austria from utilizing Russia's preoccupation by annexing the long promised provinces and perhaps overrunning the Balkans as a whole. No doubt this is the real explanation of Goluchowski's inactivity. The Kaiser, as we now know, had somewhat earlier tried to win the tsar to an *entente* between France,

²⁵ In 1883 Bismarck suggested something like the Mürzsteg Programme to the Russian ambassador to Berlin. Goriainov, in *American Historical Review*, XXIII. 327.

Russia, and Germany, by what are now called the Willy-Nicky telegrams, whose existence was revealed by the Russian revolutionists. The visit to Tangier, the conference of Algeciras, the restlessness of Italy, and the persistent pressure of Great Britain and France in the Balkans, occupied the international concert until 1907, when the battle royal was fought with a vengeance. In the spring a proposal was made by Austria to Russia for an *entente à quatre* on the Near East by Germany, Austria, Russia, and France.²⁶ The mutual concessions were decidedly favorable to Russia and France, although the Central Powers by no means forgot themselves, for the prime object was not so much to settle the quarrel as to isolate Great Britain and Italy. This agreement would have nullified the Anglo-French agreement and also the Triple Alliance, would have given Austria control of the Adriatic, and have made possible an assault by Germany upon England. The Russians, however, declined the arrangement. They presently came to terms with the British about Persia and India. The diplomatic defeat of Austria was complete. Its endeavor to draw Russia from its allegiance had failed and the suspicions of Italy were as active as ever. It was decided at Berlin and Vienna to test at once the extent of the mutual agreement between the Russians, the British, and the French by presenting them with a new *fait accompli* in the Balkans. The concession for a railroad through Novibazar announced in January, 1908, was the first step, and that bomb having been successfully exploded, the annexations followed in October. The two successfully demonstrated the fact that the Anglo-Russian agreement did not extend to armed support of Russia in the Balkans. Obviously, too, none of them had promised armed assistance to Italy, who was compelled to swallow her disgust at so radical a change along the Adriatic.²⁷

But there seems to have been little doubt in London, Paris, or St. Petersburg, after the annexations, of the existence of Pan-Germanism and of the extent of the offensive and defensive alliance between Germany and Austria which it portended.²⁸ Certainly the close relationship between the Wilhelmstrasse and the Ballplatz was no longer in doubt, and hereafter became a premise of the diplomacy of the Triple Entente. They were clear that Austria never would have undertaken the annexations and certainly would never have executed them by so decided a *volte-face* had not the alliance with

²⁶ Steed, *Hapsburg Monarchy*, p. 268.

²⁷ Italy printed mobilization orders against Austria which were afterwards redated and used for the Tripolitan war. Sosnosky in *Contemporary Review*, CVI. 218.

²⁸ See the leading article in the *London Times* for August 30, 1909.

Germany been of unlimited extent and of long standing. Local politics in Austria-Hungary continued to prevent the monarchy from formulating publicly a policy widely different from that already pursued, and for some time we continue to have speeches and statements apparently anti-German, but the deception had become transparent. The promptitude of support and the decided and unquestioned harmony between the two countries was such that in 1914 no diplomat or statesman doubted that the demands presented to Serbia by Austria had the complete approval of Germany in advance and made clear the intention of both countries to precipitate a European war.

ROLAND G. USHER.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

PRIVATE JURISDICTION IN ENGLAND:¹ A THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

THE discussion of private jurisdiction in England has always suffered from a peculiar dislocation of the connection between general principles and particular facts. No matter how clearly any scholar has seen and stated the larger distinctions which mark off one kind of private jurisdiction from another, when he begins to consider special cases these distinctions seem to be more or less completely forgotten. The confusion, which undoubtedly exists in the surface appearance of the facts, becomes a confusion of ideas and language which is a good deal more real. It is impossible that our knowledge of the subject should be materially advanced until these distinctions are put in such form that they can be consistently applied to the mixture of facts which we must study. It is only then that we can hope to discover the method and character of the mixture and the reasons for it.

It is not necessary to distinguish here again the three kinds of private jurisdiction from one another and to restate the characteristics of each. It has been done several times and satisfactorily. An especially good statement is that by Professor Vinogradoff in *The Growth of the Manor* (pp. 362-365) because it describes each jurisdiction in its relation to the manor but without confusion. It should be noticed that the statement is not historical, but as it were a cross-section at some given date, and a date necessarily somewhat late in feudal history, but it is I think accurate in all descriptive particulars. A briefer statement may be found in Maitland, *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts* (p. xvi) but the discussion which follows is less satisfactory. In Professor F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Leet Jurisdiction in England* (p. 76 ff.) the distinctions are clearly stated and I believe they are accurately applied throughout the book, wherever there is occasion, but the accompanying historical statements must be understood only of times later than the thirteenth century. Inci-

¹ The following suggestions are based upon a study of the subject during several years in my historical seminary and upon the collection of facts made by Mr. W. O. Ault of Boston University for his doctoral dissertation on private courts in England. The present attempt is rather to set forth a programme of study than to state results that can be considered definitive.

dentally in the following paragraphs, the distinctions will be sufficiently stated for the present purpose.

One of the chief causes of our confusion of mind has been the matter of terminology. It has seemed natural to us to apply certain words to the courts as we find them: feudal, manorial, seigniorial. But these terms have in other connections such broad and differing definitions, but so familiar, or in their use in this subject itself have been so variously applied, that they serve at once to obscure the fundamental distinctions. "Feudal" is a tempting term, but it is too vague and general, and to many minds, and not merely of readers but of writers, it helps to keep up the confusion, fatal to so many things, between the sphere of a serf who is the customary tenant of a manor and that of the vassal who is in strict feudal language a baron, whatever may be his rank or the size of his holding. "Manorial" has led to a still more paralyzing confusion because without doubt every form of private jurisdiction has been much of the time connected with and exercised through the court of a manor. In practice indeed this term has led to the most extensive confusion and to statements that would be astonishing if one did not understand the derangement of ideas responsible for them. The first step out of our difficulties must be the abandonment of our old terminology and the adoption of new designations which we may hope to keep free from confusion, and if possible those that will themselves indicate their meaning.

One cannot hope to get three terms that have never been used, but only terms that carry no history of confusion and which express with some clearness their meaning and limits. Describing the courts in the order of dignity and as if they were entirely independent of one another, the following is what I would propose as a theoretical reconstruction of the system of private courts and jurisdictions of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

I. *Baronial*. Some French scholars use the term vassallic for this jurisdiction and the term would be a good one, if we could keep the fact entirely clear in our minds that serfs were never vassals. The only objection to the term baronial is the existence of the later court baron, but this is not a serious objection because the court baron is the court into which the baronial court declines when feudal jurisdiction proper disappears, in other words when the larger part of the original baronial jurisdiction has been absorbed by the state through the development of the common law courts. This jurisdiction is that which a lord has over his vassals, that is, over his *barones*, the term which was often used for rear vassals

in this connection in England and all feudal states. It was primarily a civil jurisdiction only. It dealt with questions concerning the fiefs held of the lord and the services by which they were held. Disputes concerning inheritance, boundary lines, amount and kind of service, the right to pay homage, those involving questions of possession, title, and *jus*, the transfer of lands, and all questions covered by writs of right sent to the lord and by praecipe writs, are typical cases in these courts. They have also a quasi-criminal side in questions of forfeiture and felony in the feudal sense, but no matter of public criminal offense belongs normally in them. In England the common freeman who does not hold by a military tenure, that is, who is not technically a vassal, gets drawn into these courts, probably because of his political importance in the county courts which makes him unwilling to submit himself in every respect to the manorial (domanial) court, and also very possibly because he holds land of the lord by a tenure into which comparatively slight, or no, economic features enter. Here is, however, a subject for investigation: the reason for the place of the common, non-military free tenant in the baronial court where normally he does not belong.

Of these courts we have very few rolls, probably because they were in rapid decline when the practice of keeping rolls became common. Those we have show that their machinery was not commonly employed for any purpose not their own, but that in occasional instances it was so employed. We get many glimpses of them in charters which must be used to supplement the rolls, especially the charters of the twelfth century when rolls were not kept. The age of their great importance was the twelfth century, and by the middle of the thirteenth their decline was well under way. They never had the importance in England that they had on the Continent, probably because the royal judicial system, the king's local courts and writ and inquest processes, were developed so early, from the date of the Conquest almost, and carried into every locality, evoking from the beginning of Anglo-Norman history many cases from these courts. When the royal system was further developed and strengthened by Henry II. the death-blow was given to this jurisdiction. *Quia Emptores* finished it. It survived in the court baron but as only the shadow of its former self, occupied with the business of common freemen; vassals seem practically to have disappeared as rear vassals. As court baron it is closely associated with the manor (domanial) court, with which very likely from the beginning the baronial court had been in many cases associated.

II. *Franchisal*. The jurisdiction which was created by a franchise. (Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, p. 80.) It was asserted for the king in the thirteenth century that this jurisdiction must always go back to the grant of a franchise. Historically this was probably not true, but theoretically it was. It was public jurisdiction in private hands, normally the hundred court, but sometimes the court of only a fraction of the hundred cut out from the rest, when a franchise covered only a manor or some other portion of a hundred. The grants of franchise varied in extent, but taken together they included a rather long list of functions belonging to the state, such for example as the view of the frankpledge, the trial of pleas of the crown, the return of writs and the execution of all royal processes, and the imprisonment and hanging of criminals. Both civil and criminal jurisdiction were included, as far as that of the hundred court extended, and the public officers were shut out as from the Continental immunity. In practice this court was sometimes held by itself, possibly it was usually so held when the whole hundred belonged to the lord of the franchise, but it was often held in connection with a domanial court, probably always when the franchise covered only the manor. The rolls of the manor court in this case often indicate distinctly the two kinds of business, but often also the machinery of one court was used to do the business of the other.

III. *Domanial*. This is of course the manorial proper, and it ought to have that name, but so much confusion has been created by the indiscriminate use of the word that it cannot be used now without danger of being misunderstood. It has been used, and used quite commonly, for all three kinds of courts, because they all at times happen to be held with a manor as their territorial unit, and many things have in consequence been said of manor courts which are not at all true of the domanial court. They may very properly be called domanial courts because the lord to whom the court belonged was always the lord who held the manor in domain, and because the court dealt with the concerns of the manor as a domain manor, that is primarily as economic interest. It was the court of the tenants of the manor, bond and free, but not as being bond or free. Status had nothing to do with their relation to the court. Freeman help to compose it because they are tenants of the manor, just as serfs do, and free and serfs are peers of one another in the court. Occasionally a freeman may owe no suit to the domanial court, but it seems to be because his holding does not stand in intimate relation to the manor, but there are many exceptions on the

other side, of freemen seeming not to be in such relations who do owe suit, at least on some occasions, to the domanial court. The court dealt with the holdings and services of the tenants regarding the same kind of questions as the baronial courts in their sphere, but in doing so it was dealing not with questions of feudal law, that is the law of fiefs, but with customary law, the customs of the manor. The business before the court was largely economic, enforcing the services and payments due the lord. Apart from disputes among the tenants, the chief business was supervising the work of a farming community whose centre was the lord's hall and his domain.

There was also another side to the work of the domanial court. As the franchisal court was one in which the public jurisdiction of the hundred had been merged, so the domanial court was one in which the public jurisdiction of the town had been merged. The manor did not always correspond in area to a town; probably it did so oftener than the franchisal district to a hundred. Apparently the correspondence was so frequent that the town jurisdiction was absorbed throughout the country generally into domanial courts. This appears to have been done also without royal grants. It was too unimportant business for the state to concern itself with it. The civil business of a free town would be petty cases only. All important cases would go to the hundred or county court. The town court was chiefly a local police court dealing with minor offenses only. As the lord became the owner of the town, as certainly in very many cases he did, the court naturally passed with the town into his possession. Nobody had then or later any interest to object. The domanial court was therefore partly a proprietary court and partly a communal court whose proceeds belonged to the lord.

The fields of the three courts which I have described were as distinct as the fields of the contemporary civil and ecclesiastical courts. They were distinct in origin, in content, and in historical fate. In saying this I am leaving out of account the overlapping of jurisdictions, which is a constant feature of medieval courts, by which the same case might be tried either in the town or the hundred court, or in the hundred or the county court, but that fact rests upon a different principle and is not an exception to what is here said. The franchisal court administers the law of the state. Its business is mostly police or criminal, but to some extent civil. The baronial court administers feudal law proper, the law of vassals and fiefs, mostly civil, but with a quasi-criminal side though not touching offenses against the state. The domanial court administers manorial law proper, customary law technically so called,

hofrecht, the law of the domain and the tenures, not military but economic tenures, mostly servile but also many free belonging within the sphere of the manor and its economic interests. All these distinctions were well understood and clearly discriminated by those who were operating these courts, and though they were often careless about them, they always held them strictly apart when they had occasion to do so.

When we take up for study the facts recorded of these courts, there is apparent a confusion in them which seems to cast doubt on these assertions. The key to the confusion is economy and convenience. It was often more convenient and more economical to hold one court in connection with another, or to use one court to do the business of another, than to try to maintain two distinct courts. What was done in any particular case was largely a territorial question. If the lord had a fairly large body of military and independent freehold tenants within a reasonably compact territory, he could hold a separate baronial court. If the situation was particularly favorable, he could have a baronial court meeting in a fixed place, like the honor court of Broughton. If the fiefs that were held of him were badly scattered, he had to do the best he could. There are two things that seem to have been commonly done. One was to move his honor court about from place to place wherever he went himself, as was done by the abbot of St. Edmunds. The other was to hold it in connection with some domanial court for the tenants in its immediate vicinity. As feudalism proper declined and the larger military tenants made themselves free of suit of court, this last expedient became more and more the ruling one, and the court baron, which is the baronial court for a small territory held in connection with a domanial court, became more frequent from about the end of the thirteenth century. What is new at that time, however, is not the court but the name. Courts of this kind had been held earlier, probably from the date of the Conquest. Baronial courts proper were so uncommon in England because compact feudal lordships were uncommon.

The apparent confusion is even greater between franchisal and domanial courts. The entire hundred in the hands of a lord was somewhat, but not much more common than a compact lordship occupied by vassals. There is another reason also for confusion in this case in the similarity of franchisal business to a part of the domanial, the police business. In which court an infringement of the assize of bread and beer should be punished, seems often a matter of indifference. When it was inconvenient to hold a sepa-

rate franchisal court, it was a simple matter to do the business of the franchise in connection with a domanial court. There is still another principle of the time which must enter into the account. While a freeman, common or military, might legally object to having his cases, except purely domanial questions, decided by serfs, the serf could not object to the decision of his cases by freemen. It was easy and correct to use the baronial court as a court for reserved cases from the domanial court, though the evidence that this was actually done is very slight. It was easy to use a court baron to do the business of a domanial court, but on the contrary a court baron could not be held without some free tenants: the domanial court could not do the business of the baronial.

What I venture to suggest is that the work of investigation in this subject will proceed most fruitfully if it be used to test in detail some such theoretical reconstruction as I have attempted above. It is for the purpose of such investigation that it is submitted. In following it as a working scheme, I believe that a part of the confusion, that part at least which is subjective, ought to disappear. It is almost always possible to tell without much difficulty to what jurisdiction the business before the court belongs. It is not always possible to tell exactly what court is acting. The facts as they appear in the rolls seem to imply that the actors were not always careful to see that a change of court in form accompanied a change of business. Usually there was no reason why they should be careful. When there was something at stake, sometimes at least they were careful. There is, however, this much confusion about the facts which probably can never be removed, but there is no reason why we should submit to unnecessary confusion about things that were no doubt extremely simple to contemporaries.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS.

SOME SOURCES FOR TRACING JOINT RESOLUTIONS OF CONGRESS

THE best place to find action on resolutions is the official journals of the two houses, rather than the *Globe* or the *Record*.

Simple resolutions adopted by the two houses up to August 31, 1842, are printed in the last volume of the congressional documents set for each session. They will also be found in the journals of the two houses.

The text of bills and joint and other resolutions, as introduced into Congress, can, as a rule, be found only in the files of bills and resolutions kept in the Senate Document Room at the Capitol and in the Library of Congress. The Library of Congress file begins with

the first Congress and, while incomplete, is a fairly good file for the first fourteen Congresses; from the fifteenth Congress up to about 1875, the Library of Congress file is in good shape; from 1875 to 1900 there is a gap, while from 1900 to date the file is complete. The Senate Document Room file is supposed to be complete from about 1830 to date. These two collections are the only sources from which the text of all the bills and resolutions as introduced can be found.

While the *Statutes at Large* contain the text of all the joint resolutions adopted by Congress, it seems that the index at the end of each volume either does not, or does not always, cover the joint resolutions. For the period 1789 to 1851 the joint resolutions are indexed in the *Synoptical Index to the Laws and Treaties of the United States of America from March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1851, prepared under the direction of the Secretary of the Senate* (Boston, Little and Brown, 1852). At the period of 1864, for instance, the index of the *Statutes at Large* does not include the public resolutions. Recently, however, they have been included in the indexes and these may now be depended on to cover the resolutions.

No special compilation of joint resolutions could be found in the Library of Congress law collection; the law editor of the Department of State reports that he knows of none.

A digest of the opinions of the members of the House and of the Senate as to the advantages and disadvantages of the use of the joint resolution in legislation, will be found in Hinds's *Precedents*, principally in volume IV.

A good account of the publications containing the laws of the United States will be found in the *Checklist of United States Public Documents, 1789-1909*, third edition, revised and enlarged, compiled under the direction of the Superintendent of Documents (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911); see volume I., pages 954 ff.

HENRY J. HARRIS.

THE THOMPSON READERSHIP: A FORGOTTEN EPISODE OF ACADEMIC HISTORY¹

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, it may be recalled, visited the United States for the first time in the latter part of 1864. Landing at Boston on September 2, he was soon to hear the news of the fall of Atlanta. Travelling west as far as Illinois, he visited later both

¹ [Interest in Dr. Learned's note will be heightened if the reader's attention is called to the announcement on page 713, below, respecting the lectures to be given in British universities during the present spring by Professor McLaughlin. Ed.]

Washington and Philadelphia, witnessed the re-election of Lincoln in November, and within the week of that event was entertained in New York City by a distinguished company at the Union League Club. Before sailing for England on December 14, he printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* a paper entitled "England and America" which abounded in well-considered contrasts and discerning comparisons. Reminding his readers that the Civil War in America impressed most Englishmen as one phase of the "irrepressible conflict between Aristocracy and Democracy", he characterized the landholders, young Tory gentry, High Church clergy, and the great manufacturing interests as against the cause of the North. He was, however, bound to admit that "there is a good deal of Northern sentiment among the young fellows of our more liberal colleges and generally in the more active minds". "We are not such a nation of travellers as you are", he reflected, "and scarcely one Englishman has seen America for a hundred Americans that have seen England".²

A comparatively unknown and youthful graduate of Cambridge University, Henry Yates Thompson (B.A. Trinity 1862), son of a wealthy Liverpool banker, had preceded Goldwin Smith, coming to the United States in either 1863 or 1864. Introduced to Edward Everett of Boston, and through him to other Americans, young Thompson obtained glimpses of Boston and Cambridge society, and was enabled to travel under peculiarly favorable auspices over the country. In politics already an advanced Liberal, an advocate of the extension of the franchise in England, an admirer of Cobden and Bright, open-minded, impressionable, and deeply interested in the success of the Union cause here, he became convinced through his visit of the widespread and deplorable ignorance of the United States which characterized especially the upper classes of his countrymen. On December 24, 1864—the day before Goldwin Smith landed at Liverpool—Mr. Thompson addressed a letter to Edward Everett in which he propounded a cherished plan. "My wish", he wrote,

is to endow a lectureship, or, as we call it at Lincoln's Inn, a readership, at Harvard University, its object being the delivery of a biennial course of twelve lectures during a residence of one term at Cambridge in England on the "History and Political Institutions of the United States of America", such reader to be appointed biennially by the President and Fellows of Harvard University (subject to the veto in each case of the

² Arnold Haultain, *Goldwin Smith: His Life and Opinions*, pp. 255 ff.; *Atlantic Monthly*, XIV. 758 ff.; cf. W. C. Ford, "Goldwin Smith's Visit to the United States", in *Mass. Hist. Soc., Proceedings*, October, 1910, XLIV. 3-13.

Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge), and his sole qualifications to be American citizenship and the opinion of his appointers that he is a fit person to deliver such a course. . . .

The readership, based on an endowment of "\$6,000 of United States Government Stock (5-20's)", was to carry the donor's name.

There were difficulties ahead both at Harvard and at the English Cambridge. The plan bore the impress of novelty. It was, moreover, without precedent. If its direct benefit to Harvard was not easily discernible, neither was it clear in what way such a course of lectures could find a place in the rather inflexible curriculum of Cambridge University, although Mr. Thompson argued that it might "form a very suitable addition to the lectures of the Professor of Modern History". However, with a distinguished American as first lecturer—the donor had in mind such men as Agassiz, Lowell, Longfellow, and Holmes—he was sure that the plan would prove in the end to be of international usefulness. Appealing for Everett's approval, he wished Everett to bring the project before the president and fellows of Harvard University for their sanction. In this way he hoped that the vice-chancellor and senate of Cambridge University could be induced to accept it.

Just after the receipt of Mr. Thompson's letter, Edward Everett died in Boston on January 15, 1865—not, however, before he had expressed mild approval of the plan to his son, William Everett. With the elder Everett's approval made known to President Thomas Hill, the matter passed promptly into the hands of the Harvard authorities. On April 29 the corporation sanctioned the plan. On May 8 President Hill sent to the vice-chancellor a discreet letter of approval. But beyond cautious expressions of interest and a suggestion on the part of Professor Henry W. Torrey that Charles Francis Adams—then our minister to England—might be a desirable choice as first lecturer, the Harvard records are exceedingly bare.³

Formal news of the Harvard sanction of the plan reached Vice-Chancellor Henry Wilkinson Cookson too late in the term to warrant him in bringing it before the Cambridge senate until autumn. In June Mr. Thompson decided to print portions of the correspondence and his own reflections on the plan in the shape of a pamphlet. Inasmuch, however, as the country went through the strain of a general election in July, an election in which young Thompson

³ For extracts from or abstracts of the records at Harvard, I am indebted to the librarian, Mr. William Coolidge Lane. The records used extend from March, 1865, at intervals, to March 10, 1866.

stood along with Gladstone as a Liberal candidate for South Lancashire,⁴ the pamphlet did not appear before the following October.⁵ It was designed to provide every voting member of the senate with definite information regarding the plan.

The council of the senate took what appears to have been its first formal action on December 4 by calling attention to sundry difficulties and communicating these to Mr. Thompson. He in turn, on December 29, suggested that a preliminary trial be made of the plan for one year, offering at the same time to pay over to Harvard University a sum equal to the biennial accumulation of income on the amount originally designated as the endowment. Thus modifying his plan and altering the title of the readership to one on the History, Literature, and Institutions of the United States of America, he printed a leaflet in addition to the original pamphlet, still further intelligently to promote the scheme in the senate.⁶

Early in February, 1866, the vice-chancellor (Dr. Cartmell) announced publicly that the plan would be discussed in the senate on Saturday, February 10. On February 9 there appeared a broadside, written by Charles Kingsley, Regius Professor of Modern History, which commended the project.⁷ This, it should be said, influenced the discussion the following day. "My own wish", wrote Kingsley, "is that the proposal be accepted as frankly as it has been made". Continuing, he said:

If there should be, in any minds, the fear that this University should be "Americanized" or "democratized", they should remember that this proposal comes from the representatives of that class in America, which regards England with most love and respect; which feels itself in increasing danger of being swamped by the lower elements of a vast democracy; which has, of late years, withdrawn more and more from public life in order to preserve its own purity and self-respect; which now holds out the right hand of fellowship to us. . . . It is morally impossible that such men should go out of their way to become propa-

⁴ The *London Times*, June 21-July 22, *passim*. Cf. Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, II. 147, 657.

⁵ *Copy of a Letter addressed to the Rev. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University*, by Henry Yates Thompson, Scholar of Trinity College. October, 1865. (Liverpool, printed by Egerton Smith and Co., Mercury Office, School Lane, pp. 8.) The legend, "For private circulation only", stands in brackets before the title. The only copy of this rare pamphlet known to exist in this country is in the library of Yale University.

⁶ This three-page leaflet, "for private circulation only", is in the records of the Harvard corporation. It was sent to President Hill under the date of January 15, 1866. The next day Thompson expected to sail for the West Indies and Boston.

⁷ Charles Kingsley: *His Letters and Memories of his Life*, edited by his wife (1877), II. 228-230.

gandists of those very revolutionary principles against which they are honourably struggling at home . . . it will be good for us that a highly-educated American gentleman should come hither. . . .

"Men were not the worse patriots or citizens", remarked Professor Joseph B. Lightfoot, "for being more cosmopolitan men of science, and a great academic body should . . . have a hand in every land". Another speaker expected "great advantages from the lectures with reference to the study of law, and cited the code of Louisiana and Story's works, originally delivered as lectures at Harvard, in proof of what might be learnt from American jurists". He named Motley as a fit incumbent of the proposed readership. To judge from the tone of this first public discussion, victory appeared to be well-nigh secured.⁸

Further discussion came on February 22. The circumstances of the test vote taken on that day were recorded briefly in the *London Times*:

At a Congregation this day the grace for allowing the use of a lecture-room for the trial of the proposed lectureship on American history, institutions, and literature, was rejected by the Senate by 107 votes against 81. A great many flysheets on the subject have been circulated in the University during the last day or two, and a great many non-residents came up to vote. The strength of the opposition seemed to be mainly due to a fear lest the lectures should be made a means of diffusing Unitarian opinions.⁹

As it happened, Leslie Stephen voted on the project and the next day (February 23) recorded his impressions to his friend, James Russell Lowell, in this wise:

The voting body—our Senate—consists of every one who has taken the degree of M. A. . . . Directly I went into the Senate House yesterday I saw at a glance that we were done for. The district round Cambridge is generally supplied with parsons . . . who can be brought up when the Church is in danger. Beings whom I recognised at once by their rustic

⁸ *Times*, February 12, 1866.

⁹ *Ibid.*, February 23. For additional comment upon the whole episode, see: *London Post*, *Morning Herald*, *Morning Star*, *Daily News*—all for February 23; *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 22 (second edition), 23, 26, 27, March 1; *Athenaeum*, March 3; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 10; *Nation* (New York), March 15. Leaders of the opposition appear to have been Messrs. Dodd of Magdalene, E. H. Perowne of Corpus, and H. R. Bailey of St. John's. Among the newspapers, only the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Star* had any real regrets over the result. The *Times* was especially gratified in view of what it regarded as a possibility—that George Bancroft, the historian, might be sent as first lecturer. On February 12—the anniversary of Lincoln's birth—Bancroft had delivered an oration on Lincoln in the House of Representatives in Washington, in which he took occasion to abuse England and her institutions. Even the *Pall Mall Gazette* of February 27 regarded his remarks as "worthy of Elijah Pogram".

appearance, ancient and shiny silk gowns, elaborate white ties and shabby hats instead of college caps, were swarming all around me. The sons of Zeruiah were too many for us. . . . They began by bemoaning themselves about democracy without much effect, when one of them luckily discovered for the first time that you were Socinians, and that effectually did the business. Every intelligent man in the place voted for the professorship, including even Kingsley, who was very energetic about it, though he has been unsound upon America generally; but when once the Church is having its foundations sapped, and that by an American democrat, it would be easier to argue with a herd of swine than British parsons. . . .¹⁰

To Lowell the result was evidently not surprising. "I doubt", he replied, "if the lectureship could have done much good. England *can't* like America . . . and I doubt if I could, were I an Englishman. . . . As for 'Socinianism', heavens! we've got several centuries ahead of *that*, some of us, or behind it, if you please."¹¹

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

¹⁰ F. W. Maitland, *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen* (1906), pp. 176 ff.

¹¹ *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, edited by Charles Eliot Norton (1894), I, 360-361. Lowell was convinced that the Harvard corporation would never consider George Bancroft for the readership—"of all men in the world!"

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

A Short History of Science. By W. T. SEDGWICK, Professor of Biology, and H. W. TYLER, Professor of Mathematics, in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 474. \$2.50.)

No more difficult literary or historical task can well be imagined than writing a really good history of science. The author must have a sound appreciation of all periods in the history of civilization to depict the progress of science in its proper setting. He must have training in historical criticism and method to treat the past of science in a truly scientific spirit. He must be acquainted with all the particular sciences to present adequately their common story. Finally, besides organizing his material in due proportion and order, he must possess the literary capacity to translate and express in a fashion comprehensible to the general reader the difficult terminology of the natural sciences, the complexities of modern mechanism, and the abstractions of advanced mathematics.

* Such a combination of faculties is seldom found in one person. In the volume under review two professors of biology and mathematics essay the task, and also call into requisition the services of many other writers. Indeed the book is often little more than a patching together of quotations, which are more often taken from secondary or tertiary accounts than from the sources. For instance, practically the entire treatment of Egypt, Babylon and Assyria, Phoenicia, and the Hebrews consists of long excerpts from Verschoyle's *The History of Ancient Civilization*, published in 1889. The ten pages devoted to Newton contain 116 lines by the authors, and 244 lines in smaller type from other writers. In general, some of the best foreign authorities are not used, little acquaintance is shown with recent monographs and detailed research in the history of science, and the quotations made are of very unequal worth and interest. The authors' own style tends to be dry and technical. However, the best parts of the book are where they cut loose from authorities and quotations, and write in their own words of matters with which they are personally conversant.

After nine chapters on ancient and medieval times, the remaining eight chapters deal with mathematics and natural science in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. In each chapter the treatment is partly by topics, partly by persons. The appendixes comprise eight source-selections, a list of modern inventions, and a

chronological table. Anthropology and archaeology are discussed somewhat, but psychology and the social sciences are not included. Radium, Roentgen rays, aeroplanes, automobiles, submarines, typewriters are not mentioned. Indeed, the work does not enter the present century.

The distribution of space is sometimes unequal. Two pages are given to Anaximander and Anaximenes, of whom we know next to nothing, and less than a page to Pliny and Galen, two of our chief repositories of ancient science. Why a page should be devoted to Petrarch in a history of science is hard to see. Although maps are discussed more than once and appear as illustrations, nothing is said of the medieval *portolani*, our first true maps, nor is Beazley listed in the bibliographies. A good feature is the emphasis upon Alexandrian science.

Some specific errors are the use (p. 8) of "Chaldeans" for the earliest inhabitants of Babylonia; the attribution (p. 22) of the planetary week to prehistoric instead of Hellenistic times (see Webster, *Rest Days*, pp. 215-222); and the ascription (p. 177) of the *Imitatio Christi* to Thomas Aquinas. The usual erroneous statements concerning Roger Bacon are repeated. Although they have read Rashdall's *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, the authors seem uncertain (pp. 175, 177, 186) whether Aristotle's works in natural philosophy were studied in the thirteenth century or not until the Italian Renaissance. They state (pp. 113, 255) that the arteries were believed to be air tubes from the time of Cicero to the sixteenth century, in ignorance of the fact that Galen proved by experiment that they contain blood.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

From Pericles to Philip. By T. R. GLOVER, Fellow and Lecturer of St. John's College, Cambridge, and University Lecturer in Ancient History. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 405. \$3.00.)

READERS of Mr. Glover's *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, his *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, and his *Virgil* will know what to expect in the present volume. It is not a systematic history. He does not attempt original investigation, but aims at a pleasant, Gaston Boissier effect of fluent commentary and quotation and modern instances within the framework marked out by the general topic. The present book, however, has rather less unity of composition than its predecessors and does not quite live up to its title. The first five chapters, the Traveller in the Greek World (Herodotus), the Age of Pericles, Thucydides, Athens in the War Time, Euripides, are a fairly consecutive study of Athenian civilization in the age of Pericles and the Peloponnesian War, though Aristophanes is cited only in illustration of war-time conditions. But the continuation of the story through the first half of the fourth century is skimmed. The remaining chapters, with one or two slight exceptions, are little more than academic lectures on Xenophon under various disguises. There is no attempt to portray the life and

thought of the time as reflected in Plato, Isocrates, the orators, and the fragments of the drama.

The student who waives these cavils and accepts the book for what it is will find it readable throughout and quite sufficiently scholarly and instructive. The gossipy and anecdotal chapter on Herodotus will serve as well as that in any history of Greek literature for comparison with Bury (*The Ancient Greek Historians*). The author does not share all of Professor Bury's doubts of the entire sincerity of Herodotus's naïveté about Greek oracles and miracles. In any case, he says, "it may be remarked that more is said today about Miletus and the Milesian spirit than it is easy to find evidence for".

A rather miscellaneous chapter on the Age of Pericles serves as the transition to Thucydides. Mr. Glover is quite up-to-date in his imperfect sympathy with Sophocles. "The Samian expedition was a wicked one—as bad as the Melian—and Sophocles made no protest, wrote no *Troades*." This may amuse the scholar who will read it in the true interlinear version thus, "the Crimean War was a wicked one—as bad as the German invasion of Belgium—but Tennyson made no protest, he wrote no Shavian epistles to the American newspapers". But what of the innocent general reader who may believe that the Samian expedition was as unjustifiable as the Melian, or that there is some evidence that the *Troades* was a protest against the taking of Melos, or that Sophocles could have written as poor a play as the *Troades* if he had tried? The "perfectly good" chapter on Thucydides calls for little comment. Professor Glover thinks that in spite of the intellectualism and the self-restraint "the warm sympathies are there", and he will not admit the touch of malice that the present reviewer and Professor Bury found in the epitaph of Nicias who practised all conventional(?) virtue. We cannot perpetually reargue the case of Euripides. The modernist exaltation of him is in part a matter of irreducible taste and temperament. Sober criticism can only point out that it is supported by the imputation to him of ineffable anticipations of modern thought and sentiment which his undramatic discursiveness and the very vagueness, not to say impropriety, of his diction enable translators of genius to read into him. Aristophanes's indictment, ratified by Jebb, Professor Glover dismisses with the question-begging progressive cliché, "the forward movement of the human mind is not to be held up by banter even if it is banter of genius". But what if the movement from Aeschylus and Sophocles to Euripides was not a forward movement?

In spite of the precedent of Mahaffy, who used him in the same way, we cannot consider Xenophon the best typical representative of fourth-century Greek civilization, and, subject to correction, must regard the remaining chapters of the book as adaptations of material prepared for other purposes. There are two exceptions. The chapter on Persia is a useful survey of topics scattered through our Greek histories but rarely brought together as here in one purview. "The House of Pasion"

retells in interesting fashion after Isocrates and the private orations of Demosthenes the oft-told tale of an Athenian banking house in the fourth century. Mr. Glover's foot-notes refer to the original sources and to the German treatises on Athenian law and antiquities. But he does not mention his French and American predecessors in the recital of the entire story.

PAUL SHOREY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Études sur la Polémique Religieuse à l'Époque de Grégoire VII.: Les Prérégroriens. By AUGUSTIN FLICHE, Chargé de Cours à l'Université de Bordeaux. (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie. 1916. Pp. viii, 343. 4 fr.)

IN subjecting the writings of the churchmen of the middle of the eleventh century to painstaking analysis M. Fliche is traversing well-worn ground, but in spite of this he has arrived at conclusions that challenge the attention, and make necessary a readjustment of the emphasis usually laid on the work of Hildebrand and his contemporaries in the struggle for Church reform. The overpowering personality of the great pope and the dramatic nature of his struggle with Henry IV. have led historians to ascribe to him, almost exclusively, the credit for the reform movement and for the leading features of the programme adopted by the papacy. His influence has been looked upon as the dominating factor in the situation from the accession of Leo IX., and the popes from 1048 to 1072 have been considered little more than the agents of the astute papal secretary who came to the throne in the latter year.

While not denying the importance of the work accomplished by Hildebrand as pope, M. Fliche has shown by a careful study of the writings of such men as Peter Damiani and Cardinal Humbert that much more importance must be attached to their theories and arguments than has generally been given. The main part of the book is taken up with a painstaking analysis of the writings of these two men, who are allowed to express themselves largely in their own words. Such a method leads to much repetition of their leading ideas and sometimes becomes monotonous reading, but it is effective in bringing out M. Fliche's main thesis that too much stress has been heretofore laid on Hildebrand's part in initiating the reform movement. He did not inspire their views as to the needs of the Church, and yet their writings express most of the policies he later sought to carry out. They both saw in the degradation of the Church the results of the extensive immorality and worldliness of the clergy; but they differed as to the means to be employed in extirpating these evils. Damiani, with the ascetic's point of view, wished to see the clergy reformed by the introduction of monastic organization among them. They should bind themselves to rules of fasting, poverty, and celibacy, and lead such ascetic lives that the temptations to simony

should disappear. On the other hand he saw no sufficient reason to deny the emperor an important place in the direction of the Church and looked to see him and the pope acting hand in hand in its affairs. In this he differed radically from Cardinal Humbert, who desired the complete removal of secular influence from the Church and saw in the prohibition of lay investiture the only means of destroying simony. Both views found expression in the reforms of Gregory VII., who combined them and carried them out with a statesman's abilities.

In other portions of his book M. Fliche studies the pontificates of Leo IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II., ascribing to them a somewhat more substantial and independent rôle than they have usually been assigned. The whole study deserves the careful consideration of students, as it corrects some older judgments and places the ecclesiastical movements of the eleventh century in a truer perspective.

A. C. H.

Italy, Mediaeval and Modern: a History. By E. M. JAMISON, C. M. ADY, K. D. VERNON, and C. SANFORD TERRY. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 564. 12 sh. 6 d.)

THERE has always been a surprising lack of good comprehensive one-volume histories of Italy, written in English, or for that matter, in any language. This recent publication by the Clarendon Press represents an attempt to supply that lack. On the whole, the task is well done; although, now that it is done, one may ask the exact need that the book answers. It can hardly be meant for specialists. Its comparative brevity and the complete absence of foot-notes prevent that. The college student is already well provided with good material in English, general and specialized, upon Italian history. The editor in his preface suggests that the book will serve as an introduction to more detailed study of the subject. If such a need exists for the general reader, this book will fill the need with considerable success.

Although it appears from the title-page that the work is co-operative, one seeks in vain, and perhaps happily so, for evidence thereof in the text. One assumes, it may be without reason, that Mrs. K. D. Vernon, already well known for her volume, *Italy from 1494 to 1790*, in the *Cambridge Historical Series*, is responsible for the three chapters covering the same period in the present work. In the table of contents, however, no statement is made of the sections assigned to each author.

Roughly speaking, one-third of the text is devoted to Italian history from about 375 to 1250; another third, to the period from 1250 to 1789; and the rest to the evolution of Italian unity. The first section, upon the medieval period, seems to the reviewer the least satisfactory, perhaps because one inevitably compares it with so much good material already in existence upon the same age. In slightly more than fifty pages the political history of the era is covered, and then in about forty more the development of the papacy. Twenty pages are devoted to the Norman kingdom

in the south; one looks in vain, and perhaps without justification in so short a chapter, for the charm of Professor Haskins's two chapters on the same subject. The last chapter in the section, that upon Religion and the Civil Tradition, inevitably suggests Mr. H. O. Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind*.

The middle section of the book, upon the period from 1250 to 1789, seemed to the reviewer its best part. The political history of the years from 1250 to 1315 is rapidly passed over, and there follow three excellent chapters upon the Despots, the Renaissance, and the Italian Wars. In view of the little space at his disposal, the author of the chapter on the Despots paints a surprisingly complete and accurate picture. In reading the story of the Italian Wars, one admires the boldness with which the author condenses the mass of detail into four pages, and then effectually summarizes the lasting results of the period. Of particular value, because of the great lack of material in English upon the subject, is the forty-page chapter on the Social and Intellectual History of the period 1528-1789.

The section upon the evolution of unity is, again, in view of the need of condensation, satisfactory as an introduction to more detailed studies. It would not be fair to compare this part of the book with studies like those of Bolton King. Nothing original was attempted. One does regret, however, that only eleven pages have been assigned to the period since 1870.

For the sake of a later edition, it may not seem out of place to note that "seven centuries had" *not* "exactly passed between the promise of Pippin and the death of Innocent IV." (p. 93).

A bibliography is appended, which does not claim to be complete, but only to "indicate a few of the more obvious and readily accessible sources". It is, nevertheless, a very useful, and, in general, well-chosen list; hardly anywhere else can one find so good an introductory bibliography for the beginner. One notices with surprise, however, the absence of Hazlitt's *History of Venice*. For the Risorgimento, only "a few accessible works" are given; it is strange not to find Mr. W. R. Thayer's life of Cavour.

T. F. J.

Hugo Grotius, the Father of the Modern Science of International Law. By HAMILTON VREELAND, jr., LL.B., Ph.D. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. xiii, 258. \$2.00.)

At the present juncture, a study of the life and purposes of Hugo Grotius is especially appropriate, for the greatest of his works, the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*, was dictated by a desire to introduce into the relations between states an order based upon ethical principles and the accepted practices of nations, and to combat what our author characteristically describes as "the hideous, lying diplomacy of Machiavelli's Prince" (p. 176). Hence the appearance of this interesting sketch of

the life of Grotius is most timely, the more so as there is no adequate biography available in English, and the standard biographies, that of Brandt and van Cattenburgh in Dutch and that of Burigny in French, date back respectively to 1727 and 1752.

From the biographer's point of view, the work, though admittedly exiguous and uncritical, is quite satisfactory: the author has succeeded in giving a sympathetic picture of the chief incidents in the life of Grotius and in explaining clearly the problems and controversies with which he had to deal. If any portion of the book were to be singled out as particularly worthy of mention, it would probably be the account of the diplomatic activities of Grotius at Paris as the ambassador of Queen Christina of Sweden. Perhaps the body of the text has been too much padded with lengthy citations, but in truth the citations are so well chosen that this will scarcely be noticed. It is a matter of regret, however, that in writing the life of a world-figure of the significance of Grotius, the author has satisfied himself so completely with the results reached by Brandt and Burigny in the eighteenth century and has not undertaken a more careful study of the abundant original and supplementary printed materials.

It is, however, in his attempts to estimate the value of the juristic writings of Grotius, that our author lays himself open to more serious criticism. Thus the discussion in chapter VIII. as to the nature and development of the *jus gentium* and its relation to the *jus naturale* would seem to one familiar with either the English or the German treatises on Roman law a rather unfortunate labor of supererogation; however, if it were necessary, why should the classic conclusions reached by Maine in 1861 on the subject be accepted without reference to this literature? Again, the naïve conception of Machiavelli as the author of a "hideous Machiavellian philosophy" apparently fails to recognize his importance as the first writer to accept a distinction between individual and political standards of conduct. And one searches in vain to justify the author's estimate of Grotius as the great advocate of the court of universal arbitration (p. 242).

It may be of interest to note that the reply to Selden's *Mare Clausum*, which the States General authorized Graswinckel—who had assisted Grotius in the redaction of the *De Jure Belli ac Pacis*—to write (p. 48), later found its way to the press, at least in a modified form, in 1652. Also, the exemption granted in 1622 to the Dutch refugees by Louis XIII. (p. 155) was from the *droit d'aubaine* familiar to students of the prerogative.

In conclusion, it may be said that the work under consideration is of value as a popular exposition of most interesting facts not otherwise ordinarily available. But it can by no means be regarded as a thorough-going and critical study of the life of the "Father of International Law". The last word yet remains to be said.

HESSEL E. YNTEMA.

Party Politics and English Journalism, 1702-1742. By DAVID HARRISON STEVENS, Ph.D., Instructor in English in Chicago University. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Company. 1916. Pp. xii, 156. \$1.50.)

HISTORIANS and makers of literary history have generally ignored journalism and its workers; the history of journalism has been written by journalists; and history has suffered by both the commissions and the omissions. This study is therefore welcome, for it lies in a neglected field which is important in itself, and also for the light that through it may be thrown on politics, literature, and the Church. The scope of the book is shown by the chapter titles: the Conditions of Literary Production from 1702 to 1710; the Political Importance of Addison after 1712; Swift's Relations with the Tory Minister; Defoe and the Earl of Oxford; Party Journals and Journalists from 1710 to 1714; Whig Rewards under George I.; Defoe and Walpole in the Service of George I.; and Political and Literary Importance of the *Craftsman* Group.

Rather more than might be expected, emphasis is laid on biography, with the successful intention of adding to our knowledge of the principal figures—Addison, Swift, and Defoe. A considerable amount of new matter regarding these men is presented, and new aspects of this much-studied period, especially of the inter-relations of politics and literature, are revealed. That part of the study which concerns the history of journalism is least satisfactory. More background and perspective is needed. Thorough treatment of the period would require the patient reading of innumerable newspapers in the two collections which Dr. Stevens refers to and in the Nichols collection, apparently not examined, which contains many papers not seen by the writer, and which would have cleared away much of the perceptible haziness and vagueness. The main currents of precedent journalism would have been useful by way of introduction; some view of the principal tendencies of journalism then current is sorely missed. The influence of a swarm of papers which preceded the *Review* and the *Tatler*, not political only, but literary, meteorological, agricultural—all a part of the background, might well have been kept in mind. The powerfully irritating intrusion of ecclesiastical motives in politics and journalism is not made clear. Many leading journalists, like Tutchin, Leslie, Boyer, and Roper, are merely named; the characters of important papers like *Mist's* and *Applebee's* are not portrayed. The influence of L'Estrange which persisted in journalistic use of dialogue, the beginnings of the leading editorial, the importance of the tri-weeklies before 1715 and of the weeklies afterwards—these and many other matters not here mentioned are essential to a just estimate of the journalism of the time.

Many statements in the biographical material would prove interesting subjects for discussion, for which there is no room. In the careful account of Defoe's pay, Mr. Charles Dalton's important discovery that a

Daniel Defoe was entered in a list of half-pay officers of 1714 as Capt.-Lieut. has been overlooked. This omission, and others, suggest that the leading authority on Defoe and his times was not consulted in the preparation of this study. Specialists in the field are so few that the investigator who labors in the history of journalism cannot safely ignore any of them.

A few minor slips may be noted. "Dr. Brown" (p. 12) should be Joseph Browne; Browne, not Drake, wrote *A Letter to the Right Honorable* . . . (p. 13); Mr. Ward of Hackney was not Ned or Edward Ward (p. 13); Mrs. Manley's name was Mary (p. 65); Prior's "Whig poem" is mostly prose (p. 68); Leonard Welsted, "government clerk", was a poet, a man of letters in politics (p. 84).

FRANK W. SCOTT.

The Monarchy in Politics. By JAMES ANSON FARRER. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1917. Pp. ix, 342. \$3.00.)

STUDENTS of English constitutional history, and in particular students of the development, from the Revolution of 1688 to the end of the nineteenth century, of government by a cabinet dependent upon a majority in the House of Commons, can freely admit their indebtedness to Mr. Farrer for his study of the monarchy in politics, without feeling called upon to accept or endorse all his conclusions. Mr. Farrer's book is a study of the interference of the crown in politics, chiefly of its interference in political questions—home, colonial, and foreign—which had arrived at a stage at which action had to be taken by the cabinet. There is little discussion of the interference of the crown in parliamentary elections; although a complete end to the activities of the sovereign in that phase of politics is not traceable until Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837. The reigns included in Mr. Farrer's survey are those of George III., George IV., William IV., and Victoria.

Mr. Farrer begins abruptly with the opening years of the reign of George III., with no introductory sketch of the development of the cabinet from the reign of Queen Anne to the end of the reign of George II. For students of English history who are familiar with the library of political biography, autobiography, memoirs, recollections, diaries, and letters that has steadily accumulated in the century and a half since 1760, there is not much that can be described as revealing in Mr. Farrer's pages. But even students who are well versed in this literature, and who know where to turn for instances of interference by sovereigns in the plans and policies of cabinets, are much indebted to Mr. Farrer for the industry and skill with which he has worked the vein in biography and letters to which he has turned his attention, and also for the readable form in which he has presented the results of his quarrying.

It is possible to recall only one other book in which this subject is discussed at length. Dunckley, under the *nom de plume* of Verax, wrote

on it in 1878. But Dunckley was concerned only with the instances of Queen Victoria's interference with the cabinet that were revealed in the earlier volumes of Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*. Mr. Farrer's book, as has been indicated, is much more comprehensive; and the material embodied in it is of particular value to those students of the history of cabinet government in England who have not had opportunities for following the relations of the cabinet and the crown, and of the cabinet and Parliament, in what may not inappropriately be called the primary sources.

To discuss Mr. Farrer's conclusions would call for half a dozen pages of the *American Historical Review*. Even in this brief note, however, attention must be directed to one of them.

The course of events [he writes] whilst reducing the appearance of monarchical power, has tended to its increase in reality; for although the actual veto has passed into disuse, the veto precedent has become a more serious barrier against any legislation distasteful to the crown. Mr. Lecky's statement that "the English sovereignty is so restricted in its province that it has, or ought to have, no real influence on legislation" is hardly borne out by the influence exercised over legislation by George III., George IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria.

George III. wrought successfully to make a failure of Pitt's bill of 1785 for the reform of the representative system. George III. and George IV. delayed Catholic emancipation for at least one generation; and enormous pressure was necessary before William IV. would accept Grey's terms in regard to the Reform Act of 1832. But the history of popular political agitations in England from 1832 to the end of the nineteenth century, when compared with the additions to the statute book during those sixty-eight years, would not seem to warrant Mr. Farrer's conclusions in regard to what he describes as the "veto precedent"—the sanction of the crown before the cabinet can introduce an important bill to Parliament. The writer of this note, while thoroughly appreciating the usefulness of Mr. Farrer's contribution to the history of the cabinet, could not subscribe to this sweeping conclusion of the author. It is not possible to accept it in view of the numerous movements for reform from Waterloo to the death of Queen Victoria which were attended with legislative success.

Life of John Wilkes. By HORACE BLEACKLEY. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1917. Pp. xiii, 464. \$5.00.)

Wilkes and the City. By WILLIAM PURDIE TRELOAR. (London: John Murray. 1917. Pp. xxvi, 299. 12 sh.)

THE career of John Wilkes was not well calculated to win him a place in the *Twelve English Statesmen Series*. At first cautiously tolerated by respectable Whigs, he finally won recognition by the party, only to prove a renegade in the end by going over to the Tories. The Whigs could not laud a man who had deserted them, or the Tories one

who joined them after using up all his ammunition in the service of their enemies. For nearly a century, therefore, no one had a good word to say for John Wilkes; and even as late as 1874, John Richard Green, a Liberal and likely to be generous in his appreciations, passed him by with a reference to the scurrility of his writings and the licentiousness of his morals. In time, of course, rehabilitation was bound to come. Begun by Charles W. Dilke, and continued by Sir George Trevelyan and Percy Fitzgerald, it is now fairly completed by Mr. Bleackley and Mr. Treloar.

Of the two works, that of Mr. Bleackley is the more scholarly. Mr. Bleackley has carefully examined the Wilkes papers and other manuscript material in the British Museum, as well as all the printed sources. Other books will doubtless be written about the Friend of Liberty, but one can hardly suppose it will ever again be worth while to set down in clear and sober prose a detailed narrative of the events of his life. It is well known that every one makes mistakes (Mr. Freeman has said so), but it seems unlikely that Mr. Bleackley has made very many; and where he differs from Mr. Treloar in any matter, as for example whether, on a certain occasion, the marshal and the tipstiffs were dragged from their seats in the carriage before or after the arrival at the Three Tuns Tavern—on any such point of difference the chances are that Mr. Bleackley is right. Mr. Treloar indeed makes no pretensions to the character of a trained historian, nor does he claim to have written an account of the events of Wilkes's career. His interest in the subject dates from 1881, when he was chosen a member of the London Corporation from the ward which elected Wilkes—Farringdon Without; and since then he has read, out of pure interest, whatever came his way about his famous predecessor, and about the City of that day. In this way he has become familiar with a great many documents; from which, without making such an analysis of them as authorities on historical method recommend, he has extracted what seem to him the most interesting parts; and these he has arranged in proper order, himself furnishing little more than the connecting commentary necessary to make the story intelligible. The reader will therefore go to Mr. Bleackley for a detailed statement of the facts of Wilkes's life; and to Mr. Treloar for many interesting and more or less relevant documents.

From neither writer will the reader get much that is striking or original in the way of an interpretation of the man and his times. In Mr. Bleackley's book one meets of course all the familiar people; but while the author knows a great deal about them, he seems not to visualize them very effectively, or at least fails to make the reader do so, having apparently neither taste nor talent for analysis of character or convincing portraiture of personalities. At times, in the course of the long level journey, one wishes the precise guide had a touch of Carlyle's magic power of making the dead rise and speak—not that it is right to

expect a guide to be a genius. Consistency, however, one may expect above all from a guide; yet it is difficult to make out precisely what Mr. Bleackley thinks of the reign of George III. and of Wilkes's part in it. The achievements of Wilkes are regarded as "stupendous"—it was his "proud privilege . . . to preserve one of the most essential principles of English liberty"; but still George III. is not to be condemned for departing from "the principles of the Revolution" because such a condemnation "involves the proposition that the growth of the nation . . . has been directed . . . more wisely by a legislative assembly elected more or less under popular suffrage than it could have been under any other form of government, a proposition that will find an emphatic contradiction in the history of Japan or modern Germany". Therefore "we cannot tell to what extent the nation might have profited under the rule of a benevolent autocrat, assisted by the wisest ministers . . . untrammelled by the vicissitudes of party strife". This last is true; but if George III.'s German system was as likely to confer benefits as that of the Whigs, it is difficult to see where Wilkes comes in as the proud defender of "one of the most essential principles of English liberty".

Perhaps Mr. Bleackley means only that there are different kinds of liberty, equally good, and that Wilkes was indispensable to the preservation of the kind which is English. However defined, it is still possible to doubt that liberty owes so much to Wilkes. It does not appear clearly so from this careful narrative of his career; and it is not until the last chapter, in which Mr. Bleackley sketches the verdict of posterity and attempts to make an estimate of the real importance of Wilkes, that one becomes aware of his greatness. Mr. Bleackley does not place Wilkes among the "immortals"; but he was "undoubtedly a man of genius", as much "in earnest as any man who ever fought for freedom", a man who "probably . . . influenced more powerfully the Spirit of the Age" than any of his contemporaries. In so far as he failed, he did so principally because he was a generation ahead of his times. To be sure he had his defects—"to morality, of course, he made no pretence"; but he had his excellent qualities also—he never harbored malice toward his enemies, was generous and good-natured, loyal to his friends, and passionately and genuinely attached to his daughter.

It is very true that Wilkes was good-natured and generous, harboring no malice although creating much, kind to his daughter and loyal to his friends. He was, for example, extremely fond of Churchill. But these virtues were the least one could expect from a sad dog like Wilkes, an absolutely irresponsible person for whom life was an adventure and politics a game for high stakes. He played the game and won it; against great odds he won it by virtue of his exceptional talents—by virtue of his cleverness and wit, his reckless daring, his good nature, the generous expenditure of what was his and of what was not his, and a certain sustained brazen effrontery raised to the point of sublimity;

and he won it because the times were such as to give an opening to these peculiar talents. In playing the game of politics, Wilkes put on the dress of liberal ideas; and by winning the game he contributed something, even a good deal, to make the dress fashionable; but it is too much to say that without his example the dress would not have become the settled custom.

No doubt the man was sincere, in one sense—in the sense that Stephen A. Douglas was sincere in not caring whether slavery was voted up or down. It is difficult for a man who does not care, to be insincere. Wilkes did not care. If Wilkes had really cared about liberty it would indeed be "remarkable that one who could write so well has left little that survives". Perhaps the truth is that he left little—nothing in fact—that survives, because he had nothing to say when he wrote well. He wrote well when it was a question of lampooning some one outrageously; whether the facts supported the lampoon or not, it had to be done outrageously or it was not done well. In behalf of liberty, Wilkes could write an excellent attack on the Earl of Sandwich or upon the king; but about liberty itself he could write nothing but puerile and stilted commonplace. It is for this reason that one may doubt whether, fifty years later, Wilkes's "liberal ideas must have given him an important place in the government of his country". Liberal ideas, or any ideas, unsupported by conviction or character, ideas merely caught on the run and pressed into desperate service, are not likely to give a man an important place in the government of his country. Besides, it would seem, from all accounts, that there was an excellent opportunity, during the years from 1774 to 1790, for a member of Parliament with liberal ideas, or any ideas, to play a considerable part. Wilkes was in Parliament during those years; but, although he vociferated as loudly as ever (until he joined the Tories) that the "voice of the people is the voice of God", Mr. Bleackley admits that his followers were disappointed in the hope that "he would prove as puissant in the Senate as he had been in the market-place".

Wilkes's place was indeed in the market-place. A born agitator, he was an irresponsible adventurer in politics whose services to the cause of liberty were slight in proportion to the noise he made and the rancors he created; and Mr. Bleackley's excellent narrative of the facts of Wilkes's career serves to confirm rather than to disprove this opinion. The judgment of Horace Walpole, which Mr. Treloar quotes, if a little caustic is still essentially just: "Wantonness rather than ambition or vengeance guided his hand, and though he became a martyr to the best cause there was nothing in his principles or his morals that led him to care under what government he lived. To laugh and riot and scatter firebrands with him was liberty. Despotism will ever reproach Freedom with the profligacy of such a saint."

CARL BECKER.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By JOHN THEODORE MERZ. Volume IV. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1914. Pp. xii, 825. 20 sh.)

THE continuation of Merz's history of philosophy in the nineteenth century—the fourth volume of his *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*—completes the vast survey of reflective thought whose two first volumes presented the strides and revolutions in scientific theory during the last century.

This treatment of philosophy has not equalled in interest or value his presentation of scientific doctrine. In the latter field Merz has told the story of the import of the unprecedented advances of scientific research and discovery. It was a story as yet untold in English. It had behind it his complete grip on scientific data and his sympathetic comprehension of the scientists' undertaking to build doctrines adequate to the achievement of their discoveries. Even here, however, Dr. Merz revealed a philosophic attitude which affected his estimate of the value of scientific theory. The dominant place he awarded to the energist's theory indicated that the universality of a theory overbalanced in his judgment its function on the frontiers of scientific research. The theory of energy springs from the thermodynamic laws, themselves the outgrowth of the theory of the steam-engine, and has played little or no part in the later investigations gathering about the structure of matter, those investigations which have sprung from the recent study of electricity and radio-activity. Perhaps a similar indication of failure of perspective in estimating the import of scientific attitude is found in the author's discussions of vitalism in the second volume of his history. This personal equation may be stated as a failure to accept fully the scientist's attitude toward his theory. Since science has become self-consciously an undertaking of research, testing its progress solely by experiment, theory has lost that value which has belonged to it in philosophy and religious dogma. The present perfection of the theory and the spread of its application give to it in science no title to permanence. Theory in scientific research serves only the function of the formulation and generalization of present scientific method. With new problems—and it is only in meeting new problems that modern science is alive—inevitably new theory must arise. Finality in this field is neither a goal nor a desideratum.

This attitude of Dr. Merz has but restricted importance in estimating the great value of his first two volumes. The materials are so fully presented within text and foot-notes that no one need fail to grasp the onward movement of organizing thought as it sought to command the multitudinous results of investigations and experiments. It has, however, a more serious aspect in the last two volumes, which deal with philosophic doctrine. Here we find the same generous recognition of all the thinkers in all the nations whose thought has played an essential part in the philosophy of the century. There is the same exhaustive

familiarity with the enormous literature, the same determined effort to comprehend, and the same freedom of vision from all the different stand-points of different peoples and social classes and religious attitudes. But the temper is changed. In the midst of the scientific achievements the enthusiasm of constant discovery inevitably accompanies even the historian of swiftly changing scientific hypotheses. In the field of philosophy the mind that seeks comprehension, organization, and finality gazes with disappointment at the dismemberment of old systems, the early setting of the sun of German romantic idealism, and the seeming incapacity of modern philosophic thought to bring to systematic order the vast field of conflicting ideas which nineteenth-century discovery and research has opened up. The author assumes that systematic thinking must accomplish this task, but it has yet to be done. The German idealists undertook it, and their enthusiasm and daring for a while seemed adequate to the undertaking. But they belong to the first third of the century, and their effort reappearing in English and American neo-Hegelianism has lived as short a life. Nor has the positivism of Comte, nor the phenomenalism of Mill, nor the agnostic philosophy of Spencer, been able to erect the single comprehending structure where modern ideas may live at peace with each other. Dr. Merz assumes that some other colossal minds must achieve what neither Hegel nor Comte nor Mill nor Spencer could achieve. It is evident that such a demand on the historian's part must affect his treatment of his material and his estimate of its value. It is this frame of mind which explains the space given to the German idealists who strove to accomplish what is Dr. Merz's conception of philosophy's task. Not only are these thinkers presented once, but where their doctrines and spiritual influences are felt in other fields the author rehearses their undertakings. In the actual number of pages they occupy three times the space that should be accorded them. This is especially true because Dr. Merz is writing not a history of philosophic systems in these two volumes but of nineteenth-century thought as it is evidenced in philosophy. They are indeed the most imposing structures of the century, but thought has refused to abide in them, and the historian of that thought must be willing to go with the uneasy changing mind of the time, without backward and lingering glances at the imposing but deserted dwellings which thought has abandoned. For the same reason Dr. Merz has not sensed the import of the advent of science in the field of social problems. Comte's doctrine is also an imposing structure, but this mighty dwelling-place never really housed other European thought than his own. The structure was unimportant. The urge of men toward the most intricate, the most difficult of problems, that of society, and the demand that scientific method should be used here as it had been used in physical nature, was most significant. Perhaps more than anything else this demand has been responsible for the breakdown of the philosophic system-making, that Merz deplors. Not until the individual and the social

group from which he arises have been restated in scientific fashion will it be possible to approach again the meaning of the problems of subjectivity and the objective world out of which man springs, with his subjective experience. It is this insistent social problem as well as the inroads of biology into psychology that lies behind the uncertainties of mind and body. And this social problem finally is the form that religious thought is slowly taking. In a word Dr. Merz has not succeeded in presenting the often sunken obstacles against which philosophic speculation has split and the barriers that have sent single streams of thought abroad into many channels. For his pen, thinking is the domain of the observer, the contemplator, who if he fulfills the task of thought must bring all within an ordered landscape. It is not the method by which men ceaselessly seek solutions for their insistent changing problems.

This perhaps ungracious comment on a great work does not in any sense do justice to its value to the student and the thinker who would orient himself with reference to the thinkers of the past century. The full quotations, the always interesting foot-notes, the continual cross-references, the sustained style, make this volume valuable as have been those that preceded it, though the field has not the novelty in English which had that which his first two volumes traversed. In spite of his announced purpose to write the history of thought and not the history of philosophies, he has not been able to do more than give a competent and sympathetic account of philosophic doctrines, with much that is illuminating from the biographies of the philosophers. But though the determining factors in the direction of the streams of thought have been largely changed by social conditions, Dr. Merz has given his readers the resultants of these movements as they have crystallized in the minds of individual thinkers rather than the stream in its living course.

It is more readable than are the histories of modern philosophy. It does not in the fashion of these treatises tease out the fibres of systematic doctrine, and it is comprehensive and appreciative. To be sure at times one meets, with wonder, expressions that belong to the period when philosophy was the handmaid of theology. For Merz materialism and agnosticism may be dangerous at times. The literature of thought which lacks the Anglo-Saxon restraint may be not only dangerous but evil. At the end of the chapters on the Unity of Thought and the Rationale of Thought the reader feels that the author is standing on the tower of an English cathedral looking for the philosophy that will again save God, immortality, and the freedom of the will, that will so reshape the world of science that the God of his fathers may return to it. And yet this is only a feeling Dr. Merz leaves with his readers, a feeling that attaches to the author rather than his work. It is a valiant undertaking to deal justly and sympathetically with all who have trod the speculative paths of his century.

Selections from the Correspondence of the First Lord Acton. Edited with an introduction by JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, Litt.D., and REGINALD VERE LAURENCE, M.A. Volume I. *Correspondence with Cardinal Newman, Lady Blennerhassett, W. E. Gladstone, and others.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xx, 324. \$5.00.)

THE scholar who at his death, in 1902, passed for the most sphinx-like figure of his generation, bids fair to become the most amply known. Not that Lord Acton can ever be aught but "caviare to the general". The uniqueness of his family connections, his cosmopolitan training, the vastness of his erudition, the independence of his character, the unusual rôle due to his unusual equipment and his unusual convictions, will leave him still what he called himself—a man without contemporaries. But, if he remain a mystery, it will not be for lack of the products of his pen. True, during his lifetime he published not a single book—unless one count a pamphlet or two and his inaugural lecture at Cambridge. True, not a line seems ever to have been written of that great history of liberty which was to have been the chief fruit of his lifetime of study. But ever since his death the zeal of his friends has been giving the press fresh proofs of his fertility. Volume after volume the *Cambridge Modern History* which he planned attested the breadth of his historical vision and the alertness of his editorial choice. His Cambridge lectures furnished a volume on the French Revolution and a stimulating survey of all modern history. His scattered magazine articles and reviews, many of them heretofore anonymous, were ample for two volumes of historical essays and studies; and a bibliography compiled for the Royal Historical Society showed these but a part of a much larger output. Even his history of liberty proves to be represented not alone by the two popular lectures at Bridgnorth, long dimly known through local publication and French translation, but by a half-dozen more special studies which, with these, justified for one of the volumes of his essays the title of *The History of Freedom*.

But his literary executors had hardly entered on this series when in 1904 Herbert Paul opened another rich lode for our knowledge of Lord Acton by printing his letters to Mary Gladstone, the daughter of his old friend and political chief; and two years later Abbot (now Cardinal) Gasquet gave to the world, under the title of *Lord Acton and His Circle*, his correspondence with the Catholic scholars who had been associated with him in the production of the reviews—the *Rambler*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, the *Chronicle*, the *North British Review*—which absorbed his literary labors till the Vatican Council in 1870 changed the current and the channels of his life. With the present volume his literary executors themselves, his old pupils Figgis and Laurence, take up the editing of his correspondence. They have no thought of publishing it in full. They have chosen, they tell us, those letters which throw most

light on Acton's development. Even of what they give us they print often only fragments.

The Early Letters which form their first group begin in 1844, when the boy of ten wrote his mother from Wiseman's school at Oscott. Boyish enough they are, and not without a growing trace of priggishness, till at Munich, under the inspiration of Döllinger, he lost himself in love of learning and in the high purpose that thenceforth ennobled all his life. Already in 1854, pleading with his stepfather, Earl Granville, for a longer stay in Germany, we find him conscious of his mission as an interpreter to England of Continental scholarship—and already beginning to betray his interest in the history of liberty. The group of letters called Ecclesiastical Correspondence, beginning with fragments of his correspondence with Newman (already heavily drawn on by Ward for his *Life*), is richest in revelation for the history of the Vatican Council. The General Correspondence filling the remainder of the volume is mainly Acton's correspondence with Gladstone and with Lady Blennerhassett, but includes a letter from General Lee and two or three from Mandell Creighton.

The introduction of the editors is thoughtful and illuminating; but their foot-notes are too often a mechanical compilation from the biographical dictionaries. It would be hard to find a better illustration of what Creighton says to Acton of "the exceeding insularity" of English historical ideas than is offered by what these editors deem in need of explanation and by the explanations which they give—for it is only as to Continental scholars that they falter and trip. But we owe them a volume of rare worth for the religious and political history of the nineteenth century.

G. L. B.

The Life of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P. Begun by STEPHEN GWYNN, M.P., completed and edited by GERTRUDE M. TUCKWELL. In two volumes. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. Pp. xix, 557; vi, 614. \$10.50.)

SIR CHARLES DILKE was in the front rank in political life in England for not more than seven years. He entered the House of Commons at the general election in 1868—the first election after the great extension of the franchise in 1867. It was 1878, however, before he had attained prominence in Parliament, and was nationally accepted as an exponent of radicalism. He was of only one administration—the Gladstone ministry of 1880–1885; and he was of the cabinet, as president of the Local Government Board, only from the end of 1882 until July, 1885. Then came the tragedy from which Dilke never fully recovered; for he himself admitted that, while he regained in the House of Commons the position that he had made between 1868 and 1878, he did not regain the position that he had held from 1878 to 1880 as an unofficial member,

and from 1880 to 1885 as a member of the Gladstone ministry. Moreover, much to his disappointment, he was not asked to become a member of the Campbell-Bannerman administration that was formed when the Unionists went out of office at the end of 1905.

Two large volumes, of nearly twelve hundred pages, seem at first glance out of proportion for so short a career in the front rank at Westminster and in the constituencies, especially when it is recalled that the biographies of Palmerston, Russell, Granville, Devonshire, Argyll, Goschen, and Forster run to no greater length. But no student of English politics from the second Reform Act to the Great War—no student who prefers to follow English politics in memoirs and letters rather than in the most detailed of political histories—will complain that there is a page too many in Mr. Stephen Gwynn and Miss Gertrude Tuckwell's biography of Dilke.

Dilke's career falls into three divisions. In the first was his careful preparation for political life, and his years in the House of Commons as an unofficial member. In the second was his tenure of the office of under-secretary for foreign affairs, with Granville as his chief; and next as president of the Local Government Board, and member of Gladstone's cabinet. In the third division was his election, in July, 1892, for the mining constituency of the Forest of Dean; and his subsequent continuous and active devotion to industrial and labor politics. The first and third divisions, as described in the Gwynn-Tuckwell pages, are of much interest and value—an interest which, in the case of the third division, will increase in view of the probability that after the war industrial politics will be essentially the domestic politics of England. These two divisions have also another special interest. No man who was ever of the House of Commons kept more constantly in touch with his constituency, or did more for the political education of his constituents, than Dilke. In this particular he was a model member of the House of Commons. It would not be inappropriate to describe him, so far as his relations with his constituents were concerned, as the Andrew Marvell of the reformed House of Commons. Dilke's relations with his constituents in the old London borough of Chelsea, where he was born and where he lived all his life, and also with his constituents in the Forest of Dean, are traced with informing detail, a detail that cannot fail to be appreciated by American students of English politics who are interested in national and local party organization, and in the comparison of the relations between members of Parliament and their constituents, and those between members of Congress and their constituents. One of the obvious values of the Dilke biography is the attention that has been bestowed on these relationships. In fact, it is not possible to recall a biography in which so much care has been taken with this aspect of British political life, except it be Mr. J. B. Mackie's admirable study of Campbell-Bannerman's forty years' connection with the Stirling boroughs.

But while Mr. Gwynn and Miss Tuckwell's work in telling the story of the first and third divisions of Dilke's career has so much to commend it, it is the second division of his life—the years from 1880 to 1885—that give to the biography its chief value to students of English constitutional and parliamentary history. For these years the biography is based, for the most part, on Dilke's correspondence, and on a memoir which he himself prepared. The history of these years is revealing to an extent that is remarkable, even when it is recalled how much there is that is revealing in the Monypenny-Buckle life of Disraeli, and in the three volumes of the Benson and Esher's *Letters of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1861*. Had there been no catastrophe in Dilke's life, and had his memoir been written throughout with the frankness that characterizes his history of the Gladstone administration of 1880–1885, the Dilke biography would have been the most revealing of political biographies of the era from 1832 to 1914. As it is, for the period covered—1880–1885—there is no biography or memoir of any member of Gladstone's cabinet of those years which can be compared with it.

The most important revelation is as to the extent and frequency of Queen Victoria's interference in politics until at least as late as Gladstone's second administration. Dilke himself was the occasion of some of this interference; for in his earlier years in the House of Commons he had incurred the displeasure of the queen by his platform utterances in favor of republicanism, and also by his attitude in Parliament towards the civil list. As early as 1879, before Dilke began his short and abruptly terminated official career, Beaconsfield predicted that he would be Gladstone's successor as Liberal prime minister. Gladstone in 1882 regarded Dilke as the best-equipped man in the Liberal party to succeed him as leader. But in November of that year, when Gladstone was about to transfer Dilke from the Foreign Office to the Local Government Board, with a seat in the cabinet, Grosvenor, the ministerial whip in the House of Commons, who was probably as well-informed as his chief, was uncertain how the queen would regard Dilke's promotion to cabinet rank. Grosvenor asked Dilke if he thought that the queen was willing that he should be of the cabinet.

I said [reads Dilke's note of the interview] that so far as I knew the trouble was at an end. He replied that he had two accounts of it. Harcourt told him that both the Prince of Wales and Prince Leopold had said that the Queen had made up her mind to take me; but Hartington said that she had told him a different story. I said I did not know which was right; but she could take me or leave me, for not another word would I say.

Dilke in 1882 was acceptable to the queen; but the episode in his life that led to his partial retirement for seven years after 1885 saved Queen Victoria from being confronted with the republican of 1871 as prime minister, when the Liberals were returned to power at the general election of 1892, and Gladstone retired in March, 1894. Dilke's appearance

in the divorce court in 1886 threatened political life in England with a loss comparable with that sustained when Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway in 1830. But to the end of his life in 1910, as the Gwynn-Tuckwell biography recalls, Dilke acted in accordance with the plan he drew up for himself when he left Cambridge in 1866. "My aim in life", he then wrote, in an intimate letter to his brother, Ashton Dilke, "is to be of the greatest use I can to the world at large, not because that is my duty, but because that is the course which will make my life happiest." He did much useful work—much to help the coming time—in and out of Parliament in the years when there was no longer a place for him either on the Treasury bench or the front opposition bench in the House of Commons.

Dilke's interest in labor and industrial politics dated back to his first term in the House of Commons as member for Chelsea; and when he again became an unofficial member in 1892—this time as the representative of a mining constituency—it was no forced change for him to throw himself completely into industrial politics. More immediate and more obvious successes were his fortune in the industrial field than in the official work that occupied him from 1880 to 1885. If the Liberal party of the twenty years that preceded the war lost much by the tragedy of 1885-1886, the movement toward better industrial and social conditions gained enormously by Dilke's transference of his activities. He did much to forward the establishment of the old age pension system on a non-contributory basis. He achieved outstanding successes in drastic legislation for dealing with dangerous trades and sweated industries; and the Labor party of 1906-1914, in its legislative achievements, owed much to the continuous assistance it received from Dilke.

Dilke's was not a conventional political career. It was not possible for him after 1886 to continue along the conventional lines that he followed from 1880 to 1885. His career, none the less, was one of the most interesting of those of the men who came to the front in the reign of Queen Victoria; and his biographers are to be congratulated on their production of a book that has a value as abiding as that of almost any of the great political biographies of the period from the first Reform Act to the Great War.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Recollections. By JOHN, Viscount MORLEY, O.M. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. x, 388; vi, 382. \$7.50.)

THESE volumes are given to a world which is intensely preoccupied. We think much about the Junkers and not a little about the Bolsheviks, but the enlightened, high-minded Liberals of whom Lord Morley writes are consigned for the moment to a vague and shadowy background. Would that it were otherwise! But facts will not budge. Whoever

takes up a book nowadays either finds it filled with the War or at once proceeds to translate it into terms of the War—that is to say into his own terms of the War. Here, however, one is reminded of Matthew Arnold's lines on Wordsworth:

The cloud of mortal destiny,
Others may front it fearlessly—
But who, like him, will put it by?

So it is with Lord Morley and the War. He "puts it by"—at least in the sense of disregarding it. The era of which he writes may not have been the Golden Age as sung by Virgil at the close of the Second Georgic, but under the aspect which it wears in these pages the Victorian period was, relatively speaking, a time of philosophic calm—*necdum etiam audierant inflari classica*. Even the debates on Gladstonian Home Rule seem academic when compared with the Retreat from Mons and the defence of the Ypres Salient.

Some observations of this character are needed to emphasize the fact that Lord Morley in touching upon the high points of his long and exceptional career speaks to a world which is steeped to saturation in affairs of its own. Hence where many would have given full attention to this work five years ago, the number of its attentive readers today is likely to be much smaller than one could wish. Since to Lord Morley himself temperament and years have long since brought the philosophic mind, he will be the last to expect his reminiscences to hold the centre of the stage for a season as did his *Life of Gladstone*. At the same time it would be most unfortunate if war cares and interests were to crowd out such a record as this from the attention of those whose horizon is wider than the concerns of a single twelvemonth, lustrum, or decade.

It is a great thing to have been for a full generation the Aristides of English public life; and moreover in that time no one could have been found to vote for Lord Morley's ostracism on the ground that his robust honesty was too obtrusive. His phrase about Chamberlain's genius for friendship is at least equally apt in its application to himself. Those who know anything about his part in British politics are fully seized of the fact that he was never a cross-bench man. If at the moment when he entered the House of Commons some may have prophesied for him the futilities of a doctrinaire, his thirty years of active partizanship prove that he was willing to put his brains into joint stock with those of other people. But while he stuck to the organization and made clear-cut speeches on the West Meath Election he won to an uncommon degree the liking as well as the respect of all the public men whose friendship was worth having.

It is important to lay stress upon these two things: the intensity of Morley's interest in politics and the rare quality of his friendships. These are facts which stand out from his *Recollections* in the highest of high relief. Indeed the concluding words of his Introduction couple

these two motives in a manner which is strikingly characteristic. "Much of my ground obviously involves others; deeply should I regret if a single page were found unfair or likely to wound just sensibilities. More deeply still should I deplore, if a single page or phrase or passing mood of mine were either to dim the lamp of loyalty to Reason, or to dishearten earnest and persistent zeal for wise politics, in younger readers with their lives before them." This last is his selected epigraph and in his reference to the just sensibilities of others may be seen that considerateness which is so large and so essential an element in friendship. And then there is the "loyalty to Reason" which existed before he met Mill, which was stimulated by his contact with Mill, which shines out in his tractate on *Compromise* and was throughout his lode-star.

These, then, are the materials out of which Lord Morley's life has been compacted and which furnish the stuff for his *Recollections*: a willingness to advance in whatever direction was indicated by Reason; a burning interest in public affairs, to some extent as a game but essentially as representing the means by which the lives of millions might be enlarged through the introduction of liberal and humane measures; and that warmth of sympathy which invites, or rather which compels, friendship. Any autobiography which covers two volumes is to some extent a labyrinth, but with the clues just indicated the reader of Lord Morley's *Recollections* will find his way about quite easily.

Approached from another angle this work is a record of persistent, unflagging energy. At no stage has Lord Morley loitered. Whether as man of letters, parliamentarian, or executive, he has given himself without stint to the task at hand, cultivating his garden by the most intensive methods. Every advanced community can show among its intellectuals certain handsome and luxuriant foliage plants, and for such in reasonable quantities there is a due place. But the labors of Lord Morley have been essentially fruitful. It is meritorious to be learned, or to write well, or to speak well, or to be a useful administrator. The combination in one man of all these qualifications not only implies high natural faculty but rigorous discipline. Following Bacon's classic phrase a several and important training is to be gained through reading, writing, and conference. It has been the rare experience of Lord Morley to illustrate what can be done by those who know how to use in the forum the sources of strength which they derive from the closet.

In these volumes his record of youthful days is scant, embracing no more than a characterization of his father and brief sketches of the men he knew at Oxford—particularly Thomas Fowler, Overton, and Cotter Morison. On leaving Lincoln College at twenty-two he became a journalist in London. 1860 was a fine date at which to advance from the University to the larger school of the world, and one of the most striking chapters in the whole work—a chapter entitled the Spirit of the Time—is devoted to the intellectual forces then at work. Thrown into the thick of London Morley at once proved that he could hold his own

with the pen, and quickly established two of his most important friendships, those with George Meredith and John Stuart Mill. At the same time he was drawing intellectual and moral stimulus from the Continent—from Comte, Victor Hugo, Mazzini, and George Sand.

Equipped for the rôle by solid reading and first-hand thinking, Morley became a real leader of public opinion when he succeeded G. H. Lewes as editor of the *Fortnightly Review*. During the Seventies this periodical made itself felt very widely as an organ of humane and sympathetic rationalism. Lord Morley tells us that from Comte he learned "to do justice to truths presented and services rendered by men in various schools, with whom in important and even in vital respects I could not in the least bring myself to agree". This catholicity of spirit was reflected in the *Fortnightly*, for while its contributors could fight hard round the carroccio they were not on the whole very free from self-righteousness and intellectual vanity. During this same period Morley wrote his books on Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, besides sounding the clarion note which runs through his "little volume" on *Compromise*. Of his friendships with other leading Liberals there is a graphic record in the full-length portraits which he gives of Herbert Spencer, Leslie Stephen, Henry Sidgwick, and Matthew Arnold.

The life of Cobden (1881), soon followed by the editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, marks the transition by which Morley passed from letters to politics, but the real bridge between these distinct periods of his life is represented by the firm, enduring friendship which he formed with Joseph Chamberlain. This began in 1873, and as the bonds of intimacy strengthened Morley found himself impelled towards public life by the development of latent aptitudes and by a new sense of apostleship. To those who are familiar with his writings without knowing much about the details of his life, the depth of his fondness for Chamberlain may come with some surprise. In any case it seems unlikely that Chamberlain should ever be presented under a more attractive guise than that which he wears in these volumes.

Without going into such detail as is beyond the scope of the present notice, it would be impossible to comment at all properly upon the political labors of Lord Morley. Here the two landmarks are, of course, Ireland and India. But one who was for thirty years a leading figure in Parliament accumulates reminiscences which go far before the range of his own special activities. On the whole the political data which are furnished in these pages will be found to possess their chief value from the light which they cast on Morley's own mentality and aspirations. Dicey has said that aristocracy emphasizes the differences between men while democracy lays stress upon the resemblances. Morley, with no foolish prejudices against the well-born, has been a staunch democrat from the depth and fervor of his sympathy with the common lot. Alike as Chief Secretary for Ireland and at the India Office he showed the spirit of a constructive statesman who shaped his acts to accord with a disinterested and lofty standard.

To comment briefly upon a work so filled with suggestion, so crowded with notable figures, and so instinct with the author's personality is to accept a contradiction in terms, but at least a finger-post can be set up which will point towards a remarkable record. There are those whose historical interests centre in the emergence and development of ideas. A still larger number look upon history as past politics. But however historians may group themselves with respect to their dominant interests, no one can deny the high importance of Lord Morley's *Recollections* unless he deliberately excludes from his interests the life and thought of England during the past century.

Best of all there are here revealed the lineaments of a statesman who shared Turgot's sympathy for the common man, and who was willing to follow the argument wherever it might lead.

C. W. COLBY.

L'Empereur Frédéric III. (1831-1888). By HENRI WELSCHINGER, de l'Institut de France. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. xii, 335. 5 fr.)

M. HENRI WELSCHINGER, who has already published a biography of Bismarck, essays in this volume to show some of the effects of the chancellor's policy of blood and iron. This policy was, from the beginning, distasteful to the Crown Prince Frederick, who alone among the Hohenzollerns succumbed to the liberal tradition of England; Bismarck, hating this liberalism, systematically excluded him from any real share in the government of Prussia and Germany; in the short reign of ninety-nine days in 1888 the issue was fairly joined between Frederick and the "loyal servant of William I.", and the death of the former before he could inaugurate a less autocratic régime left the Bismarckian system triumphant, ready to the hand of William II. All this is well known, but there is a real interest in having it summarized, for "how much would the destinies of Europe probably have been changed if he who was called by his people 'Frederick the Noble' had been able to reign as long as William I., to show the full measure of his talents, and to give effect to his generous intentions" (p. ii).

In a volume of more than three hundred pages, only 123 are devoted to the life of Frederick III., of which four suffice to describe his activities from 1871 to 1878. In his account of the emperor's last illness, M. Welschinger follows entirely the narrative of Sir Morell Mackenzie and uses the counterblasts of the German physicians only to disclose their jealousy. The second part of the book contains the most important passages of the Crown Prince's *Diary* for 1870-1871, and this leads on to an illuminating narrative of Bismarck's judicial proceedings against Geffcken for publishing it in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. M. Welschinger thinks that the chancellor's failure to secure Geffcken's conviction had momentous consequences: William II. had accepted the Bismarckian

tradition of statecraft as his own; on the other hand, the "infallibility" of that system had been successfully assailed, and his enemies were not slow to take their advantage. In short the incident facilitated the dismissal of Bismarck a year later.

M. Welschinger has used the standard lives of the emperor, and quotes at some length, but foot-notes and references are generally lacking. He makes a curious slip in the opening paragraph when he calls his hero the nephew of Frederick William III., who is described as childless. The style is often impassioned, as the author grows indignant over the policies of William II. and the conduct of the Germans in the present war, both of which are repeatedly contrasted with the liberal and humane ideas of Frederick III. Taken as a whole, the narrative selections provide a useful and adequate biography of a very sympathetic figure.

There are ten appendixes, of which the first is a summary of *The Empress Frederick*, published in 1913. Another contains the Crown Prince's journal of his visit to Palestine in 1869, where he was moved by religious feeling rather than impressed by political possibilities, as Prince Hohenlohe had been a decade earlier. For the rest, there are various judgments of Bismarck and a discussion of the immediate responsibility for the War of 1914. Such material has no place in a life of Frederick III., however much it may set off his noble character against the sinister figures of Bismarck and William II. Indeed, even in the text, M. Welschinger has allowed rather too much of the propagandist spirit to creep in, and it is to be regretted that he did not confine himself to the proper function of a biographer. A short bibliography is appended, and there is an index of proper names.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

A Guide to Diplomatic Practice. By the Rt. Hon. Sir ERNEST SATOW, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L. In two volumes. [Contributions to International Law and Diplomacy, edited by L. Oppenheim, M.A., LL.D.] (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. ix, 405; xxi, 407. \$9.00.)

THE author of the present work has had a long and honorable career in the public service. Setting out as a student-interpreter in Japan, in 1861, he eventually came to occupy, after holding various posts in other parts of the world, the position of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Tokio, and later served in a similar capacity at Peking. From 1906, when he was sworn a privy councillor, till 1912 he was one of the British members of the permanent court of arbitration at the Hague. Meanwhile, in 1907, he acted as a British plenipotentiary at the Second Peace Conference at that capital. In treating of diplomatic practice, he therefore enjoys the advantage of writing on a subject on which his experience has made him an authority. The practical diplo-

matist, however, seldom has occasion to study his profession systematically from the historical and scientific point of view, and the results are of special interest when he undertakes such a task.

The volumes before us contain a copious collection of pertinent matter, interspersed with judicious and helpful comments. In the opening sections, however, the distinction is not made so clear as it perhaps might have been between diplomacy and diplomatics, nor is mention made of Dom Mabillon's epochal treatise on the latter subject, *De Re Diplomatica* (1681), the sumptuous third edition of which, published at Naples in 1789, is now before me. Moreover, general conclusions are sometimes expressed in terms which associate them with a particular form of government—the parliamentary form—more strictly than may have been intended. When the author deprecates (I. 141) direct exchanges between the heads of states, without the knowledge and concurrence of the minister of foreign affairs, as likely to result in misunderstandings, possibly he expresses a view universally valid; but when he says that this “cannot occur . . . in a constitutional state”, and condemns the practice of carrying on secret diplomacy “behind the back of the responsible minister”, he is evidently thinking of parliamentary governments, just as he is when he affirms that the proper person to blame for a weak or unintelligent diplomacy is “the Secretary of State, or Minister for Foreign Affairs”. He adds that “sometimes, in autocratic governments, the responsibility lies on the sovereign”. Whether he would class a government as autocratic merely because it was, like the United States, non-parliamentary in form, does not appear. Probably he would not do so; and when, further on (I. 9), in speaking of the United States, he remarks that “the authority of the President predominates in foreign affairs (as in all other matters)”, it is not to be assumed that he was thinking exclusively of the form or contents of the Constitution.

In at least one instance he attributes to the word “sovereign” an importance which it does not possess. After stating that a “sovereign”, when travelling abroad, is exempt from the local jurisdiction, he observes that “nothing seems to have been decided as to the position of the President of a Republic, when in the territories of another State”; but he intimates that “no head of a republic would expose himself to the risk of being refused the immunities accorded to a sovereign”, and that, when a president visits a foreign state, “he either expects to receive, or has been promised beforehand, treatment in all respects the same as that of a sovereign”. This is all very strange, and it would indeed be remarkable to find a case in which the president of a republic had stipulated beforehand for the extraterritoriality which a “sovereign” confessedly enjoys. In reality the question whether the chief executive is a “sovereign” or a president is in this respect quite immaterial. It is not by reason of the fact that he is the one or the other that he enjoys the immunity; it is solely by reason of the fact that he is the head of a sovereign state.

In the treatment of some subjects, such as that of presents to diplomatic officers (I. 356-363), and the termination of missions (I. 365-407), where even a simple chronological development would have been helpful, there are indications that the author lacked full opportunity for the analysis and scientific arrangement of his materials. The same thing is true of his discussion of mediation and good offices (II. 289 *et seq.*). The author, after expressing the opinion that the two processes are "essentially distinct in character", and referring to the Hague convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which, as he correctly observes, makes no distinction between them, quotes, on the one hand, Pearce Higgins, who regards the difference as "more theoretical than practical", and, on the other hand, Oppenheim, who undertakes to make the distinction that a power, when using "good offices", "does not itself take part in the negotiations", whereas a mediator "is the middleman who does take part in the negotiations". In reality, it would hardly be useful to espouse either view, nor would the authorities cited wholly sustain either of them, in the terms in which they are here respectively set forth. The highest authorities often apply first the one title and then the other indiscriminately to the same proceeding, and it will hardly do to say that they are wrong, since the best usage has not strictly reserved either title for a single definite and distinctive form of procedure. The most one can say is that it would be desirable to make certain precise distinctions, and then to adhere to them. "Mediation" has no doubt been used to denote certain formal procedures which "good offices" would not properly describe: *e. g.*, the procedure formerly common, of conducting negotiations, as at Münster and elsewhere, indirectly through "mediators", instead of directly between the plenipotentiaries; also, the formal submission of a point in dispute to a third party, who, because he is invested with power only to make a recommendation, and not to render a final decision, acts, not as an arbitrator, but as a "mediator", one of the most striking modern examples of such submission, which the author does not mention, being that of the dispute between Germany and Spain as to the Caroline Islands to His Holiness the pope. On the other hand, the inadmissibility of the test that the power using good offices "does not itself take part in the negotiations" is at once demonstrated by the universal and approved application of the term to the care of the interests of the citizens of a country which has no diplomatic or consular representative on the spot. In this common instance, the function of the power using its "good offices" is precisely that of conducting the negotiations. Moreover, mediation is confused with a radically different process, when (II. 358) "arbitration" is said to be "essentially" the conferring upon a "mediator", instead of "a commission to negotiate terms of settlement", the "more extended power of pronouncing a judgment". The fact that an arbitration might follow or even result from a mediation would not make the

one process a part of or an extension of the other; and in reality they are rarely connected, although in the Dogger Bank case they were combined without being confused. Nor does the history of arbitration bear out the statement that it will "on the whole" be employed only "where the subject-matter . . . is of comparative unimportance". The presence or absence of a desire for an amicable settlement is, however, as the author observes, a factor of great moment.

In several instances reliance upon secondary sources has resulted in the perpetuation of erroneous impressions. The author (I. 272) correctly invokes the authority of Calvo for the statement that the United States once asked for the recall of the Dutch minister because he refused to appear and submit himself to cross-examination as a witness in a criminal case, even though in so refusing he followed the instructions of his government. Whence Calvo derived this singular impression does not appear, since his citations refute it. Likewise, the statement, for which American authority is adduced (I. 196), that the United States "adheres to its ancient rule" in declining to inquire in advance as to the personal acceptability of diplomatic representatives below the grade of ambassador, is not in accord with existing practice, it having for some years past been the rule also to make such inquiries in regard to appointees below that grade. That Anson Burlingame did not come to the United States as a "special ambassador" (I. 198) is shown by his description, in the treaty which he signed at Washington, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. The supposition (I. 334) that the note of Mr. Fish to Baron Gerolt, to which Bismarck replied on January 15, 1871, regarding the delivery of despatch bags during the siege of Paris, "has not been printed", seems to have occasioned a surmise that it was withheld because its contentions were abandoned; the note was, however, dated, not "a month before", but on November 21, 1870, and was printed in *Foreign Relations*, 1871 (p. 401). The account of Lord Sackville's case (I. 386) is quite accurate; but in estimating the comment, quoted from an unfriendly American source (I. 388), upon Mr. Bayard's "unseemly haste", we may, while admitting that Sackville's prompt dismissal presupposed a weakness in the electorate fully as deplorable as his lordship's inept letter, bear in mind that responsibility for the decision may have rested quite as much with the President as with the Secretary of State; that the President could hardly have been unacquainted with the prevalent belief that Blaine's defeat four years before was due to his failure immediately to rebuke Burchard's unfortunate alliteration; and that, if agitated voters could be convinced and held only by the minister's dismissal, it had to precede the election. As the same President on another occasion remarked, it was "a condition not a theory" that confronted him. That the condition might have been adequately met by a public appeal to common sense is a supposition which experts will not unanimously indulge.

It is our impression that the French noun *national*, now so generally used in diplomatic correspondence (I. 167), is potentially more comprehensive than the English words "subject or citizen"; and the view based upon the authority of some writers, that the right of embassy "is a matter of *comity*, and not of *strict right*" (I. 180), may be open to interpretation. From the statement (I. 106) that, "before the signature of a treaty", it is "the rule that the full powers of the plenipotentiaries must be exhibited for the purpose of verification", the inference doubtless was not intended to be drawn that the examination is usually deferred till the treaty is ready to be signed; since on important occasions, and particularly in the case of special plenipotentiaries, the preliminary examination of the full powers is only a prudent precaution, as is shown by notable examples in recent as well as in earlier years. Those who may be disposed superficially to jeer or to "chortle" at Jefferson's rule of *pêle-mêle* as an attempt to carry democracy to excess may do well to note (I. 19, 237; II. 35, 43, 70, 71, 79) the frequency with which that rule was adopted by monarchical governments, as little chargeable with popular proclivities as was that of Louis XV. In narrating former disputes as to precedence (I. 20-21) the fact might have been noted that the action of Pombal in establishing a new rule at Lisbon was recited in France's declaration of war against Portugal in 1762. It hardly speaks well for the progressive purification of diplomacy that the author reaches the conclusion that "the law of nations is not concerned with bribery"; that it is "a question of morality alone"; and that, "since every government provides itself with a secret service fund, it is evident that the practice of purchasing secret information is more or less universal". Whether those who inveigh against "secret diplomacy" will feel reassured by this intimation, will depend upon their point of view.

The reviewer, vividly recalling the circumstance that, at the first civil service examination for admission to the Department of State, at Washington, the candidates, of whom he happened to be one, were asked to state the number of square miles in France, regrets that the commissioners of that day could not have had the benefit of the author's opinion (I. 184) that, in the education of a diplomatist, "geography, beyond elementary notions, is not of great value", and that he "will acquire what geographical knowledge he needs of the country to which he is appointed while residing at his post". Although opinions may differ as to what the "elementary notions" of geography may embrace, the reviewer is confident that the phrase was not intended to include the superficial area of the various countries of the world; and in this belief he is glad to acknowledge, with fraternal warmth and gratitude, the retrospective consolation which he derives from the author's view.

J. B. MOORE

Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie. Par BERTRAND AUERBACH, Professeur à l'Université de Nancy. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] Deuxième édition. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. ix, 492. 10 fr.)

THE first edition of Professor Auerbach's work on the nationalities of Austria-Hungary appeared in 1898. The second edition was ready for the press at the outbreak of the war, and the author's facts and conclusions have lost neither in interest nor in permanent value by events since that time. One still turns to his volume as the most authoritative contribution to the literature of his subject in any language. At home in the fields of history, geography, ethnology, and linguistics, and possessed of a philosophic spirit of inquiry, he discusses political questions without partizan bias. His method of treatment enables him to present the complex aspects of any one nationality without endangering the unity of the subject as a whole.

After a general survey, each nationality reappears under each province or group of provinces. The author thus makes it clear that, for instance, the Ruthenians of Galicia, in their struggles with the Poles, pursue other aims than the Ruthenians of Bukowina, who there find themselves threatened by Rumans. And the Rumans of that province, in their turn, are confronted by other problems than the Rumans of Transylvania. In no other European state is it so necessary for the scientific or political observer to be on his guard in coming to conclusions based on racial and linguistic grounds. Again and again he must ask, what race and what language? Some nationalities, like the Slovene, are an anthropological puzzle. In the matter of language the difficulty may be equally great. The local vocabularies of the Alpine valleys of German Austria tell their own bewildering tale. Not seldom the ethnic or historic origin of a German or Slavic *enclave* in an Austrian or Hungarian province is lost in obscurity. The Germans of Carniola are becoming steadily denationalized and adopt the Slovene tongue. Anthropology throws little light on their ancestry. Physically and dialectically the German of Carniola differs from his kinsman in neighboring Carinthia. Such considerations have their important bearing on the political questions of the day.

The Italian claim to southern Tyrol is supposed to rest firmly on linguistic, ethnic, and historic grounds. Does the claim justly include the Ladins of the remote valleys of the Adige? Their language links them as closely to the French, Spanish, and Ruman, as it does to the Italian. Ethnically there is doubt as to whether they are descendants of Etruscans, Ligurians, or Celts. The cities of southern Tyrol have not always borne their present physiognomy. Bozen is to all appearances to-day a German town; in the Middle Ages it was chiefly Italian. The Germans appeared in the Trentino first in the thirteenth century. There was little intermingling of nationalities for three centuries. Montaigne, in

1580, described Trent as a town half-divided between two languages. To-day its characteristics are Italian. Bohemia presents still more perplexing problems. In spite of their political antagonisms, Czechs and Teutons bear a baffling physical resemblance, which leaves a doubt as to whether the Slavic or the German type predominates. Again, the persistence of common physical characteristics is in strange contrast to linguistic changes which take place under the eyes of the present generation. The reactionary Princes Schwarzenberg, perhaps the most powerful aristocrats of all Europe, are identifying themselves more and more, linguistically, with the Czechs, though their loyalty to the Hapsburgs is as unaltered as that of the liberal-German Auerspergs. Entire Bohemian cities have changed their linguistic and political complexion in recent days. In 1850 Pilsen was a German town. Of its 15,000 inhabitants 3000 or 4000 were Czechs. To-day, of its 70,000 inhabitants the overwhelming majority are Czechs. Budweis has fared similarly. In Vienna itself the Slavic propaganda, though not expressed in figures, is steadily gaining ground. And the German-speaking population, while bitterly opposed to the Slavs, is far from being in sympathy, alike in peace and war, with the Teutonism of Berlin. Again, anthropologically and linguistically—as far as the spoken language is concerned—the differences between the German of Vienna and the German of Berlin are as marked as the resemblances.

Few foreign observers have laid such stress as Professor Auerbach, directly and indirectly, on the need of weighing all the factors entering into a discussion of Magyar chauvinism, the claims of Poles, the aspirations of South Slavs, but for these and similar subjects now agitating the world we must refer the reader to his own pages. In conclusion, we shall only add that it is a rare pleasure to notice the scrupulous accuracy in the spelling of foreign names which distinguishes this notable volume. We have found only one disturbing misprint: the statement (on p. 259) that the Jews of Galicia number *one* (instead of ten) per cent. of the total population. The only serious defect of the book is the lack of an index.

GUSTAV POLLAK.

Der Kampf um die Vermeidung des Weltkriegs: Randglossen aus zwei Jahrzehnten zu den Zeitereignissen vor der Katastrophe (1892-1900 und 1907-1914). Von BERTHA VON SUTTNER. Herausgegeben von Dr. ALFRED H. FRIED. In two volumes. (Zürich: Orell Füssli. 1917. Pp. xx, 628; xvi, 630. 16 fr.)

FROM October, 1892, to the summer of 1900, and again from January, 1907, until a month before her death in 1914 (June 21), Baroness Bertha von Suttner wrote "from week to week and month to month" a fairly continuous record of political events. She made abstracts of speeches, quoted significant sentences, and fused the story of it all in the setting

of her own comment. The personality of the writer is revealed in her criticisms, but otherwise there is but little of a personal nature in these portly volumes, until one reaches the pages which tell of her travels in the United States. These are filled chiefly with letters to Dr. Fried. The total result is, as Dr. Fried says, not history but the raw material of history. The value placed upon such material will depend chiefly upon one's estimate of the importance of the Baroness von Suttner's judgments of men and things.

Dr. Fried has evidently labored patiently over this mass of condensed summaries of news-items in a spirit of enthusiastic admiration for his departed friend, and in the belief that her outlook upon her own age will have a permanent value for a future time. He was avowedly moved by a desire to execute a commission which she had entrusted to him and also to produce a suitable memorial to her life-work for world-peace.

The title here given to her marginal notes on contemporary life is of Dr. Fried's choosing, and in an epilogue to the second volume he points out that his *Diary of the War*, published in *Friedens-Warte* since August, 1914, is substantially a continuation of the baroness's chronicle of the events leading towards this Armageddon.

The first outstanding impression derived from this moving picture of politics is that the baroness placed every event and every actor always under one searchlight, that which came from the idea behind the title of her most famous book, *Die Waffen Nieder*. That idea possessed her completely. By it all her contemporaries were measured. The years in which she collected these memoranda were the years of the Venezuela dispute, the two Hague Conferences, the Morocco controversy and the Balkan Wars. She was quick to appraise the bearing of all events and policies upon the cause dear to her heart, and she appraised them with accuracy and foresight. She perceived that the English Edward was a preserver of peace, and that the German Wilhelm, whose contradictory qualities she well described as "ultra-modern and ultra-feudal", was not to be implicitly trusted when he posed as a pacifist. Therefore although at first sight these pages look like a fragmentary chronicle, a heap of disconnected facts, a closer scrutiny shows an underlying unity in these scraps; it is in the constant factor of the movement towards an organized world and against the mailed fist. So the baroness's note-books, while conveying no information that is new, may have some value as a witness to a long and unswerving effort.

To an American the naïve and minute confidences in the letters written during Baroness von Suttner's visit here in 1912 are sometimes interesting as gossip, although the reason for such unrestricted publication is not evident. It is worth noting, however, that in the spring of 1914, having in mind the repeal of the Panama toll-exemption clause, she placed this estimate upon President Wilson: "He has introduced morals into politics".

Dr. Fried has contributed to the work a name-index and a subject-index, which seem reasonably adequate. His English proof-reading has made at least one curious blunder (II. 431), where "the pulsied month of war" remotely suggests a "palsied mouth".

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Das Völkerringen 1914/15. Von F. M. KIRCHEISEN. Mit Aktenstücken. Erster (Text-)Band. (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer. 1915. Pp. xx, 567. 8 marks.)

THIS volume is part of a pretentious history of the war, on the large scale of those of Allen and Simonds now being published. The author, who is a native of Saxony, has long resided in Geneva, which may account for some of his views, and even for the clear and simple prose which he writes. He makes books easily and quickly, but I judge also without much research, with little insight, and no depth of thought. While these pages contain much of interest to him who would read the details, they present few important additions to our knowledge of the subject, little to explain what is not evident already, few generalizations, or summaries, or wise remarks. The plan stated is to make use of official or semi-official documents and the best information obtainable from trustworthy sources among all the belligerent peoples. Actually the work consists in large part of lengthy extracts from newspapers, German and Swiss. True, a *Documentenhalbband* was issued along with this volume, but it is not to be obtained here yet. From what is before me I should conjecture that in it the author uses his texts with such acumen and fairness as intelligent German propagandists have displayed in this country.

The writing is not by one blinded with feeling of superiority or lust for power, but from a kindly gentleman who seems to desire to be fair. In his judgment France is "das aufgeklärteste und demokratischste Land Europas". But even from such a one we find no admission that in any way was Germany to blame for the war, or that any of her deeds have been more than little transgressions justified by evil conditions. In mild simplicity he follows zu Reventlow's school: since the fall of Napoleon England has woven a net about the world so that all men must labor for her and all the world's riches be hers; when Germany resisted, England grew hostile; Edward VII., envious of his nephew, made the Entente Cordiale, rendering France subservient, and then drew along Russia; thus was Germany encircled. He thinks that the measures of Austria-Hungary against Servia were just; the direct cause of the war was the declaration of July 24 that in a conflict between Austria and Servia, Russia could not be indifferent; the Russian ruling classes needed a successful war to regain their vanished prestige; the Allies prepared to attack, Russia really making the first declaration of war; envy of German greatness was one of the major causes.

Most of this is contained in the brief introduction. The bulk of the volume consists of detailed narration, long extracts from journals, and proclamations reprinted. There are the eighteen declarations of war and explanatory documents accompanying. There is a long chapter on the mobilization, which gives little about questions of priority or order, but a great deal of interesting information, largely from newspapers, on the movement of troops and experiences of people. There is a short, worthless account of the military resources and strength of the warring powers. There are finally three chapters on the course of the war itself: the most detailed story which I have seen of the fighting between Austria and Servia and Montenegro; an excellent and interesting account of the invasion of Belgium; and a minute relation of the battles between Frenchmen and Germans in Alsace-Lorraine. All this is evidently not by a military writer. There are few generalizations of value, and the treatment, entirely narrative, is such that the difficult questions are not even brought to attention. After perusal we are as much in the dark as ever why the French made their offensive into the Reichsland, and why they failed; only incidentally do we notice how much Austria's advantage against her small Slavic enemies was owing to superior artillery.

Some things almost make one doubt the good faith of the author, but I am convinced that they result from honest incapacity, and, probably, too great haste. For us this book possesses greater interest and importance than it would otherwise have, because it is one of the very few books on the war by a German which has come to this country.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

The Marne Campaign. By Major F. E. WHITTON. [Campaigns and their Lessons, edited by Maj.-Gen. C. E. Callwell, C.B.] (London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 311. \$4.00.)

MAJOR WHITTON'S careful and highly intelligent study of the Marne campaign of 1914 frankly admits that many matters relating to it remain obscure. A half-century after the American Civil War, for all the wealth of evidence in the shape of orders, despatches, reports, and explanatory comment, some of our war myths are still in the process of being cleared away. The battle of the Marne gave rise to a persistent myth, widely circulated in American newspapers on January 9, 1918, in the announcement of the death of General Grossetti, commander of the 42d Division of the Ninth French Army. Major Whitton punctures this particular myth by showing that the Ninth French Army drove no wedge into the Teutonic centre, that there was no movement resembling such a thrust made by the Ninth Army, that this army had been roughly handled and forced back on September 9, that the widely vaunted movement of the 42d Division made slight progress, and that the Germans

were waiting for the orders to attack when the general order to retire the entire German line arrived. Major Whitton's book opens with a summary of the army organizations and naval forces of the different countries at the outset of the war. He analyzes the military movements in Belgium, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Serbia, and elsewhere from the time of the German onrush to the Seine up to the retirement to the Aisne. He gives also a digest of operations on the ocean and even of the war movements in Africa. The Russian campaign into East Prussia, of course, had a direct effect upon the battle of the Marne, compelling the Germans to divert troops from the West to the East, but the relation to the Marne campaign of some of the military movements described by the author is not so obvious.

There has been much curiosity to know what was the German objective in August and September, 1914, what checked the onrush, and especially what happened to General von Kluck. Major Whitton's view is that the French army and not Paris was the main objective, a view that accords with both military and common sense. Moreover the perimeter of the forts encircling Paris exceeded eighty miles, and a much larger force than von Kluck had at his disposal would have been necessary for investment and siege operations.

The rapid advance of the Germans in August and September, which the author compares favorably with the best of Napoleon's movements, separated von Kluck from the next German army on his left, and between these armies there was a gap of some forty miles. To close up this gap on September 3, the southerly advance of von Kluck was changed to a southeastwardly movement across the enemy's front, here held by the badly hustled British force, which, apparently, he did not take very seriously, for he pressed ahead, crossed the Marne, and approached the Seine. His final withdrawal was compelled by the advance north-eastwardly from Paris of the Sixth French Army, which he had to return to face. The subsequent advance northward of the Allies further east to his rear placed him between the jaws of a vice from which he escaped by an exhibition of tactical skill to which Major Whitton gives full credit. That he escaped at all from so perilous a position must in part be attributed to a certain failure on the part of the Allies to seize fully their opportunity. No statement is given of the strength of the British expeditionary force after its rough handling. The author maintains stoutly that it was unbeaten and he spares it from all criticism, which possibly may be a proper attitude to maintain toward a minor force become the victims of untoward conditions. But it seems apparent that the British following of the German rear-guard, mainly composed of cavalry, was marked by no audacity, and the German cavalry had little difficulty in holding the British back. The slowness of the British advance on the 7th is attributed by the author to General Joffre's failure to anticipate the rapidity of von Kluck's retirement. Nevertheless, with only a rear-guard in front of them, the British advance from the Grand

Morin to the Petit Morin, a distance of not much over seven miles, appears to have been very deliberate. As it was, on the 9th the British were only a dozen miles from von Kluck's rear. The position of the commander of the first German army was the more perilous from the fact that it was not until the 7th that Maubeuge fell, the holding out of which fortress far to the rear had seriously interfered with the German transportation. The failure of the efforts from the vicinity of Verdun and Nancy to roll up the armies of the Allies, coupled with the necessity of von Kluck's retirement, made compulsory the falling back of the whole German line, for which orders appear to have been given on the 9th of September.

Excellent in detail, except for a few adjectives applied to the foe, which could well have been omitted from so useful a military study, and for a few war tales told by subalterns, which hardly merit a place in such a book, the author's narrative is not quite so satisfactory or convincing in its suggestion of the broader play of the Allied strategy.

What the treaties and understandings between the Allies were, is of minor consequence as compared with the common action. It is plain that in the working out of the common purpose, and contrary to a prevalent opinion which gives most of the credit of the Allied defense to France, the French, with some minor help from the Belgians and the British, were to hold the Germans while the Russians overwhelmed Germany and Austria-Hungary from the East. The Russians under the old régime made the most earnest endeavors to enact the part which inevitably fell to them, and it was the most difficult part to carry out. They made the only great offensives into the enemy's country. Driven out they came back. Of all the Allies they did the hardest fighting up to the close of 1915, when there had been 1,200,000 Russians killed to 800,000 Frenchmen and 200,000 British. Nothing could be plainer than that, in the early years of the war, Russia saved the day for France, England, and all the Allies. Her share of the material things to be gained in this war, which is so largely economic in its motives, early disappeared with the disaster to the Allies before the Dardanelles. Nevertheless Russia did not quit until she was defeated, as the Southern Confederacy was defeated in 1865, and defeated for much the same reason, not because her supply of men was exhausted, but because her lower form of the present-day industrial civilization had broken down, just as the lower form of civilization broke down in America in our Civil War. It showed small comprehension in Americans of what Russia had actually done, when the Revolution overturned the government that served the Allies so well and the downfall was hailed with a kind of hysterical glee.

Major Whitton recognizes the important fact that in 1914 Germany had to take troops from the West to meet the Russian invasion, but the thoroughly equipped historian in the future will be forced by the facts to portray Russia's important war-work on broader lines than he has

done, even while it is recognized that there was doubtless in Russia a considerable party, which owing to the proximity of Germany and the many alliances between the two countries, social and economic, and their mutual dependence upon each other for the necessities and conveniences of life did not favor the position in which Russia found herself.

ISAAC R. PENNYPACKER.

Der Weltkrieg: Vorläufige Orientierung von einem Schweizerischen Standpunkt aus. Von S. ZURLINDEN. Erster Band. (Zürich: Orell Füssli. 1917. Pp. xxiv, 532. 12 fr.)

A PRELIMINARY orientation regarding the World War would seem to be a useful project, and the Swiss standpoint would commend itself as an excellent position from which to undertake it. The author of this book is deeply conscious of the "difficulties" which such a venture must encounter, and modestly suggests that he would prefer to call his book an "attempt" at such an orientation. It is, however, no slender sketch in the nature of a general introduction that he has in mind, but a work in three or four large and closely printed volumes, of which this is the first, intended to contain an exposition of the historical ground-principles of the war, of the immediate causes of its occurrence, of its effects and attendant phenomena in the participating and neutral states, especially in Switzerland, and finally the particular course of the war in brief outline.

The present volume is entirely devoted to a statement and criticism of fundamental ideas and principles, comprising chapters on Human Nature, the Superstition of War, the Principle of Authority, Secret Diplomacy, Militarism, Imperialism, and the Theology of War.

The author's point of view is, as the subtitle informs us, that of a Swiss citizen, and is therefore democratic. Notwithstanding the racial affinity and cultural community of the German-Swiss people with the subjects of the Central Empires, his reflections, although emanating from a neutral, are frankly admitted to be adversely critical of militarism and imperialism. "When the Germans", he says, "explain that they cannot permit their militarism to be taken from them", the Swiss must reply, "On that very account we cannot surrender our opposition to militarism". It is against a system, however, and by no means against the interests of the German people, that the writer is contending.

If war were a necessity inherent in the nature of man, he concedes, it would be futile to endeavor to escape its evils. His first chapter is therefore devoted to an exposure of the fallacy that sanguinary conflict is an essential outgrowth of human nature. It is, he grants, an outgrowth of a purely animal nature, and is in consequence a form of human expression in so far as man is merely an animal. But he is more than an animal, and, in proportion as he is distinctively human, sanguinary combat ceases to be a form of his voluntary activity. Struggle

is, indeed, essential to progress, and even to existence; but struggle, the author holds, does not of necessity imply the need or the advantage of mutual destruction of human beings. On the contrary, human development has not resulted from natural selection, in the sense of the survival of the physically strongest, but from the social capacity of man and the advantage of mutual helpfulness. Even as an animal, man has acquired his supremacy by his power to perceive what is harmful, by his will to overcome it even in himself, and by his foresight in preventing it. The theory that room for expansion and pressure for food-supply are necessary and therefore justifiable causes of war is dismissed as a stupid failure to perceive that it is not increased territorial control that is the true correlate of growing population, for it is the technique of commerce that is the effective regulator of the food-supply. Neither race, nor nationality, nor any biological condition whatever presents a necessarily determining cause of war. War is a will. If war were really believed to be "necessary", in any physically compulsory sense, an imperative part of "the divine order of the world", as its theoretical advocates pretend, why should anyone ever think of entertaining scruples about beginning it, or try to defend himself against the accusation of being responsible for it? "Why will no one have it on his conscience? How does it happen that Kaiser Wilhelm, rising from the signature of the declaration of war, says with trembling lips: '*I have not willed this war*'?" Why, upon the theory of necessity and divine purpose, should the human will ever be even spoken of in connection with war? And since war implies two sides, and both are necessary to make it a war, why should right or wrong be supposed in any way to enter into the problem? And yet it is the whole of the problem, and everyone in every concrete case admits that it is.

It would be interesting to examine the remaining chapters of this book, especially the one on the Principle of Authority, but this is impossible in the limits of space assigned to this review. It may be said, in general, that this volume is too bulky and the number of volumes in the series is too great to insure many readers, that the whole argument might be stated more effectively in briefer compass, that the citations are too long and too numerous, and that the wealth of information which the book contains is difficult to extract from the crowded pages in which many valuable ideas are obscured. The table of contents is full and the notes are abundant. If the same pains had been taken in preparing an index, which a book of such bulk and so many small details imperatively needs, it would have rendered it trebly more useful to the reader. Few persons in this busy world will ever read this book through, but many would frequently refer to it, and would find profit in doing so, if its treasures were not buried so deep beneath the surface.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

Germany's Commercial Grip on the World: her Business Methods Explained. By HENRI HAUSER, Professor of Dijon University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1917. Pp. xv, 259. \$1.65.)

PROFESSOR HAUSER'S discussion adds little that is new to the facts bearing on this now very familiar subject. His book was first published in November, 1915, and the present third edition bears date of April, 1916. The preface to this later edition points out that the book was originally written with "no other pretension than to mark a date, to describe a state of affairs existent at a determined moment", and that he had decided "to reprint it again with few alterations".

Under such circumstances, both the facts and the conclusions necessarily lack much of the perspective in which the subject has had to be considered since the United States declared war on Germany, and the South American states, in whose markets Germany had achieved so great commercial successes, either followed our example by declaring war, or else broke off diplomatic relations. Professor Hauser bases much of his discussion on the assertion, which he emphasizes by printing it in heavy type, that

Germany sows during the tempest; victor or vanquished, she will reap the harvest. While her rivals keep silent, refuse to book orders, postpone all talk of business till the morrow of peace, Germany proclaims to all the world that she exists, that her firms are ever powerful, that they will be ready on the first day of peace to answer the call made on them.

This correctly enough described the position of things in the middle of 1915, after only one year of war and before Germany's full development of her submarine war on neutral ships and cargoes. But it may well be doubted if it describes the situation or probabilities as they exist today. Count Luxburg's exploits alone would offset all such continued commercial propaganda as Germany might have undertaken in South America since the beginning of the war. Professor Hauser's assertion that Germany's commercial rivals "keep silent" and "refuse to book orders" in the foreign field had a plausible sound in 1915, when not only had England's exports to such neutral markets been cut in two as compared with 1913, but when even the export trade of the United States with South America and Asia, for the twelve months ending with June of 1915, was smaller by \$47,000,000 than its best pre-war figures. England's sales of merchandise to the neutrals have not appreciably increased since Professor Hauser's book was written; but in the fiscal year 1917 our own country's exports to them had increased no less than \$426,000,000 over the 1915 figure. It may be open to argument whether this huge increase is not temporary; but it certainly does not show inertia among Germany's rivals in capturing her lost foreign trade. Political and economic conditions have alike brought about a different situation from that of two years ago.

Professor Hauser's review of the methods and policies by which Germany achieved her remarkable successes in the field of foreign trade between 1871 and 1914 is comprehensive, though it gives no fresh information to those who have read the numerous discussions published on the subject since the war began. The intensive organization of her home industries, the government subsidies, the patient adaptation of goods to the particular tastes and prejudices of foreign markets, the scientific control by Germany of the "dumping" policy through her "cartels" or trade combinations—all this is duly and clearly explained. So with the less honorable aspects of her foreign trade campaign: the policy of commercial espionage, the propaganda for misrepresenting trade adversaries, the more or less fraudulent imitation of staple goods of those adversaries.

The reader naturally looks for the author's conclusions regarding the future; his views as to what Germany will be able to do in foreign trade after the war, and as to what Germany's present antagonists ought to do. In this direction, the book falls short of the natural expectations. Advice and warning regarding the Allies' policy in their future competition with Germany are in the main directed to France, which must adopt better plans for combination of enterprise, must discard "the red-tape bureaucracy which in France stifles all initiative", and must promote industrial facilities intelligently through the state. But the author gives us no clear view of future conditions as they will apply to England, for instance, or Japan, or the United States, in challenging Germany's commercial grip on the world. He does not advocate the "economic war" after peace. "To boycott Germany is a dream, a nightmare." Nevertheless, as concerns the policy of the Allies, Professor Hauser "can see only one means of acting with efficacy, and that is not to act alone":

It is to be wished that the Entente, after having triumphed on the field of battle, shall find itself still united to-morrow in the domain of economics—an Entente enlarged by the accession of those nations who will wish to accept the conditions of a new Pact of London. If the most-favoured-nation clause must reappear in future commercial treaties, it is important that the effect of it shall be limited only to the signatories of this declaration—that is to say, to those nations which will submit to it in good faith, in all reciprocity. It is also by means of this Entente that we shall be able to fight against dumping.

Perhaps the plainest conclusion which the reader will draw from the numerous contemporary discussions of Germany and the post-bellum foreign market is that we are discussing developments of a future in which the actual controlling causes cannot be foreseen. It is a striking fact that while non-German economists like Professor Hauser are implicitly taking for granted Germany's immediate and successful resumption of her achievements in foreign trade, as soon as her ships are able to sail the ocean again, the high experts in Germany herself are talking

very differently. It was Ballin of the Hamburg Line who publicly predicted, a year ago, that there would virtually be no future for the German shipping industry in the period immediately following the war, because exhaustion of her supplies of raw material would prevent exports, and because a depreciated foreign exchange (which would continue) would make imports so costly as to restrict the power of purchasing them. German newspapers of the more serious sort have been discussing openly what would be Germany's road to a new prosperity, assuming that she could not regain her foreign trade. There will be much to learn, on both sides of the argument, from the real events of those new conditions of national life and national intercourse which will come with the great political and economic readjustment.

ALEXANDER D. NOYES.

The Rebuilding of Europe: a Survey of Forces and Conditions. By DAVID JAYNE HILL. (New York: Century Company. 1917. Pp. x, 289. \$1.50.)

THIS is a collection of eight papers, six of which were delivered as lectures at the Johns Hopkins University on the Schouler Foundation in March, 1917, and five of which were subsequently published in the *Century Magazine*. In the main they are devoted to a consideration of what the author regards as the fundamental cause of war, and of the means by which, in his opinion, wars in the future may be avoided. According to Dr. Hill the cause of the present international anarchy is to be found in the traditional conception of sovereignty, which attributes to every independent state a legal right to make war upon another state for such reason as it deems sufficient. From this flows the equally well recognized right of conquest—the right to appropriate territory belonging to the enemy and, with it, dominion and sovereignty over the people who inhabit it, without any regard whatever to their own wishes. This conception of sovereignty, developed during the sixteenth century and recognized and confirmed by the peace of Westphalia, is one of the postulates of European public law and its rightfulness has never been repudiated or questioned by any of the great international congresses or conferences. This in Mr. Hill's opinion is a "monstrous doctrine", a "baneful fiction", a "wicked and infamous dogma", such as would never have been invented by any jurist or statesman "under the constitutional régime". Its effect is to accord to every independent state a place above the law and morality and to make it a sort of "licensed brigand". Instead of the states of the world constituting collectively a "family" of nations in any real sense of the word, therefore, they occupy in respect to one another the position of the "poor, nasty, brutish" individual in Hobbes's state of nature—perpetually in a state of potential if not of actual warfare with one another.

This dogma that a state because of the right of absolute sovereignty attributed to it may lawfully make war upon a neighbor for reasons the

justice of which the rest of the world may utterly condemn, and which requires other nations to assume the attitude of indifferent spectators even when the war constitutes an unjustifiable aggression in violation of international law, Mr. Hill very justly characterizes as unsocial and anarchistic. We must, he says, have a "real society of states", a "commonwealth of nations", instead of a multitude of absolutely independent sovereignties, each of which is subject to no law or rule of morality except such as it may choose to recognize as binding. He does not, however, go to the length of advocating the abolition of existing states and their absorption into a universal empire, as Dante proposed, nor does he suggest the erection over them of a superstate; he is content with a scheme of international co-operation, along the line of the proposed league to enforce peace. "The only way", he says, "in which there is ever to be a real society of states is for those great powers which can find a sufficient community of interest to unite in the determination that they will themselves observe principles of justice and equity and that *they will unite their forces in defense of them*" (p. 107).

It is impossible within the space of this review to examine into the merits of Mr. Hill's diagnosis and the remedy which he proposes. It is difficult for the reviewer to avoid the feeling that at times he exaggerates what he calls the "evil heritage" of absolute sovereignty, by attributing to states a freedom of action which international law no longer concedes as belonging to them. But whatever may be one's opinion as to his interpretation of the theory of state omnipotence, there ought to be no dissent from his proposition that the right of conquest should be abolished, that the attitude of silence, if not of indifference, heretofore adopted by states in regard to violations of international law should be abandoned, and that some form of international co-operation must be organized for compelling states to observe their international obligations and duties and to respect the law which has received the common assent of mankind. His treatment of the subject is characterized by originality, sound thinking, and breadth of view, and his book is a very meritorious contribution to the growing output of literature dealing with the reconstruction of international law.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Voyages of the Norsemen to America. By WILLIAM HOVGAARD, Professor of Naval Design and Construction, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. [Scandinavian Monographs, vol. I.] (New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1914. Pp. xxi, 304. \$4.00.)

In this work Professor Hovgaard has undertaken to elucidate and fortify the view that the Vinland sagas are, on the whole, reliable records of actual geographic exploration. But, as against the opinion of

Dr. Gustav Storm and Dr. Finnur Jonsson that the Saga of Erik the Red is a more reliable record than the so-called Greenland narrative, and against Dr. Nansen's dictum that both sagas are devoid of historical value, Professor Hovgaard takes the position that "both accounts . . . may probably be considered as essentially historic and essentially of equal value". He makes no unqualified concession to any of Nansen's clever contentions, and shows scant regard for the most emphatic declarations of Storm and Jonsson with regard to texts.

If Professor Hovgaard had limited himself to supporting his statement that "In general, the simple and straightforward narrative in the sagas . . . will by itself be sufficient to convince people of its essential truthfulness", he would have assigned himself a task for which he has special qualifications, particularly the matter of presenting "the peculiar conditions under which the navigation of the Norsemen took place". The author's experience as an officer in the Royal Danish navy, and as professor of naval design and construction in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, makes him eminently fitted to treat the nautical and maritime phases of the Vinland problem, and he has performed the task well. In a series of chapters he discusses the art of ship-building among the Norsemen of the period, gives an excellent résumé of the early history of the Norsemen in Iceland, followed by an interesting account of the Norse settlements in Greenland, whence the Vinland voyagers issued forth, and gives also an adequate summary of the geography as well as of the hydrographic and climatic conditions of the North-Atlantic coast of America, accompanied by a description of the Eskimos and Indians of this region, in which he argues that the Norse explorers doubtless came in contact with both of these races—all illuminated with such a wealth of well-selected photographic illustrations as have never before been bestowed on this subject. The various phases of life in the Norse colonies of Iceland and Greenland, especially the economic conditions, are set forth in such a way as to prepare the reader for a ready acceptance of the main facts of the saga narratives, and make it plain that it would have been very strange if the Norsemen during their centuries of abode on the inhospitable shores of southwestern Greenland had not found land to the southwest and made serious efforts at colonization.

But the author does not apply the mass of information that he has gathered in direct refutation of Nansen's astute and vigorous onslaught on the Vinland sagas, which, at present, is the vital issue in the discussion. He is merely preparing the ground for a detailed examination of the contents of both sagas for the purpose of a "reconstruction of the voyages" (the title of the last chapter) and the identification of the regions visited. Upon this last point the author's efforts are centred. But there need be no hesitancy in declaring that, like so many previous investigators of this knotty problem, he will surely fail to convince critical students of any definite results. For it is glaringly evident that to

trace, along an irregular coast of great extent, the course of ancient mariners who had no nautical instruments, is a hopeless task. So far as the historical importance of these isolated and fruitless attempts at exploration and colonization is concerned, it is sufficient to demonstrate that Leif Erikson and Thorfinn Karlsefni were real men who belonged to the well-known Norse colony of Greenland; that in the early part of the eleventh century they visited various parts of the North American continent—got far enough south to make the observation that day and night were of more equal length than in Greenland; and, finally, found savages whose hostility prevented permanent settlement in the new regions. Just where the Norse explorers landed may have some sentimental interest, but it is not important, nor is it essential for the purpose of establishing the general truthfulness of the Vinland sagas.

In spite of the superfluity of detailed discourse relating to the identification of localities, Professor Hovgaard's book contains much valuable information. Letter-press, maps, and illustrations are in all respects excellent, and are a credit to the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

JULIUS E. OLSON.

Americ Vespuce, 1451-1512: sa Bibliographie, sa Vie, ses Voyages, ses Découvertes, l'Attribution de son Nom à l'Amérique, ses Relations Authentiques et Contestées. Par HENRY VIGNAUD. [Recueil de Voyages et de Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de la Géographie, XXIII.] (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1917. Pp. ix, 421. 40 fr.)

THE foregoing title shows sufficiently the wide scope of the present volume. The book is the fruit of years of labor on the part of one who has devoted the greater part of a long lifetime to the history of American discovery. Its author has undertaken the huge work successively abandoned by Harisse and Uzielli. If he brings to his task less of a critical spirit than either of these scholars would have done, that fault is almost pardonable in view of his enthusiasm for his subject and the noble desire to do justice to a man much maligned. For Vignaud frankly ranges himself as a Vespucci apologist. He reacts strongly against all recent doubting Thomases and reverts to the position taken by Varnhagen and John Fiske. Typographically the book is both beautiful and accurate; it is printed in quarto format with wide margins suggestive of anything but war-time penury.

The bibliographical portion contains little not to be found in Justin Winsor and Fumagalli, with the exception of recent publications, and not all of these are included. No mention is made of Rambaldi's biography, certain works of Antonio de Martino, the brief but important survey of Vespucci by the late Professor Bourne in his *Spain in America*, nor of the older writings of Gino Capponi. Doubtless a systematic

search would disclose further omissions. But most amazing is the failure to mention such important historical sources as the Magliabechiana manuscript of the *Soderini Letter* and the Amoretti Codex. The biography of Vespucci contains nothing new. Nowhere in the book has a new source been utilized. The texts published are reprints without attempt at collation or correction. Nevertheless it is convenient to have all this material assembled between two covers. We have: the *Mundus Novus* reprinted from the original with variants from the edition of Jehan Lambert Paris, with omission of the facsimiles; the *Soderini Letter*, taken from Varnhagen's faulty text, with some of the latter's typographical deviations, and without the cuts; the translation of the same into French by Norbert Sumien; the Latin text from the *Cosmographiae Introductio*, 1507; the three so-called apocryphal letters, which Vignaud does not accept as genuine. Vespucci's Latin and Spanish letters are not included.

Vignaud upholds the authenticity of the disputed first voyage. Not only that, but he holds with Varnhagen and Fiske that Vespucci sailed around the Gulf of Mexico and north beyond the coasts of Florida and Georgia. Once more the old "Parias-Lariab" controversy which we had supposed laid to rest is revived. In an introductory note Vignaud states that my study of the *Soderini Letter* had reached him too late to use, but adds that he is unconvinced that the Magliabechiana manuscript has any value. This is the only logical position which those who believe that Vespucci took the course described will henceforth be able to assume. For once let them admit the value of this source and their whole argument falls to the ground. The matter hinges on a point of textual criticism. Three versions, the Latin, the Magliabechiana, and the Amoretti Codex read *Parias*, *Perias*. The two first named at least, it can be demonstrated, often preserve the correct tradition (and certainly did in this instance) as against the Florentine print, which alone reads *Lariab*. The name *Lariab* never appeared on any map. It has never been identified with any town. It is a myth. For no better reason than that certain Mexican Indian names end in -ab, Varnhagen would place *Lariab* near Tampico, in spite of the fact that Vespucci states that he sailed 870 leagues to the northwest of the place in dispute. This argumentation Vignaud now adopts as trustfully as Fiske did before him. The negative evidence of the suit of the heirs of Columbus against the Spanish crown, invoked so tellingly by many critics, Vignaud brushes aside as irrelevant on the ground that Vespucci made no claim to have discovered *Parias*. The time is past for rejecting the Magliabechiana manuscript with a dogmatic assertion that it had no value. Where but from this source did Bandini and Varnhagen learn that Piero Soderini was the recipient of the letter? Not from the print, which Vignaud alone accepts as authoritative. Varnhagen used this source when it suited his purpose and suppressed its readings when these did not support his theories. Modern scholars should no longer be deceived.

Uzielli, whose work Vignaud had taken up, never tired of emphasizing the importance of this version. If we are ever to make progress in solving problems connected with Vespucci it will be through the critical study of sources, not by rethrasing old straw.

Throughout the book Vignaud displays a strong bias in favor of Vespucci's apologists and against those who have even mildly disputed some of his assertions. The most valuable portion of the study is that which traces the steps by which the name America came to be fastened upon the western continents. The subject has never been treated more fully than here. The views advanced are not new but sound, except for the attempt to show that Vespucci actually was the first to discover and chart a large portion of the North American continent.

GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP.

Colonial Virginia: its People and Customs. By MARY NEWTON STANARD. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 376. \$6.00.)

THIS work, important in content and spirited in style, was written by the wife of the secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, and is worthy of the excellent paper, print, binding, and illustrations which are its adornments. Mrs. Stanard has had access to her husband's copious notes, yet the work is her own. Its facts are drawn largely from unpublished manuscripts of various kinds, but also from documents printed in historical magazines, from the colonial newspaper, the *Virginia Gazette*, Fithian's *Diary*, etc. The book deals not merely with the people of colonial Virginia and their customs, but also with their houses, furniture, crockery, silver-ware, watches, clocks, jewelry, clothes, books, pictures, etc.

The first chapter tells of the founders of the colony down to 1625 and of the subsequent settlers. Almost all of the early Virginia colonists—of all classes, from noblemen to indentured servants—perished of disease, hunger, cold, or massacre by Indians; and those were stout-hearted indeed who remained to risk suffering and death. As to the origin of the "higher planting class", Mrs. Stanard considers that the families which can be traced to the English gentry are somewhat more numerous than those of mercantile origin; differing, thus, from Dr. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, who maintains, in his *Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia*, that a considerable majority of upper-class Virginians are descended from English merchants. She does not say much of the Huguenot, Scotch-Irish, and German colonists, or of the negroes.

In the chapter on Education the author wonders what that "embittered old man", Governor Berkeley, meant by thanking God in 1671 that there were no free schools in Virginia, since he must have been "well aware" of the existence of certain schools, of which she gives account, and of others as well. The chapter is subdivided into Free Schools,

Private Schools, Tutors, William and Mary College, and Studying Abroad.

The chapter on Social Life is one of the most interesting. In it is quoted a letter from Col. Daniel Parke, about 1702, to his daughter Frances, afterward Mrs. Custis. Among other things he says: "Do not learn to romp but behave yourself soberly and like a gentlewoman. . . . Be calm and Obliging to all the Servants, and when you speak doe it mildly, even to the poorest slave", etc. In the same chapter is this extract from the diary of a "very lively little colonial girl", Sally Fairfax: "On thursday the 26th of decem. Mama made 6 Mince pies and 7 custards, 12 tarts, 1 chicking pye and 4 pudings for the ball".

It may surprise many to read what the commissioners to settle the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina in 1710 report of the hospitable Mrs. Frances Jones: "She is a very civil woman and shews nothing of ruggedness, or Immodesty in her carriage, yett she will carry a gunn in the woods and kill deer, turkeys, etc., shoot down wild cattle, catch and tye hoggs, knock down beeves with an ax and perform the most manfull Exercises as well as most men in those parts."

In these days of enforced aridity it is refreshing to read this item from the diary of the Father of his Country in 1771: "Dined at the Speaker's and went to the Play—after wch Drank a Bowl or two of Punch at Mrs. Campbell's".

There is a chapter on Virginia and England, and chapters on the Theatre, Outdoor Sports, Music, Religion, and Funeral Customs. But perhaps no chapter will elicit more good laughs from the reader than that on Courtship and Marriage.

R. H. DABNEY.

The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909. Compiled from Original Sources and illustrated by Photo-intaglio Reproductions of important Maps, Plans, Views, and Documents in Public and Private Collections, by I. N. PHELPS STOKES. Volumes I. and II. (New York: Robert H. Dodd. 1915-1916. Pp. lii, 473; xxxii, 452. \$40.00 each.)

It has been the aim of Mr. Stokes in this work to collect as far as possible, in chronological form, all maps, charts, plans, and views of topographical or artistic importance which are known to exist, affecting the city of New York from its earliest days. These have been arranged in two main groups, the first embracing those from the earliest settlement down to the year 1807; the second group is designed to contain a selection from the multifarious cartographic and pictorial productions from 1807 to the present time.

Of the material collected in this work nearly all is well-known, and is readily accessible to the student in much larger scale than Mr. Stokes has been able to give to most of his reproductions in the small quarto

pages of the volumes under review. In the prosecution of his enterprise, however, he has been remarkably fortunate in bringing out several items of the greatest cartographic importance, the very existence of which was hitherto unsuspected; and because of his success in this respect the work will always remain a monument in its particular field. The story of the discoveries is a remarkable one, and a brief outline of them seems not out of place in a review of Mr. Stokes's work.

Rather more than a quarter of a century ago it became generally known that the eminent historical critic in Paris, M. Henri Harrisse, had come into possession of a topographical chart of Manhattan Island, of unusual interest. As it was apparently guarded with considerable jealousy by M. Harrisse, little was known of his treasure, except that it was understood to represent about the date 1640, and was commonly spoken of as the "Jan Vingboons" chart, from the name of the supposed cartographer.

In 1911, under the will of M. Harrisse, this so-called "Manatus" or "Vingboons" chart passed by bequest to the Library of Congress at Washington, and became the subject of critical examination. It then appeared to be a somewhat roughly executed but generally faithful survey of Manhattan Island and the adjacent shores, whereon were depicted in the crude pictorial fashion common to seventeenth-century charts the leading *bouwerijen* of the Dutch settlers. A pretty full but somewhat carelessly compiled key fixed the date of this chart to the year 1639, but there was nothing upon it to indicate the supposed authorship of Jan Vingboons. Under the bequest of M. Harrisse there also passed to the Library of Congress two other charts which, from their apparent periods of construction and from the general style of their execution, seemed to be companion pieces to the "Manatus" chart. Of these, one was entitled *Pascaert van Nieuw Nederlandt Virginia ende Nieuw Engelandt verthonende alles wat van die Landen by See oft by Land is ondeckt oft Bekent*. This shows, in pretty correct form, the American coast from the mouth of Chesapeake Bay to the Penobscot River.

The remaining one of these three pieces (all of which are reproduced in Mr. Stokes's work) is entitled *Noort Rivier in Nieu Neerlandt*, and shows the course of the North or Hudson's River from near Sandy Hook to the "Vastigoyt" or Indian fortification near the Falls of Cohoes.

Investigations soon traced back these three pieces (which seem for a time to have been thought originals), as having once formed part of a large collection of views, maps, and plans of the Dutch settlements in various parts of the world, which, bound in two calf volumes, formed part of the stock of the old firm (established in 1680) of Gerard Hulst van Keulen, publisher of sea-charts at Amsterdam. The collection was sold at auction at Amsterdam, September 7, 1885, to the well-known house of Frederik Muller and Company, who had the volumes broken up and the literary materials dispersed. In this manner the three charts

above mentioned came into the possession of M. Henri Harrisse, while many of the other pieces of the collection found their way into the Royal Archives at the Hague, where they became the subjects of an exhaustive examination and study by Dr. F. C. Wieder, assistant librarian of the University of Amsterdam.

In the meantime, during the year 1910, Col. J. J. Staal, editor of the Dutch geographical journal *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, in the course of a visit to Italy, observed various Dutch charts and plans, property of the Italian government, which were framed and hung upon the walls of a room in the Villa Castello near Florence. Colonel Staal noted these briefly in his journal, and they were more carefully examined in the following year by Mr. J. W. Yzerman, president of the Royal Dutch Geographical Society. Later, Mr. Yzerman, upon the occasion of an accidental meeting at the Hague with Dr. Wieder, described to the latter the drawings which he had recently seen in Italy, and from his description of them Dr. Wieder at once believed that the pieces in the Castello Villa were of the same collection, and duplicates of those at the Hague. It was also disclosed that there was in the Castello collection "a hitherto unrecorded large colored manuscript plan of New Amsterdam during the Dutch period".

With these facts in view, Dr. Wieder made a trip to Florence to examine the newly discovered material. "It was a great surprise", says Mr. Stokes, "to find in Italy such an extensive collection of Dutch-drawn maps, plans, and views of countries that had no particular connection with Italy". The explanation however soon appeared. During the years 1667-1669, the Tuscan Prince Cosimo de' Medici made a trip through England and Holland, accompanied by Prince Corsini. A manuscript account of this trip is preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, and it appears quite conclusively that the material was then acquired.

The copies of Dutch charts and plans in the Villa Castello, from similarity in technique, were apparently all from one source, and Dr. Wieder's theory was confirmed by the discovery among them of a duplicate of the "Manatus" plan of M. Harrisse, having a much more accurate key than the latter, but being itself corrected in several important details by the Harrisse chart. It was readily seen therefore that both these plans were copied from an unknown original. The designation of Jan Vingboons as author was apparently a mere assumption by Messrs. Muller and Company, in their sales catalogue, from that name as it appeared on one of the West India maps in the collection.

The main discovery at the Villa Castello however was that of the plan of New Amsterdam, which had remained, incredible as it may seem, utterly unknown to all the eager collectors of the last century. It is a neatly drawn plan, 25 inches by 18¾ in size, entitled *Afbeeldinge van de Stadt Amsterdam in Nieuw Nederlandt*. It represents very nearly the

year 1660, and is believed by Mr. Stokes (probably justly) to be the work of the Long Island surveyor, Jacques Cortelyou. In its technique it shows the semi-perspective style of Braun's monumental work, the *Civitates* of the preceding century, but its marked accuracy of detail in showing the division lines of property adds greatly to its practical value. Mr. Stokes has inserted an enlarged "Re-draft of the Castello Plan" as a frontispiece to his second volume. In this the small town appears in a glorified state, the imagination of the artist having been allowed full play to besprinkle the houses, not only with windows and doors from conventional models, but with gables, tile roofings, dormer windows, etc., to add shrubbery and other attractions, and even to decorate the old Dutch burial ground on lower Broadway with sad memorials of the dead which probably never appeared there, the original being marked only by a few arbitrary signs. It is this original, however, in its somewhat severe simplicity which must always be resorted to by students of the early topography of New Amsterdam.

Mr. Stokes has further enriched his collection by another piece which it would be unjust to pass by without special mention. It is a sepia wash drawing which came into the possession of Mr. Stokes from Baron Van Sypestein, "a well known amateur and collector from the Hague". It throws much light upon the somewhat mysterious view of the same description (hitherto regarded as unique), in the possession of the New York Historical Society, and which bears the enigmatical inscription: "In 't Schip Lydia door Lourens Heermans Block A^o 1650." Neither Lourens Heermans Block nor the ship *Lydia* was known in the records of New Amsterdam, yet he was generally spoken of as the author of the view; and the date upon it, though unsatisfactory, was assumed to mark its period. Mr. Stokes's view has practically the same features as that of the Historical Society, with one very important difference. While both of these views show the church built in 1642 in Fort Amsterdam, the Historical Society's view shows also near the East River shore the large "Stads Herberg" or city tavern, finished about the end of the year 1643. Mr. Stokes's view shows no signs of the Herberg and as the location is so conspicuous as to forbid the supposition that the building was accidentally omitted, the conclusion is irresistible that Mr. Stokes's copy is a first state, and the other view a later one, from an unknown original of the year 1642 or 1643, and is therefore established as the second authentic view of New Amsterdam, the first being the so-called Hartgers View of 1628. The "Block" inscription probably merely records a presentation to the Dutch vessel in 1650.

The second volume of Mr. Stokes's work contains an extensive collection, taken from what he aptly characterizes as "the cartographical chaos of the sixteenth Century", of the sea-charts constructed by the explorers of various nations, showing the North American coasts. It is accompanied by an interesting and learned disquisition from the pen of Dr. F. C. Wieder; but by reason of the reduced size of the charts, and

the complicated system of grouping the same, together with the additional disadvantage of a remotely placed text, these costly volumes would seem not likely to be of the greatest practical advantage to students. Some of the historical deductions, such for example as those relating to the discoveries of Verazzano, the lost island of "Luisa", the supposed voyage of Thomas Dermer through Long Island Sound in 1619 (based entirely upon a misapprehension of his allusion to what was assumed to be Hell Gate in the East River), are not likely to be accepted unquestioningly by historical critics.

Mr. Stokes's work contains a voluminous body of text and comments. In his preface he acknowledges the assistance of various persons in the preparation of these, but without specifically stating the portions attributable to individuals. It is evident that their conclusions may vary materially in critical value, and may require considerable further examination and research before they can be considered as established historical facts, and not merely personal opinions.

An example of this is the somewhat ludicrous assertion that the prominent structure with a conical-shaped roof shown upon all the various forms of Mr. Stokes's "Prototype View" of New Amsterdam, and believed by most recent writers from its topographical situation to be the old Bark Mill, in the loft of which the first church services were held—is a hay barrack in the distance. The explanation of this curious notion appears from the newly discovered "Castello plan", where in the general line of perspective of these views, but at a distance of nearly half a mile behind the houses of the town, there appears a small object probably designed to show a Dutch hay barrack on the old Damen farm, about at the present Broadway and Cedar Street. That this small structure, adapted to the needs of a farm of no more than thirty acres or so, was visible at all from the point of view is sufficiently doubtful; but that its location was utterly inconsistent with the topographical features of the views, and that upon the beautiful "Prototype View" from the Hague, doors and windows are plainly enough depicted upon the building, are considerations which might well have caused some hesitation in enunciating such a singular conclusion as that in the text of the work.

J. H. INNES.

Kiliaen van Rensselaer van 1623 tot 1636. Door Dr. J. SPINOZA CATELLA JESSURUN. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1917. Pp. 213, xxv. 5 gld.)

THIS work, which was originally submitted as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Dutch Literature in Amsterdam University, is but one of many indications that have come to us within recent years of a revival of interest in Holland in the subject of former Dutch colonization in New Netherland.

The main object of the work is to present a contribution to the history of this colonization in the form of a minute and systematic account of certain phases of the settlement of the colony of Rensselaerswyck which in the author's opinion have heretofore not been treated with the fullness they deserve in Mr. Nicholaas de Roever's well-known articles on "Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his colony of Rensselaerswyck", which appeared in 1890 in *Oud Holland*. This object is accomplished in a series of chapters on such topics as colonization, agriculture, cattle, administration, and van Rensselaer's relation to the Dutch West India Company, which together give a detailed account of the steps that were taken by the patroon in building up his colony. Preceding this account there is a chapter entitled Kiliaen van Rensselaer's Preparation, in which the author briefly traces van Rensselaer's efforts in behalf of colonization during the period of his administration as a director of the Dutch West India Company, while at the end appears a sketch of van Rensselaer's character. The entire work is based primarily on the manuscript material that was first used by Mr. de Roever and that has since been published in English translation, together with a translation of Mr. de Roever's articles, under the title of *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*. Fortunately however the author has not confined himself to this well-known source of information, but also consulted other sources, more particularly some hitherto neglected records of the Dutch West India Company that are preserved among the general archives of the realm at the Hague. From these records, which include an important volume of minutes of the Amsterdam Chamber, 1635-1636, as well as the minutes of the Nineteen, 1623-1624, and various volumes of minutes and contracts, etc., of the Zeeland Chamber which are cited by Professor Burr in the *Report of the Venezuela Boundary Commission*, the author has extracted a number of facts that throw new light on minor questions connected with the settlement of the colony. Undoubtedly the most important item is the so-called *Articulbrief*, of March 28, 1624, which sets forth the conditions on which colonists were to settle in New Netherland. Another extract, of less importance, but worth mentioning because it has been chosen as the stopping-point of Dr. Jessurun's narrative, is a resolution of October 28, 1636, instructing the committee on New Netherland to find a suitable person for director-general in the stead of Wouter van Twiller. Still another item, taken from another source, but like the preceding extracts printed in full in the appendix, is the Dutch text of the letter from Isaac de Rasière to Samuel Blommaert, which is given as written from New Netherland in 1626, although internal evidence shows that it was written from memory after de Rasière's return to Holland, not earlier than 1628. Aside from this date, few errors are noted in the book, but issue might be taken with the author on a number of points that cannot be dealt with in this brief review.

In so far as the work can be considered to be a biographical account of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, it is to be regretted that Dr. Jessurun has

not seen fit to extend the scope of his book so as to include a comprehensive account of van Rensselaer's earlier career, both as a merchant and as a director of the West India Company. Although the city archives of Amsterdam are said to have yielded little that was to the author's purpose, it is reasonable to assume that among the notarial papers at Amsterdam and Leyden there are still hidden many business contracts and legal documents that would throw additional light on van Rensselaer's activities. As a further source of information, one might suggest the records of the Consistory at Amsterdam, in which van Rensselaer's name appears as that of an elder, and which might therefore shed an interesting side-light on his religious life. Apart from these limitations, Dr. Jessurun's book is a work of considerable merit, which forms a welcome addition to the literature of New Netherland.

v. L.

History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal. By THOMAS HUGHES, of the same society. Text, volume II. From 1645 till 1773. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1917. Pp. xxv, 734. \$8.00.)

PREVIOUS volumes of this work were reviewed in this journal (XIII. 597, XVI. 143). This volume shows the same characteristics which we had found in the preceding parts of the work: great industry, wide reading, zeal for the order whose history it discloses, a discursive and repetitious manner of narrating events, great acrimony against all who differ from the Jesuits, whether the opponents be fellow-members of the Roman Catholic Church, or whether they be Protestants. The book is often more of a polemic than a history and a polemic of sixteenth-century character, abounding in "all manner of uncharitableness". The divagations make the book too long and are often irrelevant: for example, a statement that the Jesuits at St. Inigoes were driven out of their home (p. 58) leads to a page note upon the treatment of the Cross by the Puritans of New England and by Edward Gibbon.

The account of the famous Maryland Toleration Act of 1649 seems to have been written without reading Davis's *Day Star* and a startling position is taken toward that act. The writer believes that the Catholic population had "dwindled into a minority" (p. 4)—though it is doubtful whether it ever was a majority—and that the act was intended as a "medicament for a moribund social polity" (p. 38) and was the "expiring gasp of a toleration practised from the first by the Catholic gentry of Maryland. As to Baltimore, no one knows whether he had anything to do with it" (p. 674). The "Catholic gentry" certainly practised toleration because of Lord Baltimore's instructions.

Sometimes absolutely unwarranted assumptions are made. For example: a paper in the British records gives the boundaries of Maryland according to the charter, together with a date in 1656. It seems almost

incredible that it should be thrice stated in this book, on that slight evidence, that Cecil, Lord Baltimore, "accepted a new charter under the Commonwealth" (p. 56); "condescended to take a patent from the Commonwealth" (p. 671); "took his property back from the Commonwealth by a new patent" and afterwards acted "as if the place were still under the king's charter of 1633"! (pp. 639, 640).

The worst feature of the volume is the attack upon Protestant missions to the Indians. No student now denies the heroic work of the Roman Catholic missionaries, nor that they accomplished more than the Protestants among the Indians; but when a writer goes out of his way to make an attack upon Protestant missions in a separate chapter of his book, he should evince an elementary acquaintance with his subject. What shall we say of a writer who calls a letter written by Jonathan Edwards from Stockbridge, where he was preaching to the Indians, "arm chair philosophy" (p. 299); who appears to have heard of David Brainerd only as a "Scotch missionary" (p. 301); and who dares to say "there was no preaching to the Indians in their own tongue. We may entertain a doubt as to the possibility of the natives having set themselves to read Eliot's Bible, for we have no testimony to that effect" (p. 297). He knows nothing of "Praying Indians", except as converted by the Jesuits, nor of Nonantum, nor of Natick, nor of Mashpee. He has not studied the work of the Mayhews at Martha's Vineyard. He has no adequate conception of the work of the Rev. Thomas Bray nor does he understand that the purpose of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from the first, was to work among the English settlers in such colonies as had no established church, as well as to have the Gospel preached to the aborigines (p. 321). Akin to this minimization of Protestant missions is the depreciation of everything in the English colonies. He writes that "we may take it that, from Maine to Florida, the only specimens of anything approaching to art were to be found in the Catholic stations of Maryland and Pennsylvania" (p. 557), overlooking the fact that the Anglican church at St. Barnabas in Prince George's County, Md., possessed in Hesselius's painting of the Last Supper a work of probably more importance than those contained in any of the Catholic stations. We are told that the English were not "an important factor in the general civilization of the American continent" (p. 208). We read (p. 223) that Canada was left without help from France and that "General Amherst with regular troops successfully invaded the country in 1760", and wonder why the early years of the French and Indian War and General Wolfe's campaign are omitted.

The bitterness against Cecil, Lord Baltimore (p. 670) is unfortunate. Without him, no Jesuits would have been in Maryland; yet, because he did not do for them all that they asked, he is continually vilified. The distinction between restrictive covenants in a grant of land, such as was made according to the "Conditions of Plantation", and provisions con-

tained in a statute, is ignored (p. 19). Baltimore is attacked for altering the "Conditions", as if laws were changed contrary to the charter (pp. 11, 625). Because he directed that a Jesuit be sent out of the province in a certain contingency, which never occurred, he is accused, for several pages, of kidnapping (p. 621). Because he paid for land to the Indians to extinguish their claim to it, any private citizens, *e. g.*, the Jesuits, are said to have had the right to make such purchase without regard to the proprietary; for "the authority over the land which they occupied was all theirs" [the Indians] (p. 642)—a position which, of course, has no ground at law.

Not only Baltimore is disliked. The author goes out of his way to attack the Rt. Rev. Dr. Inglis, the first Anglican bishop of Nova Scotia (pp. 505, 602). Gov. Horatio Sharpe's character is so misread that he is called a "cipher" (p. 544). Frontenac (p. 342) and Governors Nicholson and Hart of Maryland (pp. 436, 452) are also among those to whom scant justice is given.

Undoubtedly anti-Catholic laws in Maryland in the eighteenth century and efforts of New York governors in the seventeenth century against the Jesuits were partly due to the *odium theologicum*, but the explanation of them is not entirely made, when this is said. One must remember that many Jacobites followed the tenets of the Church of Rome and that the French Jesuits were eager to increase the domains of the King of France—so that politics mingled with religion in these measures.

Some minor errors call for comment, *e. g.*, the *Parlement de Paris* was not a "higher kind of County Council" (p. 240).

It is a pity that our author did not confine himself to a narration of the deeds of the Jesuits, for he tells us much that is of interest concerning them and their careers in the West Indies (p. 575 ff.), New York (p. 145), Philadelphia (p. 500), and among the German immigrants at Lancaster (p. 501). We are interested in the glimpse of the work of Father Lewis in Cecil County, who "was at one and the same time ecclesiastical superior, local pastor attending several missions, procurator of the farm, head of the house, and, as it would seem, a farm-hand too on occasions" (p. 134). We have a novel account of "priests' slaves" (p. 559) and of the sisters of Jesuits who entered convents (pp. 522-524). There is an important appendix, consisting of an accurate list of the English Jesuits who labored in North America, containing, for the first time, information concerning the Maryland men who entered the order (p. 676 ff.).

The account of the Jesuits of Canada is interesting though disjointed (Parkman's name does not occur in the volume!)—the narrative is too long to be a pendant to the history of the work of Jesuits in British North America and too incomplete to be a full history of the work of the Jesuits in the French colonies. It is a thrilling narrative containing such fine thoughts as those expressed by Father de Crépieu,

that there were four wings with which he supported his flight: "grace, the love, the fear of God, zeal for souls". Father de Carheil expressed his duties in five articles: "Servant of God for the sake of God; servant of everybody for God; servant of no one against God; servant of God against everyone; servant of God against oneself" (p. 261).

New York as an Eighteenth-Century Municipality prior to 1731.

By ARTHUR EVERETT PETERSON, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXV., no. 1.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1917. Pp. xv, 199. \$2.00.)

New York as an Eighteenth-Century Municipality, 1731-1776. By

GEORGE WILLIAM EDWARDS, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXV., no. 2.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1917. Pp. 205. \$2.00.)

THESE two scholarly volumes represent a much to be desired kind of investigation into the government of our municipalities previous to the Revolution. It is to be regretted that New York State, probably less than any other of the thirteen colonies, has been made a field for constitutional and economic studies. Until such are made, a comprehensive history of New York State along such lines will scarcely be undertaken by any one writer.

The two authors of these volumes evidently planned their work in co-operation, and the topics taken up are much the same, though the order of treatment is somewhat different. In both there are introductory chapters devoted to the government followed by others on the regulation of trade and industry, the regulation of lands and streets, ferries, the watch or keeping the peace, fire protection, charities and correction. Dr. Peterson has a special chapter on the dock and Dr. Edwards one on finance. It is to be regretted that the authors did not present a preface to let the readers know how much they worked together, why they divided the field as they did—and in general what points of view they had determined upon in presenting their material.

Another advantage of a preface would be that it might forestall a very likely kind of criticism with reference to origins. As the reader advances through these volumes it becomes patent that the authors have intended to confine their attention very closely to the institutions of New York City as revealed in the *Minutes of the Common Council*. They have not to any appreciable extent sought to find origins in Europe, or to seek explanations for certain customs or institutions by a thorough examination of Dutch and English municipal practices. Even when mention is made of such similarity exact references are lacking (pp. 47, 49 of Peterson).

The tendency to restrict their vision to the city documents is responsible for the absence of some illuminating side-lights which could have been drawn perhaps from a closer study of the colonial legislation. For

example, in connection with the regulation of commerce and industry (chapter II. of Peterson), though fairs and markets are included, no mention is made of the extremely interesting law of 1692 (*Laws of the Colony of New York*, I. 296-300), where are set up

two fairs at the City of New-York, the first fair annually to commence the last Tuesday of Aprill in every year and to end upon the fryday then next following being in all four days inclusive and no Longer, And the second fair to commence the first Tuesday of November in every year, and to end upon the fryday then next following being in all four days inclusive and no Longer,

and where is authorized the establishment of "Courts of Pypowder", and in fact all of the conditions surrounding a full system of English fairs.

One is led to believe (p. 69, Peterson) that apprenticeship in industry was an institution of early New York of English origin only, whereas there are indentures in existence showing that the Dutch as well as the English carried on the common European practice (O'Callaghan, *Calendar of Dutch Manuscripts*, p. 44). Dr. Edwards in his chapter on trade and industry (pp. 61-95) does not deal with this subject at all, though it is during the period he covers rather than that covered by Dr. Peterson that this institution flourished most vigorously.

Other instances might be given to show the dangers of a too close restriction to the consideration of the city proceedings only, but sins of omission are never to be much emphasized.

An excellent quality, especially evident in Dr. Peterson's volume, is found in the use of the comparison of early conditions with those of the present day. This serves to enliven the narrative and constantly reminds the reader of how really old some of our problems of municipal government are. For that reason no student of present-day New York City conditions should fail to turn to these two volumes in order to get a detailed and highly illuminating view of municipal institutions. Those who are inclined to feel that all ills are of the present and blessings only of the past will do well to read them.

There is a very detailed table of contents in both volumes, but indexes, and lists of books used and referred to, are very much missed. These are not entirely compensated for by the table of contents and very careful references to authorities at the foot of each page.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Warren-Adams Letters, being chiefly a Correspondence among John Adams, Samuel Adams, and James Warren. Volume I., 1743-1777. [Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, vol. LXXII.] (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1917. Pp. xxxi, 382. \$3.00.)

BESIDE the principal content of this work, as indicated by the subtitle, the present volume contains the correspondence of Mercy Warren,

wife of James Warren, with John and Abigail Adams, Hannah Winthrop, and others, including several letters from her husband. A smaller element is some earlier correspondence of James Otis. The earliest of these is a letter from young Otis to his father, in 1743; the next is a letter from Otis to his sister (Mercy Warren), in 1766; and these are followed by four letters from John Dickinson to Otis, in 1767 and 1768, and a letter from Catharine Macaulay, in 1769. The correspondence between Samuel Adams and James Warren begins in 1771, that between Warren and John Adams in 1774. There are in the volume approximately 250 letters, of which more than 200 were written by John Adams, Samuel Adams, and James Warren, and of these John Adams wrote nearly half. There are no letters from James Warren to Samuel Adams. The editor has purposely omitted, with three or four exceptions, the letters from John Adams to James Warren (of which there are fifteen) printed in John Adams's *Works*. Of the letters of Samuel Adams here printed (fifty in number) about one-third are found in Cushing's edition of Samuel Adams's *Writings*. On the other hand there are several letters from Adams to Warren printed by Cushing which are not found in this volume. It is to be observed that Cushing used for the most part the drafts of Adams's letters now deposited in the New York Public Library, whereas the present texts are printed from the letters actually sent. A comparison of the respective texts shows in general only verbal variations, yet, in a few instances, the letters sent contain considerable additions, or modifications of the drafts.

From this general survey of the contents it will be recognized that the volume contains a large measure of essentially new material; new, that is, in much of its content, although not new in character and quality. There is little, indeed, in the whole volume that does not relate directly to the all-important question of defending American rights against ministerial aggression, and the parts which the principal writers played in that contest are well known. Dickinson's letters to Otis, for instance, relate principally to the *Farmer's Letters*, then being presented to the public, and emphasize his views. Letters of James Warren, one of the principal participants in the Massachusetts phase of the Revolution, have been less accessible than those of either John or Samuel Adams. Concerning the Massachusetts phase of the contest his letters are of especial value. The letters of the Adamses, written as the majority of them were from their seats in the Continental Congress, are particularly informing, concerning the transactions of that body. Both of them are, however, much concerned with affairs in Massachusetts, and are prone to view the struggle from the Massachusetts point of view, although, of the two, John Adams reveals a broader outlook, a clearer vision. While the new letters in the volume are without striking revelations concerning the views, attitudes, aspirations, or predilections of the writers, they do enlarge our knowledge of plans, purposes, and motives, do put us in closer touch with personalities great and small. For this is chiefly the correspondence of intimate personal friends.

The feminine writers whose letters find place in the volume sound no less a note of high resolve and patriotic purpose than the men. Abigail Adams and Mercy Warren are familiar figures in the political and literary history of the Revolution. Hannah Winthrop, if one may judge from the few letters of hers here presented, deserves a place near the other two. She wields a facile pen, one from which flows a lofty rhetoric, now well-nigh forgotten.

There are several facsimiles in the volume, including the resolution of secrecy passed by the Continental Congress in November, 1775, and signed by members, from time to time, as late as June, 1777. The editorial work is essentially all that could be asked. Attention however needs to be called to the fact that the letter of John Adams to James Warren, bearing date of February 11, 1775, belongs instead in the year 1776.

E. C. B.

The History of Legislative Methods in the Period before 1825. By RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW, Ph.D. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, V.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. x, 269. \$2.25.)

To the student of American history and politics this volume will be of considerable interest. Dr. Harlow has evidently made a detailed study of the committees in the legislatures of the American colonies, and further he has given serious attention to the party organizations, juntas, and political combinations which entered into colonial legislative processes.

In the chapter on Standing Committees in the Colonial Legislatures, 1750-1775, little new information is furnished, and the brief résumé of the subject given by the author is marred by several errors, which shake one's faith in the thoroughness of this part of his work. On page 12 one finds the following statement: "Why the committee on trade should have been appointed in 1742 is not so clear, but the committee for religion, created in 1769, was certainly the outgrowth of local conditions." The *Journals of the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1727-1740 and 1742-1749*, make it very clear why this committee was appointed. A standing committee was appointed in the first session of the assembly of 1736-1740 "to prepare and draw up a State of that Duty [the duty on slaves imported into the colony] and the several Payments that have been made, with the Amount thereof". This committee, reappointed in two other sessions of this assembly, became in 1742 the standing committee on trade. On page 13 one finds the statement that in 1775 Dinwiddie wrote to Halifax, "that our Assembly met", etc. Dinwiddie was lieutenant-governor of Virginia only from 1751-1758, and as he died in 1770 and Halifax died in 1771, it is certain that 1775 was not the date of this

correspondence. On page 18 it is stated that the committee of correspondence which communicated with the colonial agent was in some cases a regular standing committee, but in others, because named by statute, a commission or board rather than a legislative committee. Even when created by statute these committees were composed of members of the legislative bodies, who were amenable to the legislature. Any study of their records will show that their work was closely followed by the legislatures from which they were appointed. Dr. Harlow's contention that because they were named by statute they were commissions and not committees seems to be a distinction without a real difference. These committees were essentially legislative in nature and by appointment, and their records and correspondence were laid before the assembly at each session. This committee in several of the colonies was utilized in 1773 and 1774 for the intercolonial correspondence which resulted in the calling of the first Continental Congress. The reviewer deems the committee for communicating with the agent of great importance, despite the fact that Dr. Harlow dismisses it with the barest mention.

The best chapters are those dealing with party organization and the legislative juntas in the various colonies, and here Dr. Harlow has done an excellent piece of work, pointing out in a most interesting manner the workings of the colonial political machines. The chapters entitled Republicanism in the House, the Jeffersonian Régime, and Madison and Congress are well-written accounts of the struggle between the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian ideas. The author has stated both sides of the controversy with balance and fairness, though possibly he gives too much weight to the opinions of Fisher Ames, who was intensely partizan and undemocratic.

The book is of excellent print, well indexed, but has no bibliography—a matter of regret although the extensive and numerous foot-notes are a partial compensation. In spite of some errors the work as a whole is commendable and Dr. Harlow has shown ability both in research and as a writer of history.

JAMES MILLER LEAKE.

Audubon the Naturalist: a History of his Life and Time. By

FRANCIS HOBART HERRICK, Ph.D., Sc.D., Professor of Biology in Western Reserve University. In two volumes. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1917. Pp. xl, 451; xiii, 494. \$7.50.)

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON was an ornithologist, artist, explorer, and publisher. Comparatively few people have seen the monumental volumes which formed his life-work and his fame rests upon the attractiveness of his personality, the romance of his life, and his unparalleled record of achievement in making the results of his labors known to the world, rather than upon his actual accomplishments as a naturalist—great as they were. It is not without reason, therefore, that Audubon

has been a favorite subject with biographers; but we have no hesitation in expressing our belief that the history of this remarkable man is adequately presented for the first time in Professor Herrick's scholarly volumes. Himself an ardent lover of birds, he writes in full sympathy with his subject, but with the fairness of the scientist and the thoroughness of one trained in methods of research.

The contents of these two well-made volumes may best be made known by a chronological review of the more significant events in Audubon's life.

Chief among Professor Herrick's surprisingly numerous discoveries of new facts concerning Audubon's early life is the hitherto unknown place and date of his birth. Heretofore it has generally been believed that Audubon was born at Mandeville, Louisiana, May 5, 1780. It appears, however, that he first saw the light at Les Cayes, Hayti, April 26, 1785. At the age of four he was taken by his father to the latter's home in Nantes, France. Here, and at the commune of Couëron, he lived until his eighteenth year, and it was during this time that he received his limited education, including a brief period of instruction in drawing under Jacques Louis David, at Paris.

Although in travelling from his birthplace to his childhood's home, Audubon had passed through the United States, his first real contact with the country of his adoption dates from 1803 when, at the age of eighteen, he settled at "Mill Grove" farm near Philadelphia. Here, in 1804, he became engaged to Lucy Green Bakewell, to whose single-hearted devotion to him and his pursuits Audubon owed no small measure of his success. In 1807 he served for a short time as a clerk in a New York commission house, and in August of that year went to Louisville, Kentucky, by way of Pittsburgh, and the Ohio River, to open a trading store. For the succeeding thirteen years he engaged in various business ventures but, handicapped by tastes which not only gave him no interest in commerce, but left him small time for its pursuit, he failed alike in all and in 1820 accepted a position as taxidermist in the Western Museum which had just been founded by Dr. Daniel Drake in Cincinnati.

Although from his boyhood's days in France Audubon's chief interest in life had been the study and painting of birds, it was not until 1820, or when he had reached the age of thirty-five, that he conceived the idea of publishing a work upon them. This date marks his awakening. All his latent forces were called into action and from this hour until the final years of his life he worked with astounding and ceaseless energy. The ensuing four years were devoted to the study of bird-life in the lower Mississippi region, chiefly about New Orleans, portrait-painting and Mrs. Audubon's teaching meanwhile supporting him and his family; and in 1824 he went to Philadelphia to find a publisher for his work, visiting also Lakes Ontario and Champlain to gather more material for it. Disappointed in the main object of his visit he re-

turned to New Orleans, descending the Ohio in a skiff, and, after a year's teaching, sailed, in 1826, from that city for Liverpool.

England accorded Audubon the recognition which America had denied him. Within five months of his arrival the engraver began work upon the first of his plates, the Turkey Cock, which, shown the size of life, established the scale of his great folios. The succeeding three years were more than occupied with making drawings and securing subscribers for his work, for it must be remembered that Audubon launched his magnificent enterprise on a capital of enthusiasm and conviction, the product of genius aflame, and for the thirteen years it was in press he lived, as it were, from subscriber to engraver.

In 1829 Audubon sailed for America; in 1830, after visiting various cities in quest of subscribers, he sailed for Liverpool. The following year was passed in London and Edinburgh, and in August, 1831, he again returned to the fields and forests whence he acquired both his information and inspiration. The winter of 1831 was passed on the south Atlantic coast, where, at Charleston, he first met his subsequent collaborator John Bachman. In the spring of 1832 he explored the Florida Keys, and in the summer of the same year, the coasts of Maine and New Brunswick. Labrador was visited the following year and in April, 1834, he crossed the Atlantic and, settling in Edinburgh, resumed work upon his *Ornithological Biography*, the text which accompanied his plates.

Returning to America in August, 1836, Audubon passed the winter drawing at Charleston, and in the spring of the following year travelled overland to New Orleans and thence cruised along the Gulf to Galveston. In July of the same year he sailed for the fourth and last time to England, where he remained until the completion of his work in 1839.

The years 1840-1842, spent in New York City, were devoted to the preparation and production of a seven-volume octavo edition of his *Birds of America*, a canvassing tour to Quebec, to work upon his *Quadrupeds of North America*, and to planning his trip of 1843 up the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

The succeeding three years were given to making the illustrations for the last-named work (of which Bachman supplied the text). In 1847 he was forced to lay aside brush and pen. For more than a quarter of a century he had worked, as it were, under forced draft. With failing powers even the fires of genius waned and four years later he died at his home on the Hudson.

The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829. With the Original Journals, edited by HARRISON CLIFFORD DALE, Professor of Political Science in the University of Wyoming. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1918. Pp. 352. \$5.00.)

GENERAL WILLIAM H. ASHLEY and Jedediah Smith are familiar figures to the student of the history of the fur-trade. Professor Dale

has added details here and there, has corrected minor errors of earlier writers, and has made accessible 130 pages of original material, but the main outlines of our previous conceptions remain unchanged. The documents make it possible to trace with accuracy most of the route of Ashley in 1824-1825, to fill in the movements of Smith and his men in southern California during December, 1826, and January, 1827, and to correct about 250 miles of the route which the Smith party traversed in 1828. The biographies are accurate, detailed, and well documented, but are rather heavy reading. As an historian the author appears to be lacking in perspective, a fault which may be corrected by a more extended examination of the voluminous materials for the history of the fur-trade.

The introductory chapter, which deals with the explorations of fur-traders to 1822, is the least satisfactory part of the book. The author is familiar with the fur-trade in the Missouri and Columbia valleys, but the southwest is a sealed book to him. The period before 1803 is given but slight attention, and the early history of Astor and the work of Choteau and De Munn are ignored. One important contribution is made in the chapter, for the author settles the question concerning the date of the discovery of South Pass.

In the second section Ashley's career up to 1824 is presented in a detailed narrative. When the author reaches the expedition of 1824-1825, he lets Ashley tell his own story in a letter to General Henry Atkinson, the document being taken from the Ashley manuscripts of the Missouri Historical Society. Professor Dale's intimate knowledge of the region traversed enabled him to do an unusually good piece of editing. The section closes with an account of Ashley's later career.

The third division, devoted to the life of Smith, is less satisfactory than that devoted to Ashley, not because the work is less carefully done, but because the sources are incomplete. Most of the space is taken up by three documents. The first is Smith's letter to General William Clark, which summarizes the expedition of 1826-1827. It has been printed twice before and was used by previous historians. Of more importance are the journals of Smith's clerk, Harrison G. Rogers, from the originals which belong to the Missouri Historical Society. The first journal tells of the sojourn of Smith's party at the San Gabriel mission and the journey eastward to San Bernardino. The second journal gives a detailed account of the movements of Smith's band from the Trinity River in California to the Umpqua River.

A few statements need correction. The government did not abandon its support of western exploration with the return of Lewis and Clark (p. 26); Pike was sent on his second expedition by Wilkinson and not by the government (p. 53); the Santa Fé road was surveyed, but not constructed, at government expense (pp. 291-292); the statement that

there was little in common between the fur-trade and the Santa Fé trade has been disproven (p. 293).

The book contains a reprint of Gallatin's map of 1826, and a map showing the routes of Ashley and Smith. It is to be regretted that Ashley's route of 1824-1825 was not shown on a larger scale. The author rejects the usual conception of Smith's return route from California in 1827, but the evidence in the text does not seem to justify the change. If Professor Dale had had at his disposal certain books and articles which are not listed in his bibliography, he would have been saved several of the errors and omissions which have been noted. The volume has an excellent index and is beautifully printed.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln. Now first brought together by GILBERT A. TRACY. With an Introduction by IDA M. TARBELL. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xxi, 264. \$2.50.)

LINCOLN was no correspondent; he wrote only on occasion; every letter was an action. Like his acts, even the most minute are instinct with his individuality: as, "You request an autograph and here it is. A. Lincoln" (p. 148). Simple and naked of ornament, as he appears to be, yet almost every new scrap of evidence seems necessary to the complete picture; his reaction to every new angle of circumstance adds to our understanding of him. It is a real material contribution, therefore, when additional letters are published.

The present collection contains about three hundred, mostly short. The great majority are now printed for the first time, the place of previous printing being given where this is not the case. They run from October 6, 1836, to March 29, 1865. More than half fall between March 4, 1855, and March 4, 1861, the years of his great political activity. The relative importance of the contribution of this period is somewhat diminished by the fact that it contains most of the reprinted letters. The editing is well done.

There are many law letters, showing Lincoln's care and honesty, but of no other general interest. Yet there is an occasional flash. Who can fail to see "Mr. Isaac E. Button" whom he recommended to look after some real estate: "a trustworthy man and one whom the Lord made on purpose for such business" (p. 12). His earlier political letters show both his native sense of fair play, the careful exactness of his political methods, and his keen psychological insight. "In doing this, let nothing be said against Hardin . . . nothing deserves to be said against him" (p. 16). ". . . have made alphabetical lists of all the voters. . . . This will not be a heavy job, and you will see how, like a map, it lays the whole field before you" (p. 78). "He [Taylor] must occasionally say, or seem to say, 'by the Eternal', 'I take the

responsibility'. Those phrases were the 'Samson's locks' of General Jackson" (p. 40).

Perhaps the most valuable new letter between 1855 and 1861 is that criticizing suggested corrections in his Cooper Union speech, which illustrates his total absence of literary vanity, and his exacting study of correct expression (pp. 149-151).

The letters of the presidential period are probably of the greatest new interest. A letter to the King of Siam succeeds in being courtly without excluding individuality, in the delightful clause, thanking his Majesty for "two elephants' tusks of length and magnitude such as indicate that they could have belonged only to an animal which was a native of Siam" (p. 202). His wide conception of the forces creating public opinion is illustrated by his suggestion, in 1863, to Bayard Taylor, that he give a lecture on "Serfs, Serfdom, and Emancipation in Russia" (p. 237). His own patience is shown by his repeated requests to his subordinates to hear patiently various claimants, who have passed through his hands. Sometimes he orders action, usually on some such ground as, "There is some peculiar reason for it" (p. 194): a form, hinting political pressure, which saves him from the appearance of dictating on grounds of judgment. Usually he leaves the subordinate free to act, but asks that something be done; for instance "in any not unreasonable way" (p. 242). Frequently he jocularly passes on applicants as: "I do not personally know these ladies, but cheerfully endorse Judge Wylie and Mayor Wallock" [obviously their endorsers] (p. 249).

On the whole not many new particular facts are brought out in these letters, but our picture of Lincoln is both confirmed and substantially broadened, and they, of themselves, are sufficient to make their readers lovers of Lincoln.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

The Memoirs of Colonel John S. Mosby. Edited by CHARLES WELLS RUSSELL. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1917. Pp. xxi, 414. \$3.00.)

If the present generation of Americans were more familiar than it is with the events of the American Civil War, it would be better able to comprehend and classify such details as are made known to us concerning the present war. A generation of Americans grown up in an era of profound peace, an era controlled largely by feminine standards, is shocked, when war suddenly startles their gentle world, by incidents and details that have attended every war in human history.

To such, the reading of Colonel Mosby's memoirs may be a preventive of hysteria, a preservative of sanity. Mosby once wrecked a Union railroad train which was running to Sheridan's army then in the Shenandoah valley. The train carried, besides army supplies, a number of civilian passengers, including some women. The entirely correct

comment recorded in Colonel Mosby's memoirs upon this war-time expedient is that people who travel upon a railroad train in a country where military operations are going on take the risk of all the accidents of war. He adds: "I was not conducting an insurance business on life and property."

Again, when Mosby was informed that a number of women and children from among persons in the North, who sympathized with the South, would be placed on the trains running to Sheridan, the purpose of this familiar device, of course, being to make the trains safe from his attack, he replied that he did not understand that it hurt women and children to be killed any more than it hurt men. In November, 1864, he wrote a letter to General Sheridan, which can be considered with profit by Americans to-day. Sheridan had captured six of Mosby's men and had them shot. Mosby wrote to Sheridan that after this had been done he had captured more than seven hundred of Sheridan's men and had sent them to Richmond, but that now having taken prisoners from Custer's division, the command which had executed the six Confederates, he had executed seven of them. Thereafter, he announced, his captives would be treated as prisoners of war unless new grounds were given for retaliation. The exchange of this particular manifestation of military courtesy here came to an end.

Alternating through these interesting memoirs are narratives of daring exploits, the accounts of which sometimes disagree substantially with the Northern official reports of the same affairs, and serious studies of several important battles and campaigns, including the first Bull Run battle and the Gettysburg campaign. Colonel Mosby was a free lance both in war and in peace. With him a report or despatch carried weight according to its degree of accuracy. A great name signed to it, whether it was Lee's, Longstreet's, or Johnston's, did not deter him from pointing out its error, if error existed.

He says that the Confederacy was lost at the battle of Bull Run because of the failure of Johnston and Beauregard to press on to the capture of Washington. He lays at rest finally, and without hope of resurrection, the view advanced by Confederate soldiers and biographers and by so many historians, North and South, that Lee's cavalry leader, Stuart, by his absence from the army lost the battle of Gettysburg. He shows that Stuart was absent from Lee's army during the preliminary movements in accordance with the directions of Lee and Longstreet. He disposes finally of that persistent and picturesque story that Longstreet's scout, Harrison, brought to Lee in Pennsylvania the first information that the Army of the Potomac was marching northward through Maryland. He visits merited criticism upon the movements of General Joseph E. Johnston, who began to retire before his opponents early in the year 1861, and continued retiring, much as General Nathanael Greene did in 1781, until the end of the war.

The truth is that few of the military movements, North or South, on a large scale during the Civil War will bear serious scrutiny, and most of the histories of the war will bear less. The best books relating to it are still the special books like Colonel Mosby's, Major John Bigelow's *Chancellorsville*, the *Fredericksburg* by Colonel Henderson of the British army, and Colonel Haskell's spirited and contemporary narrative, occasionally inaccurate in detail, of the Gettysburg battle. So little adaptability to scientific military processes have the American people shown that after more than a half-century they have failed to discover what was best done in the Civil War and of what was ill done they know only the most glaring examples.

ISAAC R. PENNYPACKER.

A History of the United States since the Civil War. By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER. In five volumes. Volume I., 1865-1868. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 579. \$3.50.)

THERE is something very unconventional and business-like in the manner of Dr. Oberholtzer's entrance upon this serious undertaking. He gives us no preface—not even a "foreword", no introduction, no bibliographical note, no brief synopsis of his interpretation of history in general and of American history in particular, no acknowledgments of valuable aid from assorted librarians and specialists, no deprecatory suggestions aimed at possible reviewers. He does, indeed, present a table of contents; but promptly at the conclusion of that the first chapter of the history opens briskly and precisely "On Sunday morning, April 2, 1865". Where the story is going to end is nowhere stated. Probably the author does not know and does not care to guess. All that he feels reasonably sure of is that it will be five volumes long. He has before him the cases of Rhodes and McMaster, and seeks to profit by their examples. McMaster named at the outset both the number of his volumes and the end of his story; he made good on the latter point, but his completed work shows eight volumes instead of the five that he announced. Rhodes said nothing about the number of volumes, but fixed the end of his story at 1884; his completed work, if it is completed, ends at 1877. Oberholtzer will be able to fulfill his promise of five volumes by the simple expedient of stopping the story at the end of volume five.

The present volume covers only three years. Of the eight chapters three deal with the political struggle over reconstruction, four with social and economic conditions after the war, and one with foreign relations that especially affected America—"Mexico, Ireland, and Alaska". This distribution of the writer's attention indicates very well the general type of his work. It is in the school of McMaster. It will tell the story of the American People as a social rather than a political entity. It will be as catholic in its scope as the satire of Juvenal:

Quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
Gaudia discursus, nostri farrago libelli est.

It will depict the life of the people but will not seek to interpret it. The reader will see the rush and hear the roar of a busy nation on its way, but be left to himself to guess whither it is going.

Dr. Oberholtzer commands a style that fulfills admirably the requirements of this kind of historiography. The narrative never fails to be interesting. At times, however, the impression of highly feverish movement is made too strong for strict accuracy. By the mere unconscious speeding up of the machinery the film gives to many a scene that was in fact as placid as Broad Street, Philadelphia, the breathless hurly-burly of Broadway, New York.

In the political part of the narrative the exciting story of the conflict between the President and Congress is told with judicial spirit, sound judgment, and full information. The author manifests no overwhelming admiration for either Andrew Johnson or the leading radicals who opposed him. Small errors seem to have crept into the text in reference to Generals Sickles and Miles. It is stated (p. 447) that Miles, when relieved from duty as custodian of Jefferson Davis, was "mustered out of the service"; and the running head of the page is "Miles dismissed". These expressions imply that the general left the army in deep disgrace, and the reader wonders how it came about that he figured so largely in the Indian wars of later years and in the war with Spain, and rose to be lieutenant-general. The explanation of course is, that his "mustering out" in 1866 had no connection with his course as jailer of Davis, but was merely an incident in the dissolution of the volunteer army. Miles remained in the regular army as colonel.

General Sickles's retirement from command in the Carolinas is wrapped in some obscurity in the text. He is said to have "resigned" but not to have been relieved from command (p. 458), and there is no mention of the very important episode that precipitated his actual relief, namely, his collision with Chief Justice Chase, presiding at the U. S. circuit court sitting at Raleigh.

Dr. Oberholtzer's chapters on general social conditions in South, North, and the growing West present an extremely interesting and useful view of the nation in the middle and later sixties. The variety of topics touched upon is necessarily a bit confusing at times and severely tests the author's ingenuity in devising transitions. It is to be remembered, however, that events and the forces uniting them are in actual manifestation simultaneous, while in historical narration they have to be consecutive. In view of this sad incongruity perhaps the nearest approach possible to a picture in print of the actual life of a lustrum in a great population is some such chapter as that which rather incoherently unites, along with other things, the Atlantic Cable, Inflation of the Currency, Trade at Panama, Chicago, Bridges and Horse

Railroads, Nitroglycerine, Immigration from Europe, Discovery of Petroleum, and Riotous Living.

The chapter entitled *Beyond the Mississippi* is particularly useful in fixing the salient facts of the situation just at the time when the trans-continental railroads were about to bring such amazing changes. The one unpardonable defect at this point is the lack of a map to make intelligible the development of the mining territories and states and the relation to it of the Indian problems and campaigns. The author might do well, also, to devote a few months to forgetting all the things he knows about the building of the Union Pacific Railroad and its branches, and then, having put himself in approximately the position of his readers, read over his account of these events, especially page 327, and see if he gets a perfectly clear conception of what happened.

The Fenian movement receives in this volume a treatment that has not the fault, at least, of undue brevity. Dr. Oberholtzer reveals somewhat of impatience and contempt for the whole affair, while picturing its details with much fullness. It was indeed a preposterous performance—though scarcely more so than Young Ireland before it, and Sinn Fein after. The author's preoccupation with the inherent absurdity of the Irishmen's enterprise doubtless made him overlook some implications of the passage describing Stephens, the chief leader, or in the phrase of the times, "Head Center", of the Fenian organization: "He was a small, thick-set, wiry man. He now wore a full beard and was quite bald. In no way did he seem to be the great leader of a national revolution" (p. 529). Must we understand that an Irishman who was able to be at the same time thickset and wiry was *ipso facto* doomed to failure in the quest for a Hibernian republic? Or that distinction as a revolutionist is never to be expected by a bald man with a beard?

In conclusion, while we are touching the small points, attention may be called to an example of the havoc that may be wrought by the intrusion of so insignificant a matter as a comma. On page 182 Balak's command on a familiar historical occasion (Numbers, xxiii. 7) is printed thus: "Come curse me, Israel". This is as disconcerting and as disastrous to the sense as the other instance that has been told, where likewise a comma crept into position after the pronoun in the command: "Saddle me the ass".

WM. A. DUNNING.

Burrows of Michigan and the Republican Party: a Biography and a History. By WILLIAM DANA ORCUTT. In two volumes. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. ix, 357; 369. \$6.00.)

THE late Senator Burrows left "twenty voluminous scrap-books" in which he had "pasted clippings, letters, and memoranda" (I. 11),

but he wrote few letters, and "his diary is written upon the pages of the *Congressional Record* and in the stenographers' reports of his public speeches" (I. vii). It has accordingly been necessary for his biographer to restrict his activity to the public life of his subject, and it has been impossible for him to draw a real portrait or to show Burrows against his environment, as, for instance, Senator Foraker did for himself. Burrows and Foraker were near enough of an age and of contemporary activity to have made their comparison an interesting and useful task. Foraker died fighting, and resented to the end the existence of a school of critics whom he could not understand and who would not understand him. Burrows, on the other hand, equally a remnant of the receding political moraine, did not know that he was left behind, and seems to have continued satisfied and unperturbed throughout his life. "'Burrows does not know his own strength,' Foraker once said of him" (II. 331). Both were effective speakers and driving fighters. Foraker was more of the fiery spellbinder type, Burrows showed a stronger intellectual content. As enemies, Foraker's espousal of the cause of the Brownsville negro regiment brought out the strength of the seasoned party man as did Burrows's long and vain attack upon Senator Smoot of Utah. Each had the courage to dissent from the opinion of his party but both chose more often the path of stubborn support of and confidence in the old machine.

There is no evidence given in either of the two fine volumes of Mr. Orcutt's life to warrant its opening assertion that, "The life history of Julius Caesar Burrows is so closely interwoven with that of the Republican Party that the one can never be told without embracing the chief events of the other" (I. 3), or, with different metaphor, "The story of his life, then, is no unrhymed heroic poem, for the cantos were composed by the nation itself, and the rhymes by the man portrayed" (II. 313). In Burrows's earlier days Blaine so far surpassed him in leadership and Hayes in insight that he becomes but a minor character. The rising influence of Reed and McKinley left him still in the second rank through his whole middle period. At the last, with Hanna at the helm and Roosevelt charting a new course, he was obsolete before he was retired. He never attained first rank as a speaker upon greenbacks or tariff or silver or the trusts. He will remain a minor figure "in his constructive usefulness to his party" (I. 3).

It was to Senator Burrows that McKinley turned in 1897 for confidential opinion upon the fitness of General Alger to become secretary of war; and only after Burrows's guarantee, based upon investigations through Thomas C. Platt, "to defend him against any possible assault on his record" (II. 103), did the nomination ensue. General Shafter, like Burrows and Alger, came from Michigan, and further knowledge may perhaps uncover the channel of influence through which Miles was set aside from field command while Shafter took the expeditionary force to Cuba. Of the two appointments, Alger and Shafter, the latter was

probably the more menacing. The unpreparedness of the United States would have covered any secretary of war with criticism; only the strength and courage of the subordinates kept the Santiago campaign from wreck.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Samuel Jordan Kirkwood. By DAN ELBERT CLARK. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State Historical Society. 1917. Pp. xiv, 464. \$2.00.)

THE plan of Professor Shambaugh to illuminate the history of Iowa through a series of biographies of the state's leading men is one which might well be adopted in other commonwealths. Samuel J. Kirkwood as Iowa's "war governor" finds a fitting, and, indeed, necessary place in such a series, and in Mr. Clark the editor secured a suitable writer for the volume. Care has been exercised, labor has been expended in a study of letter-books and other sources to bring together material not earlier utilized in Lathrop's *Life*.

Kirkwood was a type of American which made itself a large formative factor in our political life fifty or seventy-five years ago. He was Scottish and Irish in ancestry. Born in Maryland he trekked west over the Cumberland Road to Ohio. He performed farm labor and taught country school. He read law and was admitted to the bar. A Democrat before the Nebraska issue came forward, he joined the new Republican party, and at about the same time removed to Iowa. A rather rough man externally, careless of dress, vigorous of speech, he became a picturesque and effective campaigner for the new party, and in 1859, only four years after his arrival in Iowa, he won the governorship, which he held for two terms, leading that strong, thrifty, new group of people in the performance of their honorable part in the war.

For a little while in 1866-1867 Kirkwood was United States senator. In 1875 he was again governor of the state, resigning after a year in office to take a full term in the Senate, which he in turn abandoned after four years to enter Garfield's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior. Twice he seems to have declined diplomatic posts, first in Denmark and later in Turkey.

At some points Mr. Clark is able to bring Kirkwood's life into contact with national history, though in general the connection is not very essential or close. It is interesting to know of the efforts which Harlan was making at home to get back his seat in the Senate months before he resigned his place as Secretary of the Interior in Andrew Johnson's cabinet, just prior to the Philadelphia convention of 1866. It was in a way his by fair right. He could go no farther with Johnson. But Kirkwood's ambition to be a United States senator was active and constant, and his biographer, in sympathy with his subject, as biographers are rather bound to be, makes it appear that it was not quite as it should have been when a compromise was reached, Kirkwood being given a

year on account of Harlan's unexpired term, still unfilled by appointment of the governor, while Harlan was returned for the full succeeding six years, to sit with Grimes during the impeachment proceedings.

What Kirkwood might have done in this emergency is not particularly stated. But there is no reason to think that he was of heroic mould. He would have broken with Grimes and voted as Harlan did. There is evidence of this in his course at a public meeting convened to read Grimes out of the party, though the author, being unable to find a report of what Kirkwood said at this time, glazes over the incident. In similar wise it is rather remarkable (p. 313), attesting to deficiency of material or else to an almost uncanny shrewdness in Kirkwood, that nothing is at hand whereon to base an opinion as to his attitude on reconstruction while he sat in the Senate of the United States from January, 1866, to March, 1867. Any man in Washington who could conceal his feelings during this period was a past-master in diplomacy, and one cannot but think it a mistake that when the opportunity offered he should not have turned his steps toward Denmark or Turkey.

ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER.

Joseph H. Choate: New Englander, New Yorker, Lawyer, Ambassador. By THERON G. STRONG. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1917. Pp. xvii, 390. \$3.00.)

THIS biography should be read by every lawyer in the country who has the money to buy, or the friend from whom he can borrow the book. No man was better qualified than the author for the work that he undertook. Himself of legal lineage, of New England stock and of high standing at the New York Bar, he had already trained his pen when writing his reminiscences. In his *Landmarks of a Lawyer's Lifetime* he had preserved for posterity a record of the appearance and peculiarities of the noted lawyers in New York in his day, who had then passed before him.

The book which he has now published was written with the approval of his subject, who gave him much material. Not the least valuable of this is the sketch of the Choate family with its record of that "simple intellectual life" which was characteristic of the aristocracy of New England until this was supplanted by the plutocracy of the twentieth century. Much of the book was evidently written before Mr. Choate died. This is apparent in the chapter which describes him as a lawyer, which once speaks as if he were still alive (p. 135), and which contains the only error that the reviewer has been able to discover, a reference to Rufus as the uncle of Joseph, which was the general belief of the Bar and which must consequently have been written before the latter gave the author the information contained in an earlier chapter as to the degree of kinship between them. The author's modesty has made him omit what would have increased the value of the book to the student of

history, namely, the annexation of notes to his accounts of the different trials, with references to the descriptions of the opposing counsel which are contained in his *Landmarks of a Lawyer's Lifetime*.

The narrative is clear and full of interesting quotations from speeches and cross-examinations. There is a refreshing absence of letters, which are the filling and the bane of most biographies. The book is written in that perfect taste which is the concomitant of high breeding. The eulogy is discriminating and nowhere exaggerated. And the limitations of the hero are stated with justice in language that can offend no one. The arrangement is skillful, not chronological but grouping the incidents in the different phases of the career of that great advocate.

For as an advocate Joseph H. Choate was great, greater than any of his time; some believe the greatest advocate the world has ever seen, although he usually avoided a retainer in criminal cases, with the exception of the contempt proceeding before Judge Smyth, never, so far as the reviewer has been able to ascertain, having appeared in any except those which affected the validity of combination of capital or the culpability of corporations. The case which decided the unconstitutionality of the income tax of 1894 was the most important legal decision of his time and none since the creation of the Supreme Court of the United States was won against greater obstacles. No one ever succeeded in so many cases involving such large sums of money. None ever possessed a style of oratory so suitable for advocacy. None exemplified with such perfection the truth of the maxim that the greatest art is that which conceals its existence.

ROGER FOSTER.

American Civil Church Law. By CARL ZOLLMANN, LL.B. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, vol. LXXVII., no. 181.] (New York: Columbia University. 1917. Pp. 473. \$3.50.)

It has been often said that our official reports of judicial decisions are important repositories of historical material. It is from them that Mr. Zollmann has compiled his book. He does not profess to explore for himself the course of ecclesiastical history in the United States, but is content to accept whatever the courts have said about it as the final word. He has produced a digest rather than a treatise. He has not even gone to the trouble of examining for himself the sources on which judges may rely in preparing their opinions. Thus, in stating (p. 15) the respect paid to the Christian religion in American government, his reference is to "Swift's System of Laws, Vol. II, p. 825, cited in 11 S. and R. 404".

The style of expression often falls below the dignity of his subject (see pp. 18, 45), but there is no obscurity in what is said.

Mr. Zollmann calls attention to an interesting development of church law by treaty. In that with Spain it is stipulated that the cessions of territory by her to us cannot impair rights belonging to the peaceable

possession of property of ecclesiastical bodies having the legal capacity to acquire and possess property there. The Roman Catholic Church was such a body, and was consequently recognized and protected as a corporation by our courts (p. 47).

He also regards it in the United States as having a missionary basis, and keeping the management of its affairs largely in foreign hands (p. 354). A parish was an agency of the whole church, not to be managed by its inhabitants, but by some distant ecclesiastical authority. "Consequently", he continues, "the property of Catholic churches is universally vested in some church dignitary, either in his personal capacity, or as a corporation sole". Here the author is in error. Statutes are not uncommon, of late years, vesting the title to the church buildings in a small corporation of which the bishop of the diocese is the head, supported by his vicar-general and the parish priest, but of which two lay members of the parish are also members.

From the implied powers of a church corporation the author, on the strength of an Illinois decision (p. 107), excludes that of erecting a business building adjoining or containing a church auditorium. This doctrine since he wrote has been reversed by a later decision.

Mr. Zollmann approves the views of the British courts in the "Wee Free Church" cases (p. 157), though he does not cite them, to the effect that a trust may be implied from usage in gifts to an ecclesiastical authority for the promotion of religion in a certain doctrinal form. He favors, however, those decisions which make for a slow and cautious policy in the creation of such limitations (p. 171).

The case most often quoted in discussions of American church law is that of *Watson v. Jones* (13 Wallace 679). Here the court held that civil courts must accept on doctrinal points the decision of the highest church judicatory, if there were one, as conclusive (pp. 199-235). Mr. Zollmann regards this as un-American, and founded on a misconception of the obligations of a member of any particular church. If he is to be bound to any doctrine, it is because he has virtually agreed to it. That the principle of *Watson v. Jones* has not been without strong judicial support he admits as well as deplors, but, he says, that case "occupies about the same position toward the other cases on the subject as the initial prevarication in a typical farce occupies toward the lies invented to cover it" (p. 222).

A good account is given of the Annetje Jans attack on the title of Trinity Church to its immense landed property in New York City, as an illustration of the right of a religious body to claim the defense of prescription and adverse possession (pp. 398-403).

The distinction between the territorial right to a pew in one of the established churches in England, and the contractual right of an American pewholder, is well explained (pp. 414, 426).

The concluding chapter is devoted to questions arising under the deeds of trust of Methodist Episcopal churches (pp. 444-450). Few

legal papers have occasioned more litigation than the "Methodist Episcopal deed", originally put in form by John Wesley. It is an interesting combination of provisions, some of which look to the welfare of the particular church, and part to that of the entire denomination.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

Canadian Confederation and its Leaders. By M. O. HAMMOND. (New York: George H. Doran Company. 1917. Pp. x, 333. \$2.50.)

The Federation of Canada, 1867-1917. Four lectures delivered in the University of Toronto in March, 1917, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Federation. By GEORGE M. WRONG, Sir JOHN WILLISON, Z. A. LASH, R. A. FALCONER. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. viii, 144. 3 sh.)

The Constitution of Canada in its History and Practical Working. By WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D., Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario. [Yale Lectures on the Responsibilities of Citizenship.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. 170. \$1.25.)

ON July 1, 1917, Canada celebrated the completion of its fiftieth year as a federal state. The anniversary happened to come in the midst of a great war, when public attention was concentrated on an urgent present, but there was widespread newspaper comment on the development of half-a-century and one or two volumes of permanent interest have been published. In 1917 Canada was as old as was the United States in 1839. There is, however, a great difference in population. Roughly speaking Canada is just a hundred years behind the United States in population. It had in 1917 about as many people as the United States in 1817. It will be interesting to see whether Canada tends to "catch up" on the United States or whether the same disparity is preserved. It is likely that between 1917 and 1967 Canada will grow more rapidly than the United States grew between 1819 and 1869, for railways and steamships make the migration of population easier now than it was a hundred years ago. If only the old ratio is maintained Canada will have in 1967 about eighteen million people.

Mr. Hammond's *Confederation and its Leaders* is based chiefly on printed biographies. The English is often careless and there is no evidence of special political insight. Short biographical sketches in a journalistic style are given of seventeen men, some of whom, like Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia, and Mr. A. A. Dorion in Lower Canada, strongly opposed the federation of Canada. In glancing at these leaders one thinks inevitably of the men who shaped in 1787 the Constitution of the United States and wonders whether the Canadian leaders measured up to the standard of their prototypes. The Canadians had the easier task, for they were preserving old traditions and not setting up a government,

the fruit of revolution, and they had before them the record for three quarters of a century of the great federal state, their neighbor. The Canadian federation was outlined in 1864 at the very time when Sherman was making his desolating march from Atlanta to the sea and when federalism was acutely on trial. Of the seventeen men sketched by Mr. Hammond nine are lawyers and three journalists. In sagacity Sir John Macdonald is fitted to rank with Benjamin Franklin, in financial insight Sir Alexander Galt, son of the famous Scottish novelist, John Galt, was perhaps the equal of Alexander Hamilton, though he lacked his powers of exposition, and as a writer George Brown was the equal of Madison. It was able men who shaped the Canadian federation and their work has endured. Even to-day, when the strain of war has placed French-speaking Quebec in a position of antagonism to the rest of Canada, no one talks seriously of secession. The federation, like that of the United States, is permanent and spreads from sea to sea.

The little volume *The Federation of Canada* consists of four lectures delivered in the University of Toronto to celebrate Canada's fiftieth anniversary. The history of the federation movement is given by Professor George M. Wrong, in the Creation of the Federal System in Canada. Sir John Willison, a well-known Canadian journalist, writes in a vivid style on the political leaders in the movement, most of whom he knew personally, and Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto, discusses with insight the Quality of Canadian Life, and pays no florid compliments to his own people. Not the most interesting of the lectures, but the one most suggestive to the student of political institutions, is that by Mr. Z. A. Lash on the Working of Federal Institutions in Canada. Mr. Lash is a Canadian lawyer of wide experience. He contrasts the Canadian system with that of the United States and shows that the federal power in Canada has authority to regulate transportation and is not confined to inter-state traffic. It has complete jurisdiction with respect to the criminal law, to divorce, and to executive pardon. It can disallow provincial acts that are *ultra vires* without the intervention of any court and it can, of right, give jurisdiction to a provincial court and judges and require from them the service named. It appoints all judges federal or provincial, and so on. The result is that there are few disputes in Canada about jurisdiction. Altogether the book contains a very lucid account of the origin and working of the Canadian system.

The volume on *The Constitution of Canada in its History and Practical Working* by Mr. Justice Riddell, of the Supreme Court of the Province of Ontario, consists of four lectures in the useful Yale series of lectures on the responsibilities of citizenship. He discusses in successive lectures the history of constitutional development in Canada, the specific terms of the British North America Act which is the written constitution, the working of this constitution with special reference to Canada's relations to Great Britain, and lastly compares the federal sys-

tem of Canada with that of the United States. He appends to each chapter copious references to authorities and supplementary comments on his text. He is not always accurate. Wolfe did not take Quebec (p. 8). It is not true that the Canadian French made "no complaint" about the use of the English criminal law (p. 9). The seigneurs in particular objected to trial by a jury of peasants as degrading. The new constitution of Canada in 1841 did not grant "responsible government" (p. 24). This came a few years later, not under the clauses of a statute but by the full adoption of the unwritten law of the British constitution by which the cabinet system exists. So well informed a writer should not speak of the Earl of Derby as Earl Derby (p. 103). He is too fond of sententious contrasts. It is not true that "in the United States the Courts are supreme; in Canada the people through their representatives" (p. 145). He seems to forget that the Imperial Privy Council, a court not created by the Canadian people, has the last word in interpreting their constitution, while the people of the United States, if they so wished, could sweep away the Supreme Court by a constitutional amendment.

The danger in Mr. Justice Riddell's writing is that he sets out with a thesis to prove that Canada is a more democratic country than the United States. He shows rightly enough that, within the frontiers of Canada, its Parliament is supreme but is apparently content that Great Britain should manage the foreign affairs of Canada, something that many of his countrymen will not endure much longer. The analogy of position is, as he says, not between the President and the king but between the President and the prime minister. He thinks the President a very despotic person, and so he is, but does Mr. Justice Riddell realize that greater concentration of authority in Canada which gives the prime minister control of the second chamber, since he nominates to all vacancies, of the whole executive government, of the legislative power in the popular chamber, and even of the naming of the governor-general since he is always consulted about this appointment? True, the House of Commons can dismiss the prime minister at any time but, in fact, for fifty years, it has done so only once and in Canada, as in the United States, the head of the government is changed by a vote of the people and, unlike a President, a Canadian prime minister may retain office indefinitely. Sir Oliver Mowat was prime minister of Ontario for twenty-four years continuously. As Mr. Justice Riddell says rightly the Canadian party system has greater rigor than that of the United States with the result of a greater permanency of office-holding in Canada.

Mr. Justice Riddell's book is stimulating and original and, even if one-sided, is a valuable contribution to the literature of the Canadian constitution. Canadian scholars have not written enough upon the very interesting institutions of Canada. It is pleasant to find a busy judge writing a popular treatise upon the laws which he is interpreting from the bench.

BOOKS ON THE FAR EAST

The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-1865. By PAYSON JACKSON TREAT, Ph.D., Professor of Far Eastern History in Stanford University. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1917.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1917. Pp. ix, 459. \$2.50.)

It is easy to discount the success of American diplomacy in opening Japan as the outcome of fortuitous circumstances. We occupied a unique position, as Professor Nitobé pointed out long ago, and no European government could have played the rôle we undertook in sending Commodore Perry to Yedo Bay with as good a chance as ours of persuading the *Bakufu* to reverse its ancient policy of non-intercourse. It is easy, on the other hand, to belittle the issue as an instance of extraordinary luck in diplomacy and to ignore the important elements of preparation and selection of agents in carrying out the plan. The story makes pleasant reading in the brief annals of American diplomacy, and it has never been so well set forth as in Professor Treat's study of the documents in the case. His book, while eminently readable, is properly a treatise for historical students rather than for general readers. It covers the work of Perry, Harris, and Pruyn during a period when the delicate business of groping their way through the haze of Japanese politics was entrusted to men in whom Americans have reason to take much pride.

The author is content to leave the account of Harris's hard-earned success in wringing a commercial treaty from the Japanese to Dr. Griffis's well-known biography. He contributes rather more to the legation days in Yedo and Harris's experience with his confrères. American policy involved co-operation with Europeans as well as moderation toward the Japanese. It was not easy to carry out this programme. That the Shogun's government was in a dilemma, was revealed through gossip picked up by interpreters and by a dreadful series of assassinations by *ronins*—detached henchmen of the nobility; the officials, then as ever, were taciturn and unwilling or afraid to explain the political situation to the foreigners. After the seventh murder in the foreign community the plenipotentiaries, with the exception of Harris, withdrew from Yedo to Yokohama, on the ground that the government had determined to remove foreigners from the country by intimidation and murder. Our minister, guided by a finer instinct where all were in the dark, held his place in the capital, and the event abundantly justified his determination. He seems to have been brought to this decision by the sound reflection that a sympathetic policy toward an administration sore distraught would serve his own government best in assisting that of Japan. It is noteworthy in passing that his reasoning in those trying days appears to have resembled that of our State Department in its recent agreement with the Japanese: they may be capable of unfathomable duplicity, but

their statesmen have a sense of chivalry which responds to a straightforward appeal; one is safer in reposing confidence in this than in promises or threats. Harris was not only right in his estimate of the character of the Shogun's advisers, but he argued correctly that it was a tactical blunder to endanger by a sudden flight the exercise of a minister's right of residence at the capital, for which he had contended during two years.

Yet it is curious to observe that the most charitable critic of his time called it a grave error to assume Japanese civilization to be on a par with that of the Western world. "The Japanese [he declares] are not a civilized, but a semi-civilized people, and the condition of affairs in this country is quite analogous to that of Europe during the middle ages." It is possible that the Western world has altered its terms in sixty years and is not as prone now as then to assume fixed standards for "civilization".

F. W. WILLIAMS.

Japan Day by Day—1877, 1878-79, 1882-83. By EDWARD S. MORSE.

In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. 450; 426. \$8.00.)

THESE volumes are in my eyes history—although not *a* history. The historian can no more ignore Morse's *Japan* than he can Dr. Johnson's *Tour to the Hebrides*, Pepys's *Diary*, or Marco Polo's frequently misleading but always valuable *Journey to the Kathay of Kublai Khan*. Morse's first visit to Nippon was almost coincident with my own; and it is a pleasure for me to bear witness to the rare combination of scientific training, physical endurance, contagious good humor, and finally of opportunities offered by official rank in the learned world of Tokyo—all these united to make a diary crowded with incidents and observations, the more precious for being impressions recorded before the novelty had worn off. The author will soon celebrate his eightieth birthday—although only the calendar taxes him with age!—and we are grateful that these volumes have so long lain dormant. A younger traveller might have been less wise or less modest and sought to perfect the style or suppress some impressions which afterwards had to be corrected. For instance, he is present at a fire in the capital and laughs derisively at the antics of the fire brigade—because he does not understand their object. We think the hose is meant to squirt water on the house; the Japanese firemen of 1877 used the hose to saturate only the men who risked their lives in demolishing such inflammable buildings as lay to leeward of the conflagration. In general, however, Professor Morse had from the outset a body-guard of loving and admiring students who initiated him into every domestic, religious, and political arcanum and who consequently saved him from the endless pitfalls into which the mere globe-trotter stumbles, wallows, and emerges—with a book. We are spared the latter-day nonsense so sedulously spread by our California friends that "all

Japanese are dishonest"! On this matter Morse remarks (I. 38) "I am informed that some stealing takes place when the people have been associated for some time with the so-called civilized races; but in the interior dishonesty is seldom known and, indeed, is of rare occurrence in treaty ports."

Morse cannot be classified—unless under many heads: zoology, archaeology, astronomy, palaeontology, philology, toxology—yet to-day he is best known in Boston as an authority in Japanese art and architecture. I have read these two volumes through, page by page, and have placed them on my shelf of books to be read again. These lines attempt to give the student some notion of his work. Yet I find that my pen draws me to rhapsody rather than to critical review. Not a chapter that does not tempt one to quote largely. How define Morse's book? As well summarize the wares at a world's fair or the paintings of the Louvre. The student of history will find in every chapter light that will help him to understand the trend of Japanese endeavor to-day—and every line readable. To conclude as I began—the work is not *a* history, yet the subtle wit of Gibbon, the charming garrulity of Herodotus, the philosophic calm of Hume, the gay worldliness of Voltaire, the searching satire of Macaulay—the student will feel the vibration of these great historians of the past in the sympathetic pages of Morse's *Japan Day by Day*.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1915. (Washington, 1917, pp. 375.) This volume of the *Annual Reports* contains a greater proportion of formal matter than many of its predecessors, because of the unusual amount of business which had to be transacted in the thirty-first annual meeting of the society. Some eighty pages, too, are occupied by reports on the archives of the states of California and Vermont, made for the Public Archives Commission, the former by Edward L. Head, archivist at Sacramento, the latter by Dr. A. H. Shearer. There are, however, some notable contributions of historical narrative or exposition, such as Professor W. S. Ferguson's paper on Economic Causes of International Rivalries and Wars in Ancient Times; a learned account of East German Colonization in the Middle Ages, by Professor J. W. Thompson; Miss Davenport's paper on America and European Diplomacy, to 1648; that of Professor Moses on the Social Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in South America; that of Dr. R. H. Lutz on Rudolph Schlegel and his Visit to Richmond, April 25, 1861, and two papers on Nationalism, by Professors Edward Krehbiel and W. T. Laprade.

An Historical Introduction to Social Economy. By F. Stuart Chapin, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and Economics in Smith Col-

lege. (New York, Century Company, 1917, pp. xi, 316, \$2.00.) This series of essays based upon standard authorities brings into contrast the types of industrial society of Greece, of Rome, and of England at the close of the medieval period, with the important objective of the subsequent industrial revolution. It is a book of historical pictures and historical judgments rather than a detailed history of industrial society. Necessarily in so brief a survey only the main historical movements could be presented. While as an historical summary it is valuable especially as an introduction to social and industrial history, its main purpose is to show the effect of different industrial methods on the welfare of the laborer, and the attempt to relieve poverty caused by defective industrial systems. However, in discussing the main phases of the land question as a basis of social organization, the changes from slavery to free labor, the characteristics of handcraft and domestic systems, and finally the condition of labor under the system of power manufacture, sufficient historical discussion is given to indicate continuity of cause and effect.

Emphasis on the vital importance of the industrial revolution and its extension into the recent transformation of society by the introduction of power manufacture, on the extended use of inventions and discovery, and on the increased social organization arising therefrom, is the distinguishing characteristic of the book. Indeed, the Greek, Roman, and medieval conditions of the laborer have few lessons to teach us regarding the social problems arising in these latter days of the industrial revolution which has not yet reached its zenith. A general deduction by the comparison of industrial methods of different nations is the universal attempt of the industrially strong to exploit the industrially weak. While this has been a characteristic of all systems, the last three years are presaging greater changes through industrial revolution than have occurred in the previous fifty, so far as the reorganization of society is concerned. The industrial revolution has become a social mutation. History is being made rapidly but can in no way be made to repeat itself except in spirit. Modern social problems cannot be solved by any precedents or examples set by nations whose institutions have become obsolete. The best equipment for the solution of modern problems is a thorough persistent research into present conditions. Nevertheless, an historical survey of what other nations have failed to accomplish may clarify our minds for the task. For this purpose, Mr. Chapin's delightful and instructive book is valuable as an introduction to social economy. Its historical vision is clear, its statements accurate, and it is sufficiently comprehensive for the author's purpose.

FRANK WILSON BLACKMAR.

An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of Its Perpetuation. By Thorstein Veblen. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. xiii, 367, \$2.00.) As its title indicates the book in hand deals

rather with matters of politics and social theory than with history. Its argument, written in the author's characteristic style, is suggestive, and in some particulars highly important.

His use of history, though limited, is of more than ordinary interest, because he reverses some of the generally accepted points of view.

Take, for instance, "Chinafication", which is commonly accepted as an obvious evidence of degradation, unfitness, and general inferiority, for which not a word can be said. Mr. Veblen suggests that "Chinafication" is not without its advantages. History shows that, despite many foreign dynasties, the Chinese have managed to hold their territory, and have made imposing contributions to civilization. The Armenians, too, have long been a subject people, exposed to massacre and every evil of oppression, but they have persisted. This history, says Veblen, "teaches that the Chinese plan of non-resistance has proved eminently successful . . . that a diligent attention to the growing of crops and children is the sure and appointed way to the maintenance of a people and its culture". He does not follow this by the speculation it suggests as to the relation of force and moral principles to social progress and the persistence of peoples and their civilizations. This is, however, involved in his reflections on the social customs and conceptions of a people and their persistence. Such customs and conceptions Mr. Veblen, as might be expected, regards as acquired characteristics, or "second nature". If, then, they come from environment, they may also change with environment, and the possibility of change depends on the ability to change the environment.

Applying this to the present problem of Germany, Mr. Veblen contends that the Teutonic peoples have never had a democratic environment. He rejects the free agricultural community of the early Teutons as an "academic legend", and contends that as a people they have always had the habit of subjection. The possibility of their living amicably with their democratic neighbors depends on the rapidity with which they can unlearn their highly-wrought and age-long servility, loyalty, and national animosity. Mr. Veblen thinks this is bound to take long, hints that it may take about as long to unlearn as it took to learn, and holds that in any case it will hardly come without the passing of a generation or by grace of some comprehensive discipline of experience.

The French and Anglo-Saxon peoples have long since left behind the institutional phases in which the Germans still live. In this connection there is a startling inversion of commonly accepted views. Regarding Teutonic influence as undemocratic, as has been noted, Mr. Veblen declares that the French are farther advanced because of their retention out of Roman times of the conception of a commonwealth.

That the English and French of to-day have a much more advanced conception of individual liberty and self-government than the Germans does not prove or even argue that the Roman influence was wholesome and the Teutonic injurious. After all, the English, at least so our his-

tories have taught so far, have been more influenced by Teutonic than by Roman conceptions, and they are certainly about as democratic as the French. It is not necessary to do violence to the hitherto accepted opinions as to the influence of Teutonic and Roman institutions to explain the differences between Germans and others. There is plenty of ground for this in the environment of the respective peoples during the last seven centuries.

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

The Law and the State: French and German Doctrines. By Léon Duguit, Professor in the Faculty of Law of Bordeaux; translated by Frederick J. de Sloovere, Instructor in Law in the Catholic University of America. [*Harvard Law Review*, November, 1917, vol. XXXI., no. 1, special number.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1917, pp. 192, 35 cents.) To the historian, except as he is interested in tracing the development of political theories, this work is of no direct value. To the political philosopher it is of considerable interest. It not only serves to set in clearer outline than has previously been presented in English the characteristic doctrines of the author, but furnishes an excellent analysis of the theories of Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Seydel, and Jellinek, not to mention other less important political theorists. Duguit's central objection to the systems of all these writers is the predication of omnipotence to the state. Objection to granting the existence of this state attribute is, one might say, an *idée fixe* with him, and necessitates a denial by him of the personality and sovereignty of the state. And yet, acute thinker as he is, it seems that he is often led astray in his criticisms, as well as in the construction of his own system, by a failure to distinguish between sovereignty and state omnipotence as a juristic premise upon which to erect systems of public law and determine questions of mere legality, and the ascription to the state of either material power or ethical right to do whatsoever those in control of its government may see fit to demand. This error pervades the whole essay, but a single instance will suffice to show its presence. If, he says, on page 21, we concede a supreme will to the state we must then maintain "that there cannot exist between two or more sovereign states any relation of right, any reciprocal obligation of a legal character; that violence and force are the only laws of international relations. We know with what impudence this proposition was affirmed at the very beginning of the war by the representatives of Germany". M. Duguit does indeed show in a very convincing manner how the theories of Kant and Hegel made it possible for German publicists to develop a political philosophy which exalts the sovereign state as a mystical and essentially divine entity raised above the plane of the moral obligations that bind mere men, and especially he shows how the will of a king could come to be held as the will of the state he rules, but Duguit is certainly in error when, in the purely juristic theories of Seydel, Ihering, and Jellinek, he finds neces-

sary and logical support for the atrocious *Realpolitik* of modern Germany.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY.

Dio's Roman History. With an English Translation by Earnest Cary, Ph.D., on the Basis of the Version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph.D. In nine volumes. Volumes V. and VI. [Loeb Classical Library.] (London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. 526, 492, \$1.50 each.) These are volumes of Dio's *Roman History* as published in the now familiar dress of the *Loeb Library*, a format that has on the whole approved itself to the scholarly world. Two earlier volumes of Dio have been noticed in preceding numbers of the *Review*. The present volumes contain books XLVI. to LV. inclusive, covering the stirring years 43 to 31 B. C., from shortly after the death of Julius Caesar to the decisive battle of Actium, and most of the years of the rule of Augustus, to 8 A. D.

The final translation comes from Dr. Earnest Cary, but the work is essentially based upon the version published in 1905 by the late Professor Herbert B. Foster of Lehigh University, a translation which did much credit to American classical scholarship, which did not, however, bring its author all the prompt recognition which his effort undoubtedly deserved. Previous to that time it had been impossible to read Dio in English, despite the existence of good French and German translations.

Dio's place as an historian has long been established. He did not write in very smooth Greek, he was prolix, he was often dull, he was still more frequently uncritical, and he was sometimes grossly credulous. But the fact remains that he had a good grasp on the essentials of Roman history, that he understood the methods of imperial administration, that he had access to official documents, that he strove to tell the truth without silly rhetoric, and that he prepared a voluminous history which (so far as it is preserved to us) is an invaluable compendium of information, especially for the whole imperial period down to about 220 A. D. It is a grievous misfortune that so much of this truly monumental work is transmitted merely through the jejune compendium of Zonaras and the epitome of the monk Xiphilinus. In republishing the surviving books of Dio, therefore, the *Loeb Library* has rendered a service to all friends of the humanities.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

A Note-book of Mediaeval History, A. D. 323-A. D. 1453. By C. Raymond Beazley, Professor of Modern History in the University of Birmingham. (Oxford and New York, Clarendon Press, 1917, pp. viii, 224, \$1.20.) It is perhaps Professor Beazley's notes for his own class-room lectures which are thus given permanent form and shared with his fellow teachers. At any rate, it is a very live and stimulating body of materials and suggestions for such lectures—arranged, as he

himself tells us, according to order of time and without division by countries, but broken up into comparatively short periods (less than half a century for the most part) and rich in data for the history of culture and civilization as well as for that of politics. As one might expect from the historian of medieval geography, the book is especially notable for the breadth of its vision and for the wealth of exact and often curious information as to outlying lands and movements. Especially eastern Europe and the Orient come in for generous memory. The matter is at times a little chaotic, and there are many marks of haste—as where (p. 19) early Alsace is vexatiously called "Alsace-Lorraine". But, such as it is, both teacher and student will find it a mine of fascinating information and inference. It should be widely accessible.

Tort, Crime, and Police in Mediaeval Britain: a Review of some Early Law and Custom. By J. W. Jeudwine, LL.B. Camb. (London, Williams and Norgate, 1917, pp. xix, 292, 6 sh.) This can hardly be regarded as either an authoritative or an enlightening work on the subject. It is a not too well arranged collection of extracts from the ancient laws of Great Britain, with little legal and much modernist political comment. The author, though his treatise is too short to cover his subject even if he confined himself to England alone, employs a large part of it in wanderings far afield. Of his six references to Pollock and Maitland's standard history, not one contains a discussion of a point of tort, crime, or police; nor does either of his two references to Stephen's *History*. Out of twenty-five references to the Year Books, only two seem apposite to the subject of the treatise. A few authorities quite in point are drawn from the Selden Society *Publications*, more from the Brehon and Welsh laws, and a number from the Mosaic law—apparently on the ground, stated by the author without an attempt at proof, that the common law was largely influenced by the law of Moses. The pages devoted to tort and crime throw little light on the law or its administration.

The long Supplement is frankly unconcerned with law, but contains the author's meditations on modern conditions, suggested, to be sure, by something he has found in the medieval law. The author's views are strong and vigorous, and often shrewd. He attacks the system of imprisonment for small crimes, especially for drunkenness; he reviles the English system of magistrates' courts; he expresses a strong preference for the Brehon laws, and pays his respects to the Ulsterman. One who seeks this discussion of medieval crime for its racy presentation of a few modern problems will not be disappointed in what he finds; the historian of law will hardly treasure the book.

JOSEPH H. BEALE.

Registres Perdus des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Paris. Par Ch.-V. Langlois. [From Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de

la Bibliothèque Nationale et Autres Bibliothèques, tome XL.] (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1916, pp. 366, 14 fr.) The archives of the chamber of accounts of Paris were destroyed by fire in 1737. With the possible exception of a few odd volumes, only the records of the section called the *dépôt des fiefs* were saved, and by far the larger and more valuable portion of the most extensive archives in France was burned. It is with the series of registers lost at this time that Professor Langlois deals. He describes the sources of information, establishes correct lists of the principal series of registers, explains the general nature of their contents, and indicates for each series of registers the inventories and collections of extracts which have been preserved. A few volumes of especial importance or of exceptional nature, such as the register *Bel*, he treats in greater detail, and he devotes one chapter to a study of the relations between the archives of the chamber and the *trésor des chartes*. The treatise provides the first clear and systematic guide for the study of a series of documents which have not yet been utilized by historians to an extent commensurate with their importance. It should become the starting-point of any subsequent researches in the records of the chamber.

Professor Langlois concludes his volume with two long appendixes. The first contains extracts from a transcript of the second journal of the chamber, begun in 1321. The journal contained memoranda of business transacted by the chamber. The second is a reconstruction of the Red Book in the form of a calendar. The register preserved copies of royal letters dating from the last years of the thirteenth century to about 1322, with a few additions as late as 1336. The register was among the oldest compiled by the clerks of the chamber. It has been classed among the *Libri Memoriales*, but the editor thinks it more closely allied to the series of registers called *chartes*. The documents are largely records of royal gifts and grants similar to those found in the first registers in the chronological series of the *trésor des chartes*.

W. E. LUNT.

Venise dans la Littérature Française depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Mort de Henri IV. By Béatrix Ravà. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1916, pp. 612, 14.40 fr.) This book will be of little interest to historians. It is primarily a compendium of references to Venice in French literature from Villehardouin, the partizan contemporary historian of the Fourth Crusade, to Henri Estienne, traveller, printer, and advocate of the pre-eminence of the French language, in the late sixteenth century, while it purports to be an analysis of the influence of Venice upon the literature of France. To be sure, the author disarms the historian in the preface by disclaiming all reference to historians whose works are not recommended by their artistic worth whatever their scientific value; and the chapters devoted to the historical background, on the political relations between Venice and France in the Middle Ages, from the Fourth Cru-

sade to Louis XI., from Charles VIII. to Henri IV., are of no pretense and of less worth.

The first part of the book, devoted to the literary manifestations of political relations, to the French travellers, pilgrims, and poets in Venetia in the Middle Ages, savors of the seminar and the card catalogue, devoid of the critical attitude desirable in one if not in the other. The second part follows the same plan for the Renaissance with a chapter on Venetian printers and their influence in France, but is written on the whole with more spirit. If one agrees with the conclusion of the author (p. 489) that Venetian "*vertus littéraires sont comme les perles de cette mer, dont elle est la reine: elles ne paraissent pas à la surface; elles sont cachées dans les profondeurs infinies, et seules des mains habiles peuvent les découvrir et les transformer en bijoux précieux*", one can only mourn that the hands were not as able as diligent. The transformation does not appear.

There are forty-three extracts from texts, covering one hundred pages, four of them hitherto unedited. None is of great significance. One wonders how in this day and age a printer could be found so lacking in a sense of economy and of courage, as not to have enforced upon the author some necessary and profitable compression.

Church and State in the Reign of Louis Philippe, 1830-1848. By John M. S. Allison. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1916, pp. 178.) Mr. Allison's monograph aims to set forth certain of the relations of Church and State during the eighteen years of the reign of Louis Philippe. Particularly is it a study of the Liberal Catholic movement associated with the names of Lamennais, Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Ozanam. Lamennais's reform ideas are clearly presented, "the regeneration of the Church by liberty and the regeneration of mankind by the Church when once it had been freed from its faults", the revival of a dynamic faith within the Church itself and among the people in a time of spiritual indifference. The evolution of Lamennais's ideas, their attraction for a number of young men of talent, the various methods employed for their diffusion, the opposition aroused in ecclesiastical and political circles, particularly to the idea of the entire independence of the Church and its complete separation from the State, the political implications of the movement both in home and foreign policies, all these are clearly traced, as is also the speedy and decisive condemnation of the movement by the pope, Gregory XVI., in the encyclical *Mirari vos*.

The author then describes the revival in later years of this movement apparently so completely eradicated by the papal allocution, a revival that was slow and also partial. For the later struggle of the Liberal Catholic was more limited than the previous unsuccessful venture, was in fact essentially restricted to the demand for liberty of association and liberty of teaching, held by the Neo-Catholics to be implicit in

the Charter. The outstanding feature of this phase of the movement was the campaign against the monopoly of the University in educational matters, the vicissitudes of which campaign are shown.

In the filling-in of the general political background and history of the reign the author is less satisfactory, less clear, and less sure than in his outline of the religious development proper. He has, in the reviewer's opinion, far too high an opinion of Thureau-Dangin's history of this period, a history, as Gooch says, redolent of the atmosphere of the Faubourg St. Germain and by an author "more conservative than Guizot". In this section of Mr. Allison's book questionable statements are not infrequent, such as that Lamartine inaugurated the Reform Banquets, and that Thiers was a leader of the Republicans as early as 1844 (p. 136), and that he retired from the Guizot ministry in 1845 (p. 157).

The book lacks a table of contents and an index and the typographical errors are numerous.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

The House of Hohenzollern and the Hapsburg Monarchy. Originally published in the *New York Evening Post* and the *New York Nation*. By Gustav Pollak. (New York, New York *Evening Post* Company, 1917, pp. 102, 50 cents; paper 25 cents.) In seven articles, published between December, 1916, and July, 1917, Pollak discusses the bearing of the war on the relations between the Central European allies and its effect on the various nationalities in the Dual Monarchy. All are written in the vigorous style of the seasoned political feuilletonist. Through all runs the thread of bitter dislike of Prussia and its reigning house. The initial accord is struck in the first article with the statements that the Hohenzollerns have done nothing for German literature, except that which glorified Prussian deeds, and have made no concessions to liberty, except through political necessity. The second paper, Bismarck's Neglected Policies, seeks to explain Prussia's diplomatic failures abroad, where Berlin has held to the Iron Chancellor's brutality and selfishness but has forgotten his "nightmare of coalitions". In the next article Pollak reviews Naumann's *Mitteleuropa*, which he finds based on the same old creed of coercion and selfishness. Austria's Opportunity, published March 31, 1917, emphasizes the dislike in Vienna and Budapest of Prussia's rulers, whose league with the Dual Monarchy is based on no inner kinship of tradition. The Future of Bohemia throws cold water on Czech aspirations for independence, pointing a warning finger at the dangers to which an independent Bohemia may be exposed. Tisza's fall in May last led the author to stress again the inherent antagonism of Prussian and Austrian; and the last paper gives a résumé of the political progress of the Galician Poles, whose struggle with the Ruthenians since 1908 is briefly sketched.

The little work forms a readable, although very one-sided and superficial, review of Austria's recent relations to her Germanic neighbor, as

well as to the Czech, Pole, and Magyar within her gates. Pollak's bitter feeling toward Prussia, and his tenderness of the Hapsburgs, is everywhere in evidence. Once more Grillparzer's obsession of a Prussian conspiracy against Austrian writers is rehearsed (p. 91), although Pollak, in a work written in a day of fairer judgments, doubts this (*Grillparzer and the Austrian Drama*, 1907, p. 32) and cites more plausible reasons for Grillparzer's lack of popularity in North Germany (*ibid.*, p. 330). The tremendous welding of national feeling in Germany during the past forty years is utterly disregarded by the author, who can still quote Bismarck and W. H. Riehl on South German particularism, and the *Grossdeutsche* Gervinus on the annexations of 1866, as if they were representative of present conditions and sentiments. Prussia is anathema! Of the articles on Austro-Hungarian politics, that on Bohemia is informing and admirably judicial in tone. The others, particularly the analysis of the situation in Hungary, show a lack of clear development and coherence. Even the inherently sketchy character of the feuilleton can hardly excuse such a statement as, "Down to the close of the eighteenth century Europe was but little concerned in the destinies of Bohemia" (p. 68) ("What about the great Ottokar, and the Hussite wars, and the Thirty Years' War?" asks the marvelling reader) or that "Prussia lured Austria into the present war" (p. 78).

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

The Battle of the Somme. By John Buchan. (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1917, pp. x, 264, \$1.50.) The battle of the Somme began in midsummer of the year 1916, and continued until winter put an end to active operations. Like the fighting from the Wilderness to Petersburg in the summer of 1864, the battle of the Somme was remarkable for the number of casualties, an expenditure of effort and life out of proportion to the advantage gained by the English and French. What the battle showed was that the British had learned much about present-day warfare, and that, by assembling sufficient numbers of troops, guns, and munitions on a given front favorable to the operation, limited progress could be made. But the limited advance, which, so far, alone seems possible, takes on something of a tactical advantage to the enemy, because each offensive calls for a complete reconstruction of the territory passed over. The limited advance exhausts itself, and the greater the amount of preparation required for the advance, in men, munitions, and cannon, the shorter is the range of these advances upon limited fronts, unless, as sometimes happens, the immediate retirement is to ground untenable for topographical reasons.

Mr. Buchan's book sets forth in a popular fashion, and, at times, with some diffuseness of incident and description, the preparations for the long contest, and the outcome. But so much water has run through the mill since the battle of the Somme that some of his claims and prog-

nostications, in the light of the present military situation, seem over-confident.

The psychological influence of over-confident declaration has its uses, but if the efforts to create confidence are overdone, the reaction is worse than the first state. General Meade, one of America's most skillful soldiers, wrote in December, 1864, "This passion of believing newspaper and club strategy will I suppose never be eradicated from the American public mind, notwithstanding the experience of four years in which they have from day to day seen its plans and hopes and fears dissipated by facts". In warfare, instead of psychology changing the facts, the facts change the psychology.

ISAAC R. PENNYPACKER.

The Homely Diary of a Diplomat in the East, 1897-1899. By Thomas Skelton Harrison, former Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General of the United States to the Khedival Court of Cairo. With a Foreword by Sara Yorke Stevenson, Sc.D., Litt.D., Officier d'Instruction Publique. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. xxix, 364, \$5.00.) The writer of this diary represented the United States in Cairo from 1897 to 1899. He was a Philadelphia manufacturer, with cultivated tastes, especially in respect to "society", dinners, wines, and race-horses. The record which he kept for his private satisfaction, and which describes with intimate detail his daily doings, is one which it was entirely proper for him to keep, and will furnish much entertainment to those who like to read of the doings of a picturesque society in days when important things were going on in Egypt. But the reader who looks for valuable information concerning the political events of the time and place, to justify publication, will look in vain. Mr. Harrison was not the kind of diplomatic representative who has an important part in such doings, or who learns important facts respecting them.

Out of their Own Mouths: Utterances of German Rulers, Statesmen, Savants, Publicists, Journalists, Poets, Business Men, Party Leaders, and Soldiers. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1917, pp. xxviii, 255, \$1.00.) This is an excellent piece of work. Done avowedly for purposes of propaganda, it is none the less a painstaking and fair presentation of the wrong side of modern Germany. The editor, who has chosen to preserve his anonymity, has taken the French *Jugés par Eux-mêmes* as his model and has used many passages from that collection. He has depended also upon Grumbach's collection. And he has added much from his own wide reading in German political literature, passages to be found in no similar collection. One wishes that out of his abundant knowledge he had ventured more notes upon the men whose words he uses. His arrangement of utterances by ministers, philosophers, historians, publicists, poets, etc., has an advantage. It shows the reader

how widespread were the German conceptions. On the other hand there is no progress. One closes the book a bit confused by miscellaneous passages.

Mistakes are trivial. The editor has given a few references at second hand without verification, else he would not have assigned (pp. 35-40) the wrong pagings to Lasson's *Das Culturideal und der Krieg*, pagings which belong not to the edition of 1868 but to the recent edition which the French quote. Some of the speeches attributed to William II. (pp. 3-5), which the editor takes from *Jugés par Eux-mêmes*, would, I suspect, be hard to find in German newspapers. Has the "Song of the German Sword" been sufficiently authenticated to use? The title of Tannenberg's book is slightly wrong (p. 79).

The introduction, by another hand, is not written with that moderation, which, were there no other reason for it, would serve to lead along the man, unconvinced of Germany's nefarious purposes, to further reading of the book. It is a pity there is no index.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

A History of the Great War. By Arthur Conan Doyle. Volumes I, II. *The British Campaign in France and Flanders, 1914, 1915.* (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1916, 1917, pp. xiii, 349; ix, 257, \$4.00.) As Sir Arthur Conan Doyle well recognizes, it is too soon for "points of larger strategy" of the Great War to be considered and evaluated, but though the student of European politics and history and the military expert will find little of special value in these volumes there is doubtless a place for such a narrative, built up from letters, diaries, and personal interviews, often with the help of the principal actors in the events narrated. The general reader, who wishes a coherent account of the Great War, an account which shall not make large demands on his previous knowledge and which is written in easy, readable style, will find it here. It must be borne in mind, however, that the emphasis is definitely and intentionally on English action and English achievement, for, despite his title, the author is making no attempt to trace the history of the war as a whole. The eastern front is ignored throughout the two volumes. Nor will the most casual reader fail to perceive that the warmth of the adjectives employed is that of an ardent Englishman, not of an impartial historian.

The first volume opens with a slight sketch of the Breaking of the Peace (30 pp.) which indicates briefly the feeling between Germany and England from 1902 till the outbreak of the war. This is followed by an account of the English preparations once war was declared, and by chapters on the battles of Mons, Le Cateau, the Marne, the Aisne, and Ypres, and the La Bassée-Armentières operations. The volume closes with a few words on Italy's entrance into the war, on the fall of the German colonies, and on sea affairs, and a slightly more extended account of the Winter Lull of 1914.

The second year of the war, which the author characterizes as the year "of equilibrium" in distinction from the first "year of defense", and the third "year of attack", is treated in volume II. Here the same plan is followed as in that of the first volume, the movements of the British army are traced through the battles of Neuve Chapelle, the second battle of Ypres, the battles of Richebourg and Loos.

A third volume is promised which is to carry the account through the year 1916. Both these volumes are supplied with maps and diagrams illustrating the text.

History of the World War. By Frank H. Simonds. Volume I. *The Attack on France.* (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1917, pp. xxiii, 289, \$3.50.) Mr. Simonds aims to present to the American public an impartial narrative of the World War. As far as the first volume is concerned, he has succeeded admirably. His book, without references, free from technical terminology, and copiously illustrated, is essentially a popular work. But it is more. Because of the author's ability to grasp the essential factors in the struggle, because he writes as an eye-witness of some of its most significant incidents, and because of his close association with the French and British staffs, his account is a valuable contribution to the military history of the war.

The three opening chapters contain a luminous sketch of the antecedents of the war from 1871 to 1914. The diplomacy of the last "twelve days", Simonds believes, was absolutely futile, for it aimed at a compromise when nothing could have brought about peace save an absolute surrender by one of the two hostile groups of Continental powers, and these nations had already decided to fight rather than surrender. He sharply censures the leaders of the English Liberals, including Sir Edward Grey, for not recognizing the realities of the situation during the preceding decade, or even during the last crisis, and for lulling England to a state of false security from which the invasion of Belgium rudely awakened her.

The remainder of the book treats the military operations in Europe from August, 1914, to May, 1915; the war at sea he reserves for another volume. For Mr. Simonds, this whole period forms one distinct phase of the war—the German attack on France. Such a view gives unity and clarity to the narrative. It subordinates the Eastern to the Western theatre of operations, and justly so, for the offensive lay with the Central Powers, and their first objective was the elimination of France. This aim, he shows, was not definitely abandoned for an offensive against Russia until after the second battle of Ypres in April, 1915. The Russian offensive of 1914 was part of the Allies' scheme to parry the German thrust on France.

In some particulars, although claiming to voice the best French and British opinion, Simonds disagrees with such recent works as Madelin's *Victory of the Marne* and Major Whitton's *Marne Campaign*. He holds

that the Marne was really won by Foch's thrust at La Fère-Champenoise, while these still regard Manoury's attack on von Kluck as the decisive factor. Further, Whitton disagrees with Simonds's view that Sir John French's failure to rise to his opportunity alone saved von Kluck from annihilation. Both Madelin and Whitton believe, against Simonds, that the Eastern situation necessitated the transfer of German troops from the West before the battle of the Marne began. Evidently, the final word on these points has yet to be spoken.

To many it will be news that Churchill's "grotesque venture" at Antwerp delayed the proposed evacuation of that city until the Belgian army only escaped in too disorganized a condition to hold the line of the Scheldt, and, therefore, had to surrender the Belgian coast to the Germans.

A final word of commendation is due for the number of useful military maps.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Topography and Strategy in the War. By Douglas Wilson Johnson, Associate Professor of Physiography in Columbia University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1917, pp. x, 211, \$1.75.) Since the beginning of the European war, Professor Johnson has been a close student of the effect of topography upon military movements on the various battle-fronts. No other American geographer has watched these movements so closely. In his preface, he says that he was particularly anxious to discover how far military operations are still affected by the element of terrain, and he reaches the conclusion that there is ample indication that "the rôle played by land forms in plans of campaign and movements of armies is no less important to-day than in the past".

The most thoroughly worked-out portion of the book deals with the western battle-front. The author shows in detail how the four escarpments with their steep slopes toward the Germans and their gentle slopes toward the Paris basin have aided the French in checking the German armies in eastern France. In the northern plain, where no topographic barriers exist, the Germans were able to advance almost to Paris. The author's analysis of the topography about Verdun shows why the repeated attacks of the Germans upon that stronghold have failed.

In the eastern field of operations, the many rivers bordered by swampy banks have been constant barriers offering aid to retreating troops, but obstacles to the pursuers. The Carpathians are shown to have been a most effective barrier in preventing the final success of the great Russian drive which otherwise would have reached the heart of Hungary. On the Italian front the author shows how all of the military advantages arising from the topography lay with the Austrians because they held the main passes and occupied the high ground from which the Italians could dislodge them only by well-nigh superhuman efforts. The final chapters deal with the campaigns in the Balkans.

Professor Johnson is moderate in his claims regarding the influence of topography upon military movements. At times the reader feels that the author is ignoring other factors which are no less significant than topography, but the book does not purport to treat of other factors. It is a clear and illuminating discussion of the subject with which it deals; it is the most valuable contribution in English to the geography of the war and will have permanent value. Eighteen sketch-maps and diagrams and many illustrations add materially to the value of the book.

R. H. WHITBECK.

Under Four Flags for France. By George Clarke Musgrave. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1918, pp. xi, 364, \$2.00.) The author is an experienced war correspondent, and parts of his book rest on personal observation; but not a very large part of it can have that basis, for it endeavors to treat of the whole military history of the war, so far as concerns the achievements of France and her allies on the Western Front. For such endeavors there is an obvious public demand, but it is impossible to meet that demand with anything authoritative at present, and this book, while not without merits, does not so meet it. The style is as ambitious as the plan.

The Note-Book of an Intelligence Officer. By Eric Fisher Wood. (New York, Century Company, 1917, pp. xii, 346, \$1.75.) Mr. Wood's study can hardly be called historical in nature, although it may be said to furnish the stuff of which history is made. It is an eye-witness's account of conditions in England in 1917 and a survey of certain characteristics of the fighting on the Western Front just previous to the battle of Arras. It has some of the features of the orthodox accounts of newspaper correspondents and also of the trench literature of combatants, which the present war has made so familiar to us; for Mr. Wood, going to England in the hope of doing something to bring about a better understanding between Americans and the Entente Allies, was given a staff appointment which permitted him to study the mechanism of the British censorship, to come in close contact with several of the leading figures of present-day British politics, to view certain sectors on the British front, and, finally, to take part in the battle of Arras, in which he was wounded.

Major Wood has, evidently, an attractive personality combined with a certain amount of obstinacy, which has enabled him to see at first hand many things in which all Americans are at the present time interested. Most interesting are his chapter on the censorship, the description of the *matériel* of battle, and particularly the impressions of the combatant as he advances in the slow walk which makes the modern military "charge". In his treatment of British notabilities the author is disappointing. The material which he offers on the Prime Minister by no means justifies the title of his chapter, and in his eulogistic discussion of

Lord Northcliffe he forgets to be consistent, citing with evident approval Northcliffe's bitter opposition to the censorship (p. 140), to which Major Wood has already devoted a long chapter, characterized by enthusiastic approval.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages belonging to the Library of the India Office. Volume I., *The Mackenzie Collections*; Part I., *The 1822 Collection and the Private Collection*, by C. O. BLAGDEN, M.A. Volume II., Part I. *The Orme Collection*, by S. C. HILL. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1916, pp. xxxii, 302; xxxv, 421; 10 sh. 6 d., 12 sh. 6 d.) The British government at Calcutta published in 1828 the two-volume *Descriptive Catalogue* (compiled by H. H. Wilson) of the main part of the Mackenzie Collection of Manuscripts. The present installment deals with two separate parts not represented in the earlier catalogue and "now appears as a separate and advance portion of the volume devoted to the Mackenzie Collections". This division is due to the fact that the present manuscripts were acquired by the government as separate detachments and because for the most part the materials both in the "1822 Collection" and the "Private Collection" relate to Java and the Dutch East Indies. In 1815 Mackenzie became surveyor-general for India; but in the years 1811-1813 he was largely concerned in the English occupation of the Dutch colonies in the east and continued to collect material relating to them till the time of his death in 1821. These manuscripts, therefore, bear a close relation to the Dutch government archives at Batavia, a catalogue of which (1602-1816) was compiled by Van der Chijs in 1822.

The material included is of unequal value, consisting in part of somewhat uncertain English translations of printed Dutch books and also of probably unique confidential reports on the Dutch administration of Java. The controversies as to Governor Daendels figure to a considerable extent, as do also the almost forgotten Dutch interests on the Coromandel coast. Ceylon is also represented. In the main the collection is richest for the period 1780-1815; but both as to time and as to topics there is a wide range. On the whole the catalogue is not a calendar; and the student who does not have access to the manuscripts will not be able to make much indirect use of the collection.

The catalogue of the Orme manuscripts has the advantage of unity. The short introduction by Mr. Hill includes several useful comments on Indian history and explains a few points of importance. Yet here again there is great inequality in the value of the material used. Thus in the second or "India" section of the manuscripts there are many copies of papers also to be found in the first or "Orme Various" section. The contents of a considerable part of the papers has already been exposed in Orme's printed works and in the case of some of the transcripts and translations numerous errors are apparent. Nevertheless, Orme was

the historiographer of the East India Company for a time of immense importance in the history of the British Empire and many of his conclusions have become an almost inseparable element in later literature on the period of which he wrote. In addition there is a considerable body of material for the last third of the eighteenth century on which Orme never wrote. Its positive value is unquestioned and taken in connection with unique papers which fill gaps in official English and French records makes the catalogue a finding list of great importance. The indexes and the careful identification of Oriental names and terms in both books deserve great praise.

A. L. P. D.

Some Aspects of British Rule in India. By Sudhindra Bose, Ph.D., Lecturer on Oriental Politics, State University of Iowa. [Bulletin of the State University of Iowa, Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. V., no. 1.] (Iowa City, University of Iowa, 1916, pp. 149, 80 cts.) The first third of this study is a somewhat unsatisfactory attempt to condense the history of India from the earliest times to the beginning of the present century. Naturally there are errors; and the writer's point of view has led him to declare (p. 31) that "to this day, India is paying dividends to a defunct company", whereas the financial connections of the East India Company ended in 1874. The description of institutions and economic conditions starts with the usual phrases as to the despotism of England in India, passes to inequalities of the judicial system, and concludes with a temperate and searching indictment of English commercial and financial policy. The concluding chapters on the Place of India in the Empire and the Indian Renaissance summarize recent agitation regarding Oriental migration, tariffs, self-government, and nationalism. On the whole the language is temperate and the technique scientific, though the conclusion is overwhelmingly in favor of the Indian, and small attention is paid to any historical, political, or administrative difficulties which may stand in the way.

In general, taken in connection with the abundant references the book is chiefly a digest of contemporary literature, records, platforms, and resolutions directed against British policies in India.

The Boston Merchants and the Non-Importation Movement. By Charles M. Andrews. [Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol. XIX., pp. 159-259.] (Cambridge, John Wilson and Son, 1917.) This monograph satisfies the high expectations of those students of American history who have become accustomed to looking forward to the appearance of Professor Andrews's studies of the politico-economic aspects of the colonial period. Professor Andrews undertakes the task of explaining the course pursued by the Boston merchants, and incidentally by the colonial merchant class generally, in the period 1763-1770. He writes in the spirit not of George Bancroft

and his school but rather in that of a well-informed contemporary, John Adams, who declared in his later years: "I know not why we should blush to confess that molasses was an essential ingredient in American independence."

Professor Andrews confines his attention very largely to two forms of mercantile activity: the formal petitions which revealed the cause of merchants' difficulties, and the boycott agreements which were their main reliance in seeking redress. To summarize the author's point of view, the purpose of the merchants' activities in these years was to secure remedial trade legislation. With this in mind they undertook the non-importation agreement of 1765 and helped to create the continental system of non-importation in the years 1768-1770. The non-trading public gave them wide support because of the hard times which marked the period. The merchants were in no sense protagonists of popular rights; and they discovered with keen discomfiture in 1770 that, because of their very success in mobilizing public opinion against Parliament, their movement had passed under the control "of political agitators and radicals for the enforcement of constitutional liberty and freedom". The non-importation movement collapsed primarily "because the merchants in New York and elsewhere were satisfied with the partial repeal of the duties, and were unwilling to undergo further losses for the sake of tea and a constitutional claim which had nothing to do with trade".

This interpretation of events is undoubtedly correct. The account might well have been rounded out by a discussion of other phases of merchants' activities during this period, such as the operations of the smugglers and the even more interesting subject of the connection of merchants with the Stamp Act riots. In view of the multiplicity of events it is not surprising that the author should occasionally admit his failure to find documents which a more exacting search would have disclosed. It conveys the wrong impression to say that "Portsmouth remained permanently outside the movement" in view of the resolutions adopted by the town on April 11, 1770, to have no dealings with importers.

Professor Andrews presents new information regarding that *enfant terrible* John Mein and leans to the usual view that Mein's charges against the good faith of the non-importers of Boston had a substantial foundation. To the reviewer it seems that a careful study of the evidence on both sides fails to disclose any material remissness on the part of the merchants. Certainly Hutchinson testified to the success of the merchants' combination, and even that exacting radical, Samuel Adams, could say in a confidential letter: "The Merchants in general have punctually abode by their Agreement, to their very great private loss."

ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER.

The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina. By Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith. (Philadelphia and London, J. B.

Lippincott Company, 1917, pp. 387, \$6.00.) Among the many books dealing with colonial houses, the Huger Smiths' volume on those of Charleston is distinguished as a notable contribution to historical knowledge. Contrasting with the usual medley of romance and assumption, it is the first book to establish on documentary grounds the dates of erection of any important series of colonial buildings, and thus the first to give a solid basis for the study of the *development* of our early domestic architecture. For the historian the fundamental value of the book lies in the exhaustive researches of Mr. D. E. Huger Smith in the registry of mesne conveyances, in recorded wills, in court records, and in papers still in private hands. Although he states results with conscientious conservatism, he is enabled to date exactly, or within a brief determinate period of years, every important Charleston house, overturning many vague traditional datings. Beside the record of acquirement and successive ownership of the properties, of the erection, enlargement, and remodelling of the houses, there is much significant architectural analysis, especially regarding the types of plan in their relation to local conditions and climate. Architectural detail is supplied by the admirable photographs taken for the work by Mr. St. Julien Melchers, and by measured drawings by Mr. Albert Simons, including an unusual number of floor and garden plans, as well as unpublished interior details. The ensemble with its atmosphere is well suggested by the many pencil sketches by Miss Alice Huger Smith. Beside all these illustrations there are numerous others from old photographs of buildings now destroyed, and from early engravings and drawings. These include unpublished views by the miniaturist Charles Frazer, whose sketch-book, begun in 1796, Miss Smith hopes later to publish entire.

The material is arranged topographically, in accordance with the growth of the city, and thus preserves a generally chronological order, although subsequent building and the frequency of disastrous fires prevent this from being at all absolute. In general chapters, in a chapter on building materials, and especially in a chapter devoted to the building of Charles Pinckney's house, are given many important documents—official regulations, estimates, contracts, and specifications—bearing on the prices of materials and labor, and on conditions of work.

For tracing the course of architectural development in matters of form and style the book furnishes much material, without itself attempting the task. Certain mooted questions in the history of American architecture are thus settled in its pages, unknown to the authors. For instance in establishing the date of the Miles Brewton house as between 1765 and 1769, they unconsciously determine the earliest example of the superposed portico on this side of the Atlantic. The determination of such questions, however, requires an equipment which can scarcely be expected of local historians, who on their part can, like the authors of this book, do a service which no others can render.

FISKE KIMBALL.

The Kentucky River Navigation. By Mary Verhoeff. [Filson Club Publications, no. 28.] (Louisville, Kentucky, John P. Morton and Company, 1917, pp. 257.) In the present volume the author continues her previous study on *The Kentucky Mountains*. As in that work (no. 26 of the *Filson Club Publications*), she emphasizes economic conditions, and in view of the scant material available in her field, she does her work with commendable skill and fullness of detail. Her narrative is clear, concise, and straightforward. She avoids overcrowding it by giving additional explanations and illustrative quotations from the sources in the foot-notes, which the interested reader will find sufficiently numerous and valuable. The citations to authorities are conveniently grouped at the end of each chapter. The illustrations, including some facsimiles of letters, and the maps are numerous, well-arranged, and serviceable. Many of these, as well as many of the conclusions noted in the text, are evidently the result of the author's personal observations and field work. But she has made extensive use of engineering and scientific reports, general government documents, personal memoirs, the narratives of early travellers, the more familiar secondary accounts, and the few valuable monographs that might serve her purpose. Without seeming captious one may note that she could have used contemporary newspapers more extensively, and possibly some other manuscript collections, although this might not have added greatly to the sum total of information in the volume.

An introductory chapter gives the physical setting of the region drained by the Kentucky River. Chapter II. briefly sketches the state and federal improvements that have been attempted along that stream. Chapter III. contains an historical résumé of the beginnings of commerce in Kentucky, with a more favorable view of Wilkinson's relations with the Spaniards than is usually given. Chapter IV. tells how the primitive conditions of transportation were modified by state and national agencies for improving them, but as the two following chapters on Mountain Transportation show, without much substantial result. The author maintains that, by neglecting the rivers when their improvement was a vital matter to the people of eastern Kentucky, the state and national authorities helped to retard the economic progress of the entire region. Thus the railroad rather than the river has been its modern civilizing agency. Traffic on the river has become a matter of progressive elimination, and the most significant problems connected with the stream are those that concern the soil and other detritus that wash into it, the lumber that chokes it, and the water-power that it may furnish to prospective industries. In this local study Miss Verhoeff presents an epitome of an important national problem. In an appendix she fortifies her conclusions by some valuable statistical tables and some interesting extracts from early newspapers and letters. A careful index, both to foot-notes and to the text, completes the work.

The Diary of a Nation: the War and how we got into it. By Edward S. Martin. (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page and Company, 1917, pp. xii, 407, \$1.50.) The contents of this interesting little book are sufficiently indicated by the brief and telling preface. It is made up of articles that appeared in *Life* during the three years following August, 1914. "By what processes of sympathy and indignation, through what vicissitudes of diplomacy, delay, and almost despair, we came after two years and a half to the breaking point with Germany, may be traced in a measure in the current of the discourses that follow." The pages are not filled with tragic detail, with patriotic yearning, with bitter denunciation or, of course, with technical discussion. But they do show with remarkable accuracy the stages of despair and hope and wrath through which the writer passed in those dreary years of uncertainty; and he is probably right in thinking that his own reactions, recorded week by week, reflect the emotions of millions of his countrymen. The book then is a document and will be of use, though to us just now not of absorbing interest. It is trite and tiresome to say that the style is the writer's own; of course it is. But, withal, there is something peculiarly personal about this style; it is so very immediate, undisguised, friendly, genial, humorous, serious, light, and still able to carry a considerable burden of thought uncomplainingly. The historical student of the future will get pleasure and profit from pages that have convincing quality because of transparent sincerity.

A. C. McL.

Canadian Historical Dates and Events, 1492-1915. By Francis J. Audet, of the Public Archives, Canada. (Ottawa, the Author, 1917, pp. 239, \$3.00.) Only one who has spent wearisome hours searching for a missing date, a needed initial, or some such small and elusive bit of knowledge, can properly appreciate Mr. Audet's collection. Here is presented in compact form a mass of detailed information covering such subjects as chronological lists of Canadian officials of all classes, dates of the sessions of Dominion and provincial legislatures, voyages, treaties, battles, wrecks, fires, and other catastrophes relating to Canadian history, and many facts too miscellaneous to be classified or enumerated. The collection of material has covered a long period of time and Mr. Audet's facilities for gathering it together have been excellent. That the work has been painstakingly done is evidenced by the fact that such lists as those of the governors of the various provinces are more complete than those to be found in Haydn's *Book of Dignities*. On the other hand, the list of treaties relating to Canada is incomplete. Among the omissions are the treaties between Massachusetts and Acadia, concluded at Boston in 1644, and an Anglo-French treaty concluded at Whitehall in 1687. It must be said also that the volume is marred by far too many misprints. Difficult as it is to make perfect a work of this character, it could surely have been brought far nearer that goal by more careful proof-reading. "Clifford Pinchot" (p. 117) is curiously

unfamiliar to our eyes, and we are also prone to wonder why the first names of Mr. Pinchot's colleagues in the commission of 1909 should not have been ascertained.

The Quest of El Dorado: the Most Romantic Episode in the History of South American Conquest. By the Reverend J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Ph.D., (H. J. Mozans). (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1917, pp. xiv, 261, \$1.50.) This small volume is made up of a series of articles written in 1912 for the *Pan-American Bulletin*. It deserves notice as an account of the numerous expeditions, Spanish, German, and English, which spent their blood and treasure in pursuit of that curious mirage of El Dorado. It is attractively written, but obviously for a popular audience, and as such it should be judged. Even so, one could wish it a bit less exuberant and eulogistic, a bit more critical and informing. We should like to know more of the real El Dorado, of the sacred lake of Guatavita, and of the prince and his people who lived about it. Guatavita, high up in the crater of an extinct volcano, was the religious centre of the Chibcha country. There periodical ceremonies were held, to which came pilgrims from the neighboring tribes, while local hostilities for the moment were suspended. The narrative of the early explorers is often thrilling, but as interesting, if not as romantic, is the story of the native culture, a culture which archaeologists to-day are busy reconstructing.

Dr. Zahm in this, as in earlier books, is very generous toward the Spanish *conquistadores*. That "the prime mover of the Spaniards in their extraordinary adventures was not a thirst for gold . . . but a love of glory and a sense of patriotism" (p. 7), is a thesis to which the reviewer still hesitates to subscribe. And while all credit is due to the almost superhuman endurance and pertinacity of these adventurers, Dr. Zahm is usually silent regarding the darker side of crime and intrigue, and the treatment of the natives. This is the more interesting in view of the rather disparaging tone unconsciously adopted later in the volume toward Raleigh and his Guiana enterprise. Incidentally, in 1595 England and Spain were openly at war, and Raleigh's "privateering work" was quite justifiable.

That Lope de Aguirre reached the Atlantic by way of the Casiquiare and the Orinoco (p. 76), will probably never be proved, and the unique character of the Casiquiare was not reported till over seventy years later. The value of the bullion on the plate fleet destroyed in Vigo Bay in 1702 was not \$100,000,000 (p. 225), but at most about one-fifth of that sum. The proof-reading leaves something to be desired. Among other things, Fernando de Oviedo (pp. 26, 249) should be Fernández de Oviedo, and the autograph (p. 211) attributed to Gaspar de Carvajal is really that of Hernando Pizarro. To lack of proof-reading may perhaps be ascribed the frequent verboseness, especially in chapters X. and XI. The volume is illustrated by excellent pen-and-ink maps, and by photographs of engravings from the early descriptive works of De Bry, Colijn, and Gottfriedt.

C. H.

COMMUNICATION

[By an accident for which apologies are here made, the following letter, which should have appeared in our issue of last October, has been delayed till now.]

TORONTO, June 13th, 1917.

THE EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

Sir:

Will you allow me to make a comment upon certain statements in General Chittenden's review of my edition of *David Thompson's Narrative*, in your April number, which are incorrect and consequently misleading as to the value of the *Narrative* to historical students? He says that "the value of the *Narrative* as historic authority is of course quite different from that of the *Journals which have been separately published*". The statement italicised is incorrect. These journals consist of several thousand pages of foolscap size covered with handwriting so fine that they often run six or seven folios to a page. Extracts from them amounting to a very few pages were published by Dr. Coues in his *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest* (New York, 1897), and twenty-one pages were published by Mr. Elliott in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for March and June, 1914, after my book had gone to press. The remaining portions of the journals, amounting to far more than 95 per cent. of the whole, have not been published, and it is scarcely likely that they will be published except as scattered fragments in journals of local societies, etc., for they contain a mass of detail of various kinds which is much more useful when it has been synopsized into one volume by the author himself.

General Chittenden strongly emphasizes his statement that, as the *Narrative* was written by Thompson in later life, after his lifework was completed, it is not of equal historical value to his Journals written during the course of his explorations, though he modifies this statement by saying that Thompson had his journals beside him when he was writing, and he therefore accords the published *Narrative* the position of "a most useful supplement to the Journals", which as I have shown are unpublished.

Part I. is an account of life in the country between the Rocky Mountains and Hudson Bay during the latter half of the eighteenth century, and as it is not in journal form it might be subject to the strictures directed against it by the reviewer, but Part II., which deals with the Rocky Mountains and the country to the west of them during the years 1807-1812, is in journal form, and is in fact an abbreviation of his original journals for those years, made by Thompson himself. All the

journals now known to be in existence were in the hands of the editor when he was preparing this book for the printer, and wherever the *Narrative* varies from the Journals the fact is stated in a foot-note. The marvellous accuracy of this Second Part of the book, which could be, and was, closely compared with the original journals, causes me to place great confidence in statements of personal observations recorded in the First Part of the book, though it might often be difficult, or perhaps impossible, to check these records by reference to the extant journals themselves.

Yours truly,
J. B. TYRRELL.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The *Annual Report* for 1915 has been distributed (see p. 689, above; vol. II. of that for 1914, the General Index, 1884-1914, is in page-proof.

In previous issues we have mentioned the existence of the "American Historical Society", or, if no such society in reality exists, the fact that a concern calling itself by that name and doing business at 267 Broadway, New York, publishes books which many persons buy under the impression that they are products of the American Historical Association. That there is no connection between the two has been pointedly declared in these pages. We are now informed, by Dr. Elroy M. Avery, that the "American Historical Society" in certain printed blanks gives his name as a member of the "Advisory Board" of one of its publications, and he desires us to state that the use of his name as a member of this "Advisory Board" was without his knowledge or consent previously or now obtained. We are informed that, for the benefit of the publication named (a new cyclopaedia of American biography), different sets of advisory committees are furnished for different sections of the country, and that different names are used by the publishers or projectors, such as the Eastern Historical Publishing Company, the National Americana Society, etc., as well as the American Historical Society.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

Upon invitation from the University of London and other British universities and under arrangements made by the Board, Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago sails for England during the present month to give, during this spring, courses of lectures, or single lectures, at the University of London, at the Royal Colonial Institute, at the Royal Historical Society, and in the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Belfast, on the relations between American political institutions and those of Great Britain, on Anglo-American interaction, on the historical causes which have led the United States to enter the present war, and in general upon the intellectual position of America in respect to the war and in respect to relations with the allies.

In the series of supplements contributed by the Board to the *History Teacher's Magazine*, three have been issued since the announcement in our January number: *The Study of the Great War*, a *Topical Outline*,

by Professor Samuel B. Harding; *Some War Curiosities and the Clandestine Press in Belgium*, by Professor Christian Gauss; and *A Selected Critical Bibliography of the War*, by Professor George M. Dutcher, embracing some 600 titles, well arranged and with useful comments. These are also available as *War Reprints*, nos. 1, 2, and 3, respectively (Philadelphia, McKinley Publishing Co.). Three additional issues in this series will appear this spring: an outline of the economic effects of the war, a map supplement, and a collection of material relating to France.

More than 600 essays were submitted in the prize essay contest for teachers, instituted by the Board last summer; a detailed announcement of the awards will appear in the *History Teacher's Magazine*.

Under plans framed by the Board, and with syllabi and lantern slides prepared by it, a series of simple historical lectures on the background, origin, and explanation of the war has been given to the soldiers in some thirteen of the great camps, by a selected body of historical teachers, who have pursued the undertaking intensively by repetition from night to night in successive "huts" of the Y. M. C. A. or buildings of the Knights of Columbus, so that many thousands have been reached by the instruction. The service of all the lecturers was gratuitous.

An extended report of the work of the Board was prepared under date of February 12 and distributed to a considerable number of persons who had in one way or another been brought into relation with this work. A copy of this report will be sent to anyone who may be interested, on application to the secretary, 1133 Woodward Building, Washington.

PERSONAL

Henry Adams, one of the most distinguished of American historians, perhaps the most keenly intellectual among them, certainly the most accomplished as a writer, died on March 27, a month after completing his eightieth year. Born in 1838, he was the third son of Charles Francis Adams the minister to Great Britain, and served as private secretary to the latter during the whole period of his legation. He was a younger brother of the late Charles Francis Adams the soldier and historian. From 1870 to 1877 he was assistant professor of history in Harvard University. He may fairly be said to have been the first to introduce the seminary method, in its full conception, into American historical instruction; among the fruits was the volume, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1876), by himself and three of his pupils. In 1877 he published his *Documents relating to New England Federalism*. From that year he lived in Washington. In 1879 he published his remarkable *Life of Albert Gallatin*, whose writings he also edited, and in

1882 a small volume on John Randolph. Though he was naturally drawn to Gallatin by the latter's striking combination of European culture and wide social experience with American political principles, the books may be regarded as but preliminary studies toward his great work, the *History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison*, which was published in nine volumes in 1889-1891. Thereupon he took his leave of history as an occupation, though in 1893-1894 he held the office of president of the American Historical Association. His *History*, which assumed at once, and has since constantly retained, the highest rank, is mainly a narrative of political, diplomatic, military, and naval events, not because his thought was confined to these, for brilliant chapters testify to the contrary, but because in respect to this period his interest lay chiefly in *la haute politique*, in the management of this infant republic, for the first time, by minds trained under European systems but determined to renounce European social principles. Never has a story of politics and diplomacy been told with greater penetration and acuteness of thought, seldom with more power and distinction of style.

Mr. Adams has given a brilliant account of his life in *The Education of Henry Adams*, which already enjoys a limited fame as a privately printed volume, but which when published will take rank as one of the world's classics of literary autobiography. It is characteristic that in that volume, so rich in thought, in reminiscence, and in charm, there is almost no mention of any of the books we have named. Mr. Adams took up history suddenly at thirty-two, and dropped it at fifty-three. He never lost his interest in it, but his occupation with it was but an incident in an intellectual life so rich, so refined, and so varied that to seek a parallel one might have to search in an older society—for example, among the most enlightened noblemen of eighteenth-century France, whom indeed Mr. Adams, with the free play of his mind, the extraordinary keenness and wit of his conversation, and his essential but somewhat detached benevolence, greatly resembled.

Professor Pasquale Villari of Florence, commemoration of whose ninetieth birthday has been mentioned in these pages, died two months after that date, on December 7. Born at Naples, his sympathy with the liberals of that kingdom compelled him to remove to Florence in 1848. There he wrote his *Savonarola* (1859-1861), his *Machiavelli* (1877-1882), his *Primi Due Secoli della Storia di Firenze* (1893-1894), and his *Invasioni Barbariche* (1901), and an extraordinary number of other historical publications, all which gave him, on the whole, the position of the foremost Italian historian of our time.

Julius Wellhausen, successively professor at Halle, Marburg, and Göttingen, died recently at the age of seventy-three. His fame as a student of Old Testament history began with the publication of *Das*

Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht (1871), and was established on the highest level by his *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (1898). He was also a noted Arabist.

Dr. Roger B. Merriman has been given the full rank of professor of history in Harvard University.

Professor George M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, to whom this portion of our journal is so constantly indebted, will give courses in the University of California during the next summer session.

Dr. Charles Seymour has been advanced to the full rank of professor of history in Yale University.

After six years of service, Professor William W. Rockwell has declined renomination as secretary of the American Society of Church History and as managing editor of its publications; Professor Frederick W. Loetscher of Princeton Theological Seminary was elected as his successor, at the Christmas meeting of the society.

Mr. Frederick W. Hodge, who since 1905 has had charge of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington (under the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution), has resigned, to enter the work of the Museum of the American Indian, George G. Heye Foundation, in New York, and has been succeeded by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes.

Miss Elizabeth Donnan of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington is absent on leave during the present semester, teaching in Mount Holyoke College.

Professor Harlow Lindley of Earlham College, director of the Indiana Department of History and Archives, has been granted a leave of absence from April 1 to October 1 this year and will teach in Stanford University.

Professor Edward M. Hulme of the University of Idaho is acting-professor of European history at Stanford University at the present time; in the summer he is to give courses on the Renaissance and the Reformation at the summer session of the University of California.

GENERAL

The Yale University Press announces that it will shortly publish *The Processes of History*, by Professor Frederick J. Teggart, of the University of California.

The January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is devoted chiefly to studies pertaining to the Great War. The principal articles are: America's Debt to England, by Hon. Lucius B. Swift, and the War and the Teaching of History, by Howard C. Gill. There are briefer

articles under the general title *Suggestions for Secondary Schools*. These are: the *Study of the Roman Republic To-day*, by W. S. Davis; *Points for Emphasis in English History from 1688 to 1815*, by D. D. Wallace; the *Power of Ideals in History*, by D. C. Knowlton; the *United States and World Politics, 1793-1815*, by T. C. Smith; and the *Use of Pictures in the Study of the War*, by E. A. Rice. Finally there is an elaborate *Topical Outline of the War*, by Professor S. B. Harding, mentioned above as prepared in co-operation with the National Board for Historical Service. The February number contains a full report of the conference held at Philadelphia, December 29, 1917, on the *School Course in History*; a *Producing Class in Hispanic-American History*, by C. E. Chapman; and *Some War Curiosities and the Clandestine Press of Belgium*, by Christian Gauss. Under the heading *Timely Suggestions for Secondary Schools* are: the *Roman Empire and the Great War*, by W. L. Westermann; the *Monroe Doctrine and the War*, by Carl Becker; the *Study of English History*, by R. L. Livingston; and a *Turning Point in Far Eastern Diplomacy*, by A. S. Hershey. In the March number, Professor Agnes Hunt has an interesting article on the *War and the Secondary Education of Girls in France*, while the contributions of suggestions for secondary school work, provided by the National Board for Historical Service, include pieces by Professors William D. Gray, Wayland J. Chase, Evarts B. Greene, and Arthur I. Andrews. The *War Supplement* of this number, also prepared in co-operation with the Board, is, as already mentioned, a selected critical bibliography of publications in English, relating to the World War, embracing about six hundred titles, with good comments and arrangement, by Professor George M. Dutcher.

The *American Year Book* for 1917 (Appleton, pp. xx, 822) contains the usual careful and adequate review of the transactions of the year in a multitude of different departments. The accounts of American history, international relations, and foreign affairs, by Professors Edward M. Sait, Robert L. Schuyler, and James A. Woodburn, Charles H. Albrecht, of the Department of State, President Roscoe R. Hill, Mr. Ernest H. Godfrey, Mr. Edward Porritt, Professor Willis F. Johnson, and the military authority who writes under the name of Alexander Martin, jr., will be most immediately serviceable to most students of history.

With its January number the *Military Historian and Economist* begins propitiously its third volume. An English writer, "H. H.", presents a suggestive essay on *Naval History: Mahan and his Successors*; Professor Bonham completes his interesting *Man and Nature at Port Hudson*; and the editor, Professor Johnston, continues his study of *Pope's Campaign in Virginia* by a discussion of *Tactics at Cedar Mountain*. Among the notes the most interesting historically is one which discusses Rogniat's criticisms of Napoleon.

The *Journal of Negro History* presents in its January number an article on Josiah Henson, sometimes said to be the original of Uncle Tom, by W. B. Hartgrove; a brief account of "Palmares, the Negro Numantia" (in Brazil), by Professor Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, and a valuable article by Miss Delilah L. Beasley on Slavery in California, supported by documents from among the manumission papers at Sacramento. Some 35 pages of this excellent number are occupied with selections from the writings of Jefferson, respecting the negro.

The January number of *History*, the quarterly journal of the Historical Association, completes Professor Firth's paper on the Expulsion of the Long Parliament and contains a symposium on history examinations, which is a report of an informal conference held jointly last autumn by ten public-school masters and five Oxford and Cambridge examiners. Sir Charles P. Lucas has a useful note on the meaning of protectorate.

Two recent books of value, in the same general field, and both published by the Macmillan Company, are the *History of Religion*, by Professor E. W. Hopkins of Yale University, and the *History of the Religion of Israel*, by Professor George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr.

Volume V. of the second series of the *Papers* of the American Society of Church History (New York, Putnam) contains Professor John A. Faulkner's presidential address on the Reformers and Toleration, and the following five papers: Professor Arthur C. Howland, Criminal Procedure in the Church Courts of the Fifteenth Century, as illustrated by the Trial of Gilles de Rais; Henry E. Doshier, Recent Sources of Information on the Anabaptists in the Netherlands; Albert H. Newman, Adam Pastor, Antitrinitarian Antipaedobaptist; F. J. F. Jackson, The Work of Some Recent English Church Historians, with special reference to the Labors of Henry Melville Gwatkin; Jesse Johnson, Early Theological Education West of the Alleghenies.

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held in Philadelphia, February 11 and 12. The papers read lay more largely than usual in the field of European Jewish history, including one on Graetz, by Professor Gotthard Deutsch, one by Professor Alexander Marx, on Glimpses of the Life of an Italian Rabbi of the First Half of the Sixteenth Century, and one by Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, on the Struggle between the Sects in the Last Days of Jerusalem; but there were also several papers in American Jewish history.

Jewish Theology Systematically and Historically Considered, by Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, president of the Hebrew Union College (Macmillan, pp. 500), is intended to serve both as a text-book for students and as a general source of enlightenment for Jewish and Christian readers.

The *American Jewish Year-Book* for the Jewish year 5678 (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1917) contains a paper by Max J. Kohler, reviewing the treatment of Jewish rights at international congresses.

President Cheesman A. Herrick of Girard College has published, through the Macmillan Company, in that firm's "Commercial Series", a *History of Commerce and Industry* (1917, pp. xxv, 562), designed to serve as a text-book in secondary schools, but profitable to many an older scholar.

The Macmillan Company will shortly publish *National Statistics: their History and Development in Europe, America, Australia, and India*, collected from the writings of the leading statisticians of the different lands, and edited by John Koren.

The Harvard University Press is soon to publish a volume by Mr. Denys P. Myers, *Treaties: a Bibliography of Collections of Treaties and Related Material*, which arranges the collections in three groups: by scope of works included, by states, and by subject-matter of the treaties.

The *Annual Report* of the Smithsonian Institution for 1916 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917, pp. 607) contains a paper on the Great Dragon of Quirigua, by Dr. W. H. Holmes, one on the Pre-historic Mesa Verde Pueblo and its People, by J. W. Fewkes, one on the Art of the Great Earth-Work Builders of Ohio, by C. C. Willoughby, and a reprint of Sir Arthur Evans's presidential address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1916, entitled *New Archaeological Lights on the Origins of Civilization in Europe*.

The *Life of Naomi Norsworthy*, by Miss Frances C. Higgins (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin, pp. viii, 243), is a pleasing and impressive delineation of the character and influence of an associate-professor in educational psychology in Teachers College, New York, who had extraordinary power to teach and to influence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. L. Stewart, *Carlyle's Conception of History* (Political Science Quarterly, December); D. P. Myers, *Violation of Treaties: Bad Faith, Non-execution, and Disregard* (American Journal of International Law, October); J. A. R. Marriott, *Modern Diplomacy* (Quarterly Review, January).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for November and December, 1917, contains a bibliography (122 pp.) of material on Assyria and Babylonia possessed by the library.

Franz Cumont has gathered the results of various researches in a volume of *Études Syriennes* (Paris, Picard, 1917). Aside from the

study on the march of the Emperor Julian, the articles deal chiefly with matters related to the history of religion.

Professor Percy Gardner's *History of Ancient Coinage, 700-300 B. C.* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) is a general survey, of great value, which illuminates the political history of Greece by the numismatic evidence, with great learning and ingenuity, through the whole period of Greek independence, with a chapter on the coinage of Philip II. and Alexander.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. T. Olmstead, *Assyrian Government of Dependencies* (American Political Science Review, February); *id.*, *Tiglath-Pileser I. and his Wars* (Journal of the American Oriental Society, October); H. R. James, *The Usages of War in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh Review, January); Frederick Smith, *Athenian Revolutionary Politics in 411 B. C.* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, January); W. L. Westermann, *Aelius Gallus and the Restoration of the Irrigation System of Egypt under Augustus* (Classical Philology, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: H. Windisch, *Neuere Literatur zur Religionsgeschichtlichen Erklärung des Neuen Testaments* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LI. 3, 4).

In a paper of 140 pp. extracted from *Didaskaleion*, anno IV., and entitled *Sant' Agostino e la Decadenza dell' Impero Romano* (Turin, Lib. Ed. Internazionale), Pietro Gerosa examines the arguments of Reuter, *Augustinische Studien* (Gotha, 1887) and of Schilling, *Staats- und Soziallehre des Hl. Augustinus* (Freiburg i. B., 1910) respecting the quality of St. Augustine's patriotism, and finds it quite overborne by his affection for the Church and for the City of God.

In the *Patrologia Orientalis*, edited under the direction of Professors R. Graffin and F. Nau, the third part of the twelfth volume contains the *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks* of Mufazzal ibn Abil-Fazail, edited with French translation by E. Blochet; the fourth part of the twelfth volume furnishes the Ethiopic text of *Les Miracles de Jésus*, edited with French translation by S. Grébaut; and in the third part of the thirteenth volume Professor Asín y Palacios of Madrid has edited and translated the *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos Scriptores, Asceticos praesertim*.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The publication of volume III. of the *Cambridge Medieval History* has been subjected to a long delay, caused by the war, which has made new arrangements necessary for the chapters originally confided to Ger-

man and Austrian writers, and by the death of Professor Gwatkin. It is now expected that volume III. can be issued this spring, and the other volumes at normal intervals thereafter; but the price has been raised to £1 a volume.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The American Society of Church History feels practically assured that, by aid of religious denominations and of a denominational publishing house, it will be possible to bring out in print the unpublished translations of the Latin works of Huldreich Zwingli, prepared by Mr. Henry Preble for the late Dr. Samuel M. Jackson.

Father C. Beccari of the Society of Jesus has recently issued the fourteenth and fifteenth volumes completing his *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Sacculo XVI. ad XIX.* (Paris, Picard, 1917). These two volumes respectively contain some documents for the eighteenth century and the index to the whole work.

The score of years, 1643-1663, is covered by the sixth volume of E. Rott's *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés, et de leurs Confédérés* (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. 1008).

Sir Augustus Oakes and Mr. R. B. Mowat have furnished notes and introductions for the treaties included in the collection *Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*, announced by the Oxford University Press, while Sir Erle Richards has written a general introduction to the entire collection.

The third volume of Édouard Driault's *Napoléon et Europe* is *Tilsit, France et Russie sous le Premier Empire, la Question de Pologne, 1806-1809* (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. 491). The volume covers the period from the campaign of Jena to the treaty of Schönbrunn with special attention to eastern affairs and to the intervention in Spain, as well as to the subjects indicated in the title. The author expects to complete his illuminating study of Napoleonic policy in two more volumes.

A. Gauvain studies the period from the Turkish counter-revolution to the affair of Agadir, 1909-1911, in the second volume of his *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1917).

Les Nations d'après leurs Journaux, Petit Essai de Psychologie de la Presse (Paris, Bossard, 1917) is a reprint of articles on the press of Germany and Italy published in 1914 in *Les Écrits Français* by Gabriel Arbouin. The young author has since died of wounds received during the Champagne offensive, and Paul Lombard has written a preface for the little volume. The value of the book is attested by the fact that the war has revised few of the judgments expressed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Chalfant Robinson, *Some Economic Results of the Protestant Reformation Doctrines* (Princeton Theological Review, October); W. K. Boyd, *Political and Social Aspects of Luther's Message* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); N. Weiss, *La Réforme du XVI^e Siècle, son Caractère, ses Origines, et ses Premières Manifestations jusqu'en 1523* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, July-September); H. U. Meyboom, *Scheiding van Kerk en Staat als Historisch Proces* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LI. 3, 4); J. S. Grieve, *The Naval Operations in the Mediterranean, 1793-1801* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, August); É. Driault, *Rome et Napoléon* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); F. Chessa, *Il Nazionalismo Economico nel Passato e nel Presente* (Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, March, 1917); J. Rovère, *La Rive Gauche du Rhin, II.-III.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, December 1); G. M. Trevelyan, *From Waterloo to the Marne* (Quarterly Review, January); J. Y. Simpson, *Russo-German Relations and the Sabouroff Memoirs* (Nineteenth Century, December, January).

THE GREAT WAR

Professor G. W. Prothero has enlisted the aid of A. J. Philip in preparing his third list of war books, *Catalogue of War Publications* (London, Murray, 1917, pp. vi, 259) which covers publications to June, 1916. Publications for 1916 are listed in the second issue of *Catalogue: Publications sur la Guerre* (Paris, Cercle de la Librairie, 1917).

The New York Times's *Current History*, now amounting to more than ten volumes of contemporary documents and comments, continues to be the most useful American serial record of the war.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has begun the publication of a series of monographs entitled *Preliminary Studies on Effects of the European War*, written by well-known economists and publicists. They are to be edited by Professor David Kinley of the University of Illinois. Paper-bound copies will be distributed gratuitously upon application to the secretary, 2 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Cloth-bound copies are to be obtained from the Oxford University Press, American Branch, 35 West 32d Street, New York City. A list of the monographs, so far as already arranged, is as follows (in many cases titles bear the additional words "with special reference to the United States and Great Britain", here omitted): Early Economic Effects of the European War upon Canada, by Professor Adam Shortt of Ottawa; Early Effects of the European War on the Finance, Commerce, and Industry of Chile, by Professor Leo S. Rowe; Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain, by Irene Osgood Andrews; War Administration of the Railways in the United States and Great Britain, by Professor Frank H. Dixon of Dart-

mouth College and Mr. Julius H. Parmelee, statistician of the Bureau of Railway Economics; Effects of the War upon Insurance, by Professor William F. Kephart; Government War Control of Industry and Trade, by Charles W. Baker; War Administration of Great Britain and the United States, by Professor John A. Fairlie; Effects of the War upon Labor Conditions and Organization, by Professor Matthew B. Hammond; War Finance and Taxation, by President Frank L. McVey; Effects of the War on Negro Labor and Migration in the United States, by Emmett J. Scott; Effects of the War on Shipping, by Professor J. Russell Smith; Agricultural Production and Food Control, by Professor Benjamin H. Hibbard; Price Control, by Professors David Kinley and Simon Litman; Economic and Social Effects of Government Control of the Liquor Business, by Professor Thomas N. Carver; Training of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors for Economic Usefulness, by Professor Edward F. Devine. The first four, monographs of much substantial value, have already appeared, as pamphlets of from 60 to 190 pages.

Professor Munroe Smith has published, through the house of Putnam, a volume entitled *Militarism and Statecraft*, in which are gathered together four articles entitled Military Strategy *versus* Diplomacy, Diplomacy *versus* Military Strategy, The German Theory of Warfare, and German Land Hunger, developing various phases of the history and explanation of the war.

The Society for the Study of the Social Consequences of the War has published, in English, as its third bulletin, a *Study of Fluctuations of the Populations during the World War, I. Germany and France* (Copenhagen, Selskabet for Social Forsken af Krigens Folger, 1917, pp. 141), a serious and important study, though necessarily provisional, in the present state of the statistics.

Mr. Percy Hurd has brought together, and Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have published, under the title *The War and the Future* (London, New York, Toronto, pp. xxiv, 164), a body of extracts from speeches delivered at various periods of the war, in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, by Sir Robert Borden, prime minister of the Dominion of Canada. Touching upon a wide variety of topics raised by the war and by Canada's participation, they constitute almost a narrative of that process, and at any rate exhibit forcibly its spirit.

The Creighton Lecture for 1917, delivered at King's College, London, last October, was a discourse by the Regius Professor at Oxford, Dr. Charles H. Firth, which Macmillan and Company have now published in a pamphlet of thirty pages, *Then and Now, or a Comparison between the War with Napoleon and the Present War*, a comparison which the lecturer makes from a wide range of reading and with great interest and suggestiveness.

Of the excellent pamphlet series, *Pages d'Histoire* (Paris, Berger-Levrault) at least 142 numbers have now been issued, furnishing documents, records of events, and material for propaganda. Of *Pages Actuelles* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) 117 numbers have been issued, which are less important for documents or information than for opinion, in which the attitude of French Catholics is reflected. Nine numbers of *Les Cahiers Belges* (Paris, Van Oest) have appeared, devoted to the efforts of the exiled government and people to keep alive their nationality. MM. Geoffroy, Lacour, and Lumet have edited 36 numbers of *La France Héroïque et ses Alliés* (Paris, Larousse), which emphasizes the joint effort and co-operation of the Allies. Of similar character is the series *L'Hommage Français* (Paris, Bloud and Gay) published by the committee, *L'Effort de la France et de ses Alliés*, of which 21 issues have appeared. Among the twenty-one pamphlets of *La Collection Rouge* (Paris, Alcan) several have been of such significance as to receive separate mention under this caption. The 22d issue of *Guerre de 1914, Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz) includes acts to November 15, 1917. Of *Les Communiqués Officiels* (Paris, Berger-Levrault) thirty numbers have been published.

The fourth volume of Professor Gaston Jèze's *Les Finances de Guerre de l'Angleterre* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1917) deals with the advance of public expenditure and financial control. Professor Georges Renard of the College of France has published a volume on *Les Répercussions Économiques de la Guerre Actuelle sur la France, 1^{er} Août 1914-15 Mai 1917* (Paris, Alcan, 1917); H. Remy, on *La Question des Sucres et le Ravitaillement de la France pendant la Période 1914 à 1917* (Paris, Tenin, 1917); and M. Pantaleoni, on *Tra le Incognite Problemi suggeriti dalla Guerra* (Bari, Laterza, 1917, pp. 286), and *Note in Margine della Guerra* (*ibid.*, pp. 266), both of which deal mainly with the economic aspects of the war.

In *France Bears the Burden* (Macmillan), Maj. Granville Fortescue describes the fight on the Somme, at Verdun, and in the Argonne, and gives some account of the organization and practice of war as developed by France during three years.

Der Deutsche Chauvinismus, originally published by Professor Ottfried Nippold of the University of Berne in 1913, is available in a new edition (Berne, Wyss, 1917, pp. 197) which is a literal reprint of the original except for the addition of a new preface. The work is a collection of utterances by German journals and speakers in 1912-1913, with some discussion.

Under the title *Who was Responsible for the War? The Verdict of History*, and with a preface by Dr. H. Nelson Gay, the Paris firm of

Bloud and Gay has issued, in a small book of 120 pages, a body of addresses, often illuminating as to recent diplomatic history, by Senator Tommaso Tittoni, who during most of the years from 1903 to 1916 was either Italian minister for foreign affairs or Italian ambassador in Paris.

C. Demblon, deputy from Liège, now professor at Rennes, is author of *La Guerre à Liège, Pages d'un Témoin* (Paris, Librairie Anglo-Française, 1917). The second volume of General Palat's *La Grande Guerre sur le Front Occidental* (Paris, Chapelot, 1918) relates to Liège, Mulhouse, Sarrebourg, and Morhange. Louis Madelin, who has enjoyed special opportunities of observation through a staff appointment, has collected several of his articles in *La Mêlée des Flandres; l'Yser et Ypres* (Paris, Plon, 1917, pp. xviii, 235).

Avec une Batterie de 75, le Tube 1233, Souvenirs d'un Chef de Pièce, 1915-1916 (Paris, Plon, 1917, pp. xxii, 289) completes an earlier volume of souvenirs of Paul Lintier. Lieutenant J. Pinguet narrates *Trois Étapes de la Brigade des Marins, la Marne, Gand, Dixmude* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); Paul Dubrulle, *Mon Régiment dans la Fournaise de Verdun, dans la Bataille de la Somme* (Paris, Plon, 1918).

The eleventh volume of Joseph Reinach's *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1917, pp. xii, 422) runs from January 1 to March 16, 1917, and gives special attention to the steps which were leading the United States into the war. The third volume of *L'Invasion des Barbares* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917) by A. Masson concludes at June 30, 1916.

Among the additions to the literature of the Alsace-Lorraine question are G. Weill, *L'Alsace Française de 1789 à 1870* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 134); *L'Alsace et la Lorraine* (Toulouse, Sirven, 1917, pp. 360, 400 illustrations), with preface by Maurice Barrès and articles by a dozen experts; J. Hoche, *En Alsace Reconquise, 1917* (Paris, Michel, 1917, pp. 319); and Abbé Wetterlé, *L'Alsace-Lorraine doit rester Française* (Paris, Delagrave, 1917).

R. Johannet has edited *Pan-Germanism versus Christendom, the Conversion of a Neutral* (New York, Doran, 1917, p. xii, 184) which contains a letter by Prüm, the Catholic leader in Luxemburg, to Erzberger, the German Catholic leader, some account of Prüm's trial, and an account of the evolution of the German Catholic Centre. The book forms one of the most convincing arguments against Germany.

Messrs. Constable announce a new series entitled *The Operations of the British Army in the Present War*. The first volume of the series is to be *The Retreat from Mons*, with an introduction by Lord French. A record of the campaigns of the Australians in Europe and Egypt, *Byways of Service*, by Lieut. Hector Dunning, comes from the same publisher.

Under the title *The Old Front Line* (Macmillan), meaning the front line of the British forces as it was when the Battle of the Somme began, Mr. John Masfield presents an account of that battle and of the attendant campaign in France, corresponding in a degree to his previous narrative of the Gallipoli campaign.

The Irish on the Somme (Hodder and Stoughton) is the second series of *The Irish at the Front*, by Michael MacDonagh. An introduction is furnished by the late John Redmond.

Letters of a Canadian Stretcher Bearer, by R. A. L. (Little, Brown), have been edited by Anna Chapin Ray. Other personal narratives of war experiences are *Section Sixty-one*, selections from letters of Henry S. Kingman, of the Norton-Harjes ambulance corps (privately printed); *Holding the Line*, by Sergt. Harold Baldwin, of the First Division, Canadian expeditionary forces (McClurg); *Besieged in Kut, and after*, by Maj. Charles H. Barber (Blackwood); *The Motor-Bus in War*, by A. M. Beatson (Unwin); *Khaki Courage* (Lane), by Coningsby W. Dawson; *A Yankee in the Trenches*, by R. Derby Holmes (Little, Brown); *Facing the Hindenburg Line*, by Burris A. Jenkins (Revell); and *On the Right of the British Line*, by Capt. Gilbert Hobbs (Scribners).

O. Guiheneuc has attempted an account of *La Bataille de Jutland* (Paris, Perrin, 1917). Lieutenant Fernand Barde records experiences in the Channel, at the Dardanelles, and in the Levant, in *Vingt Mois de Guerre, à Bord du Croiseur "Jaanne d'Arc"*, 9 Août 1914-12 Avril 1916 (*ibid.*, 1918).

Ambulance 464: Encore des Blessés, by Julien H. Bryan (Macmillan), presents vividly the experiences of a Princeton junior, a boy of seventeen, who went to the war and drove an ambulance car in the Verdun and Champagne sectors.

Mr. Ward Price, in *The Story of the Salonika Army* (Hodder and Stoughton), has recounted, as fully apparently as the censor would allow him to, the purposes of the Salonika expedition and the impediments to accomplishing these purposes.

Messrs. Dodd, Mead, and Company have announced a *Roumanian Diary, 1915, 1916, 1917*, by Lady Kennard.

The relations of the war to what a previous generation called the Eastern Question are set forth in *La Guerre d'Orient et la Crise Européenne* (Paris, Alcan, 1916), by Paul Louis; in *L'Orient Méditerranéen, Impressions et Essais sur quelques Éléments du Problème Actuel* (Paris, Perrin, 1917), by A. Dubosq; in *France et Liban, Défense des Intérêts Français en Syrie* (*ibid.*), by F. Tyan; in *L'Italia e il Mar di Levante* (Milan, Trèves, 1917, pp. 224), by P. Revelli; and in *L'Expé-*

dition des Dardanelles d'après les Documents Officiels Anglais (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 248), by Testis, who supplements his observations with translations of the reports of Sir Ian Hamilton and Vice-Admiral Robeck, which appear in English in *Ian Hamilton's Despatches from the Dardanelles* (London, Newnes).

Dr. Harry Stuermer's *Zwei Kriegsjahre in Constantinopel* has been translated from the German by the author, assisted by Mr. E. Allen, and published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton as *Two War Years in Constantinople: Sketches of German and Young Turkish Ethics and Politics*.

The Long Road to Baghdad by Mr. Edmund Candler, the official correspondent with the British expeditionary force, recounts the history of the Mesopotamian campaign (Cassell).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Sinn Fein and Germany* (Quarterly Review, January); Major T. E. Compton, *The Battles of August, 1914, in Lorraine and the Ardennes* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, August); L. Madelin, *Devant Verdun* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 13, 20); D. Thévenin, *Sur la Somme, Août-Septembre 1916* (Mercure de France, December 1); A. Chevrillon, *De l'Ancre à Péronne, Avril 1917, Les Champs de Bataille* (Revue de Paris, December 1); R. G. Lévy, *Le Ravitaillement du Nord de la France et de la Belgique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); X., *La Coopération Militaire Anglaise* (Mercure de France, December 16); R. Recouly, *La Mission de M. Jonnart en Grèce, I.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); Commandant E. Vedel, *La Marine Française pendant la Guerre, La Deuxième Escadre Légère à la Rencontre de la Flotte Allemande, 2 Août 1914* (*ibid.*, November 15); G. Hanotaux, *L'Union de la France et de l'Amérique* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 10); F. Crispolti, *Intorno alla Nota Pontificia sulla Pace* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); G. Dalla Torre, *L'Appello di Pace del Papa e la Risposta di Wilson* (*ibid.*); G. Jèze, *L'Exécutif en Temps de Guerre, les Pleins Pouvoirs*, II., III. (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique en France et à l'Étranger, April, July, 1917).

(See also p. 742)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Yale University Press has brought out this spring *An Outline Sketch of English Constitutional History*, by Professor George B. Adams.

The Harvard University Press will shortly publish, as vol. XVIII. of the *Harvard Economic Studies*, a study of the *Ancient Customs Duties of England*, by Professor N. S. B. Gras, of Clark University.

Miss Dorothy Hughes's *Illustrations of Chaucer's England* (Longmans, 1918, pp. xiv, 302), figuring as the first of a series of "University

of London Intermediate Source-Books of History", is a volume of extracts from chronicles and documents selected with good judgment and provided with suitable head-notes. Though prepared for the purpose which its title indicates, it can be made of good use in history classes, the main topics being the French War, social, ecclesiastical, and constitutional history.

The University of Minnesota *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 8, is *The Petition of Right* (pp. 74), by Dr. Frances H. Relf, an intensive study intended to bring out the importance of procedure in the case, the author maintaining that, in failing to explain why the Commons proceeded by petition instead of bill, as they first tried to do, Gardiner as well as other writers have missed the most significant fact.

The Manorial Society has reprinted the first edition (1635) of Sir Charles Calthrop's readings on *The Relation between the Lord of a Mannor and the Coppy-Holder, His Tenant* (1 Mitre Court Buildings, Temple, London, E. C., 1917).

A recent edition of Bolingbroke's *Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism and on the Idea of a Patriot-King* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. xxix, 141) contains an excellent introduction by Mr. A. Hassall, succinctly setting forth the facts of Bolingbroke's life, and the political conditions in England which called forth these two expressions of Bolingbroke's faith. The closing pages of the introduction Mr. Hassall devotes to tracing the influence of Bolingbroke's writings on later English history.

The Influence of the French Revolution in English History, by the late Philip A. Brown, is soon to be published by Messrs. Crosby Lockwood, with an introductory memoir by Professor Gilbert Murray. The work was left by the author in an unrevised state when he enlisted in the First Hundred Thousand.

The Paget Brothers, 1790-1840, edited by Lord Hylton (London, Murray), contains the family letters of six brothers and their many relatives and friends. All were good and lively letter-writers and the interest of the correspondence may be judged from the fact that one was a famous general (Lord Uxbridge), one a vice-admiral, another a captain R. N., another an ambassador, another a general, and the youngest a Lord of the Treasury.

Two essays, one by Mr. G. P. Gooch, the other by Canon J. H. B. Masterman, brought together under the title of *A Century of British Foreign Policy* (Council for Study of International Relations), summarize foreign policy from Waterloo to 1914.

L'Impérialisme Britannique et le Rapprochement Franco-Anglais, 1900-1903, by Jean Carrère (Paris, Perrin), is a series of sketches of British personages of two decades ago.

Cecil Rhodes: Man and Empire-Maker, a memoir by Princess Catherine Radziwill, is soon to be published by Messrs. Cassell.

War-time Control of Industry: the Experiences of England, by Professor Howard L. Gray of Bryn Mawr College (Macmillan), describes the British dealings with the railways, with matters of commerce and labor, the coal mines, wool and woollens, hides and leather, shipping, food, sugar, meat, bread, and agriculture.

The Scottish History Society has in preparation the *Records of the University of St. Andrews, 1411-1560*, to be edited by Dr. J. Maitland Anderson; the second volume of the *Seafield Correspondence*, edited by Major James Grant; the *Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and some other Brethren of the Ministry (1653 ff.)*, edited by Rev. W. Stephen; *Charters and Documents relating to the Grey Friars and the Cistercian Nunnery of Haddington, and the Register of Inchcolm Monastery*, edited by J. G. Wallace-James; an analytical catalogue, by J. T. Clark, of the Wodrow Collection of manuscripts in the Advocates' Library; and a translation of the *Historia Abbatum de Kynlos* of Ferrerius.

The Committee on Publications of the University of Aberdeen, which some time ago published Mr. Kellas Johnstone's *Concise Bibliography of Aberdeen, Banff, and Kincardine*, has now followed this with a *Concise Bibliography of the Printed and Manuscript Material on the History, Topography, and Institutions of the Burgh, Parish, and Shire of Inverness*, by P. J. Anderson, librarian of the University. These volumes will be followed by three others, covering the region northwards to Orkney and Shetland.

Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill has written *The Constitutional and Parliamentary History of Ireland till the Union*, which is soon to be published by Fisher Unwin.

Mr. Timothy M. Healy in *The Great Fraud of Ulster* (Dublin, Gill and Son, 1917) attempts to set forth in briefer form and less legalistic aspect the facts which he presented some years ago in *Stolen Waters*, reviewed in this journal in October, 1913 (XIX. 146).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. L. R. Beaven, *King Edmund I. and the Danes of York* (English Historical Review, January); Thomas Baty, *Scottish Prize Decisions of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Yale Law Journal, February); Col. C. Field, *The Marines in the Great Naval Mutinies, 1797-1802* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, November); F. J. Klingberg, *A General Survey of the Anti-Slavery Movement in England* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); Algernon Cecil, *Two Distinguished Gladstonians* [Acton and Morley] (Quarterly Review, January); M. Caudel, *L'Em-*

pire Britannique et la Guerre (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); Spenser Wilkinson, *The British Constitution and the Conduct of War* (Nineteenth Century, January).

FRANCE

To the *Great Nations* series, projected by Messrs. Harrap (London), Mr. William H. Hudson has contributed *France: the Nation and its Development from Earliest Times to the Establishment of the Third Republic*. The volume, which treats with much greater fullness of early French history than of the period of the Revolution and subsequent events, was obviously prepared for the immature student. A more valuable book, we must expect, is the brief volume which is announced as to come from the pen of Madame Duclaux, better known as Miss A. Mary F. Robinson or as Madame Darmesteter.

The tenth and eleventh centuries furnish the subject for the fourth volume of *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France* (Paris, Tenin, 1917) by Professor J. Flach of the College of France. The earlier volumes appeared in 1886, 1893, and 1904.

Baron le Barrois d'Orgeval has made his doctoral thesis upon *La Justice Militaire sous l'Ancien Régime, le Tribunal de la Connétablie de France du XIV^e Siècle à 1790* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1918).

Everyman's Library has begun the publication of the *Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz*.

The Société de l'Histoire de France has published the second volume of the *Mémoires de Louis Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, dit le Jeune Brienne* (Paris, Laurens, 1917), edited by P. Bonnefon, which relate to the reign of Louis XIV.

Adrien Launay has completed his *Mémorial de la Société des Missions Étrangères* (Paris, Séminaire des Missions Étrangères, 1916) with a second volume. The work includes a wealth of biographical and bibliographical data relating to the personnel of French Catholic missions, especially in the Far East.

The most recent issue of the *Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire de la Révolution Française* is *Les Séances des Députés du Clergé aux États Généraux en 1789, Journaux du Curé Thibault et du Chanoine Coster* (Paris, 1917, pp. xxxvi, 184), edited by Albert Houtin. The nature of the editor's work has drawn from G. Rouanet two long and detailed critical studies published in the *Annales Révolutionnaires* of October, 1916, and January, 1917, which should receive the attention of all who have occasion to consult the volume.

In 1891, in the fourth appendix to the second volume of his *French Revolution*, Professor H. Morse Stephens undertook to establish the

personnel of the Girondin party in the National Convention, and he made a list of 183 names. Ten years later, Professor Aulard in his *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française* (part 2, chapter 7) included but 165 names in his list. A list of 191 names is established by C. Perroud in *La Proscription des Girondins, 1793-1795* (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. xvi, 326). In this little volume the biographer of the Rolands and of Brissot has collected a mass of data on the proscription, execution, and other fortunes of the Girondins following May, 1793. He frankly disavows any attempt to write a history of the Girondins, but he declares of his book, "Il est Girondin, parce que je suis du côté du courage et du malheur."

Professor Albert Mathiez of the University of Besançon, the able and scholarly editor of the *Annales Révolutionnaires*, has reprinted from that and other reviews, under the title *Études Robespierristes* (Paris, Colin, 1917, pp. 327), seven articles to which he has added a new study on the Danton legend. The introductory article on parliamentary corruption under the Terror prefaces studies of Danton's fortune and accounts, of the Abbé Espagnac, and of Julien de Toulouse, all of which accumulate proofs of the peculations of Danton and of his group. They, however, present only a portion of the evidence which he has assiduously collected and published in the *Annales Révolutionnaires* and elsewhere in the last decade. The title of the volume is more obviously justified by the two concluding papers on the policy of Robespierre and the Ninth Thermidor based on notes of Buonarroti, and on Robespierre the orator. It is unfortunate that a controversial tone pervades the work which causes hesitation about accepting conclusions for which proofs are accumulated with such careful scholarship.

Three volumes of a new edition of *Correspondance, Bulletins, et Ordres du Jour de Napoléon* (Paris, Méricant, 1917) have been issued by Alexandre Keller, which extend to the treaty of Leoben.

Louis Lumet has furnished an interesting addition to the iconography of Napoleon in *Napoléon I^{er} Empereur des Français* (Paris, Nilsson, 1917), which contains 348 selected illustrations.

Henri Cordey, a former Protestant pastor in Paris, has written an exhaustive study of *Edmond de Pressensé et son Temps, 1824-1891* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1916, pp. x, 600) which is practically a history of Protestant thought and activity in France in the four decades following the Revolution of 1848. *Le Mouvement Catholique en France de 1830 à 1850* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917, pp. 272) has special reference to the education question culminating in the Loi Falloux, 1850, and is by Fernand Mourret, the author of the *Histoire Générale de l'Église*.

Hans Morf, the Paris correspondent of the *Basler Nachrichten*, in *Demokratie und Krieg in Frankreich* (Zurich, Bascher, 1917, pp. 150)

surveys current conditions in France to answer for his Swiss readers whether a democracy can successfully conduct war.

An important and interesting chapter of French colonial enterprise is recorded by Colonel Baratier in *Au Congo, Souvenirs de la Mission Marchand* (Paris, Fayard, 1917, pp. 126).

In *Le Maroc de 1917* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 246) Henry Dugard reviews the ten years of French occupation, describes various present conditions and recent events, and presents various considerations with regard to the future development of the country. The recent achievements and present activities of the French in Morocco are fully set forth in *Les Énergies Françaises au Maroc* (Paris, Plon, 1917) by Comte de la Revelière. Of more limited scope is *Au Maroc, Fès, la Capitale du Nord* (Paris, Roger, 1917) by M. de Périgny. The obscure title, *Le Maroc sous les Boches, Voyage de Guerre, 1916* (Paris, Bossard, 1917, pp. 200) of Jean Ajalbert covers some account of German prisoners in Morocco, recent French campaigning in Morocco, and the participation of Moroccan soldiers in the fighting on the West Front.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Flach, *Comment la Domination Germanique avait été Usurpée sur le Sud-Est de la France* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, November); P. Orsi, *Come si Arrivò alla Rivoluzione Francese dai "Dispacci" degli Ambasciatori Veneti* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); A. Mathiez, *La Mobilisation des Savants en l'An II*. (Revue de Paris, December 1); M. Dussarp, *Roger Ducos et sa Mission à Landrecies en l'An III*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, 1917, nos. 1, 2, 3); A. Mathiez, *Le Carnet de Robespierre, Essai d'Édition Critique* (Annales Révolutionnaires, January); G. de Novion, *Le Papier-Monnaie de la Révolution* (Journal des Économistes, November 15); A. Aulard, *Le Patriotisme et la Révolution Française, les Émigrés* (La Révolution Française, September); G. Weill, *Le Financier Ouvrard* (Revue Historique, January); A. Chuquet, *Napoléon à Grenoble* (Revue de Paris, November 1, 15); J. Reinach, *Gambetta-Souvenirs Personnels* (Mercure de France, January 1); V. Giraud, *Esquisses Contemporaines, Albert de Mun* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15, November 1).

ITALY AND SPAIN

General Review: J. Alazard and J. Luchaire, *Histoire d'Italie, Période Moderne, Fin du XV^e Siècle—Fin du XVIII^e Siècle*, III. (Revue Historique, January).

The King of Italy is suing to prevent the Marquises Cosimo and Averardo de' Medici Tornaquinci from selling at auction the portion of the Medici archives mentioned on p. 461 of our last issue as to be sold in London in February.

The Bloodless War (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1917, pp. xi, 263) is the translation by Bernard Miall of an account by Ezio M. Gray of German economic penetration in Italy before the war, especially in banking matters.

The title of Professor R. B. Merriman's forthcoming work was stated in our last number in a form not representing adequately its scope. The book is entitled *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*. It is to be published in four volumes, with maps, and the first two volumes, dealing with the Middle Ages and the Catholic Kings, are published this spring.

The fortieth volume of *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla, publicadas por acuerdo del Congreso de los Diputados* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1917) contains the proceedings from October 14, 1623, to February 18, 1624.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Armstrong, *The Medici Archives* (English Historical Review, January); Arundel del Re, *The Medici Archives* (Edinburgh Review, January); J. de Narfon, *Les Catholiques Italiens, la Question Romaine et la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 10); M. Serrano y Sanz, *Notas acerca de los Judios Aragoneses en los Siglos XIV. y XV.* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, September).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

La Morale Politique du Grand Frédéric, d'après sa Correspondance (Paris, Plon, 1917, pp. 590). by Commandant Weil, is in large measure a compilation of selected passages from Frederick's correspondence.

Some account of the conditions and of the new ideas and methods of German education in the years preceding the war is given by V. H. Friedel in *La Pédagogie de Guerre Allemande* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1917, pp. xv, 303). The volume is based on careful study and contains various documents in whole or in part.

La Formation Sociale du Prussien Moderne (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. 368) by Paul Descamps was largely written before the war as a pendant to his *La Formation Sociale de l'Anglais Moderne* and contains constant comparisons between Englishman and Prussian. The author is a disciple of LePlay.

A Bulwark against Germany: the Fight of the Slovenes, the Western Branch of the Jugo-Slavs, for National Existence, by Dr. Bogumil Vosnjak, former lecturer at the University of Zagreb (Agram) (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1917, pp. 270), is a handy volume in which Slovenian history and anti-Austrian argument are mingled and which contains much useful, though not colorless, information respecting the Slovenes and their cause.

A study of the first case of international neutralisation in modern Europe is made by E. Payen in *La Neutralisation de la Suisse et de la Savoie* (Paris, Bossard, 1917).

M. I. Grunberg, editor of the *Argus Suisse de la Presse*, has undertaken to compile the statutes, proclamations, and other documents of official action of Switzerland with reference to the war and the conditions created by it for the nation, in *La Suisse Neutre et Vigilante, Comment la Suisse a Maintenu sa Neutralité et Comment Elle a Assuré la Sécurité du Pays* (Geneva, Argus de la Presse), of which the first volume, containing the documents for 1914, has appeared and volumes for the three succeeding years are announced for early publication.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *Church and State in Mediaeval Germany*, I. (American Journal of Theology, January); J. Herderschee, *Luther's Laatste Levensdagen* (Theologisch Tijdschrift, LI. 5); R. Reuss, *Les Débuts de la Réforme à Strasbourg, 1517-1524* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, July); V. du Bled, *La Jeunesse de Frédéric II.* (Revue Hebdomadaire, November 17); J. Declareuil, "Les Discours à la Nation Allemande" de J.-Gottlieb Fichte (Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique, July); P. Louis, *La Social-Démocratie Allemande après le Congrès de Würtzburg* (Mercure de France, February 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Professor C. Nyrop of Copenhagen has written an account of the *Arrestation des Professeurs Belges et l'Université de Gand* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. 85) of which the French translation is by E. Philipot. The account deals chiefly with the cases of Professors Pirenne and Fredericq. A general survey of *La Question Flamande et l'Allemagne* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) is furnished by F. Passelecq. Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove deals with *La Guerre et les Oeuvres d'Art en Belgique, 1914-1916* (Paris, Van Oest, 1917). The Belgian minister Carton de Wiart is the author of *La Politique de l'Honneur* (Paris, Bloud et Gay, 1917). Commandant Willy Breton of the Belgian army has published an illustrated description of the Belgian munition plants in France under the title, *Les Établissements d'Artillerie Belges pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917). A biographical sketch of *Cardinal Mercier* (Paris, Perrin, 1918) is by G. Goyau.

Baron C. Buffin has collected and Alys Hallard translated selections from the narratives of Belgian soldiers under the title *Brave Belgians* (Putnam, 1918, pp. xii, 377). Among the selections is a considerable portion of the narrative of Dr. Duwez.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Rain, *Une Page de l'Histoire de Liège, la Révolution de 1790 et le Prince Ferdinand de Rohan* (Revue

d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXI. 2); Brand Whitlock, *Belgium* (Everybody's Magazine, February *et seq.*); H. Davignon, *Machiavel en Belgique, le Baron von Bissing* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 13).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: N. Voulitch, *Histoire des Yougoslaves* (Revue Historique, January).

The directors of the Carlsberg Fund, in their latest report (November) respecting the progress of Madame Bang's important compilation of the accounts of the Sound Dues, 1661-1800, the preparation of which was calculated to take ten years, report that at the end of five years almost one-half of the necessary labors have been completed. The results, as we have mentioned before, will be of great value to the history of Baltic commerce and there should have been important American contributions to its sustainment.

Mr. C. Henry Smith of San Francisco has endowed to the amount of \$5,000 an *Illustrated History of Scandinavian Art*, to be prepared, under the auspices of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, by Professors Carl G. Laurin, Jens Thijs, and Emil Hannover, of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark respectively.

Count F. U. Wrangel has published *Voyage en France d'Oxenstiern, 1635* (Paris, Plon, 1917) and *Choix de Lettres Intimes d'un Épicurien du XVII^e Siècle, Comte Jean d'Oxenstiern, publié d'après les Originaux Inédits de la Bibliothèque de Stockholm* (Paris, Chevreton, 1917). The first relates to a diplomatic journey made by the great Swedish chancellor, and the second to his son who was one of the representatives in the negotiation of the treaties of Westphalia.

Through the Russian Revolution by Claude Anet, now translated (London, Hutchinson), has both the merits and the faults of history written by an eye-witness. Despite the drawbacks of such accounts each additional one adds something to our understanding of what is occurring in Russia.

In "*The Dark People*": *Russia's Crisis*, Mr. Ernest Poole takes up the recent history of Russia in various aspects—Petrograd, the Kerensky government, the various political parties, the Council of Workmen and Soldiers, the army, the railroads, problems of labor and industry, food and supplies, and most of all the peasants—in an endeavor to discover the constructive forces at work building the nation.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 has also called forth the following volumes: Princesse Lucien Murat, *Raspoutine et l'Aube Sanglante* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1917); A. Masson, *Histoire Complète de la Révolution Russe* (*ibid.*); Marylie Markovitch (Mme. Amélie de Néry), *La Révo-*

lution Russe vue par une Française (Paris, Perrin, 1917); Rheta Childe Dorr, *Inside the Russian Revolution* (New York, Macmillan, 1917, pp. 243) (the author went to Russia in May, 1917); E. Vandervelde, *Trois Aspects de la Révolution Russe, 7 Mai-25 Juin 1917* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), by the Belgian socialist leader, who visited Petrograd, the factories, and the armies.

The papers presented at the recent meeting of the American Historical Association by Professors Samuel N. Harper, Alexander Petrunkevitch, Frank A. Golder, and Robert J. Kerner (see p. 516, above) have been published under the title, *The Russian Revolution and the Jugo-Slavs* (Harvard University Press).

Under the title *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution* (Boston, Little, Brown), the letters and reminiscences of the venerated heroine Madame Catherine Breshkovsky are presented in English translation, edited by Alice Stone Blackwell.

Two anonymous volumes on *Die Lettische Revolution, 1907* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917) are an accompaniment of the German conquest of the Baltic provinces.

A. Mandelstam, formerly connected with the Russian embassy at Constantinople, reviews the Young Turk rule, the Turkish entry into the war, Turkish relations with Germany, and discusses the future of the Ottoman territories in *Le Sort de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, Payot, 1917, pp. xii, 631). He advances the thesis of a "human right" of international intervention in Ottoman affairs. A recent volume by B. Bareilles deals with *Les Turcs, Ce que fut leur Empire* (Paris, Perrin, 1917). Victor Bérard writes the preface to *Le Problème Turc* (Paris, Leroux, 1917, pp. xiii, 272) which is a discussion of French policy in the Levant, apparently by a Christian long resident under Ottoman rule.

E. Pittard, professor of anthropology in the University of Geneva, deals with the racial question in *La Roumanie* (Paris, Bossard, 1917). Professor N. Jorga has added to his volumes mentioned in the last issue a *Histoire des Relations Anglo-Roumaines* (Jassy, Neâmul Romanesc, 1917, pp. 178). A volume of *Notes sur la Guerre Roumaine, 1916-1917* (Paris, Payot, 1917) is by N. P. Comnène.

Ernest Daudet begins a series *Les Complices des Auteurs de la Guerre* with a volume on *Ferdinand I^{er} Tsar de Bulgarie* (Paris, Attinger, 1917) in which he surveys the thirty years of the reign and adduces not a few proofs of acts by no means admirable in the Bulgarian ruler.

Cinq Ans d'Histoire Grecque, 1912-1917 (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) contains authorized translations by Léon Maccas of speeches made in the Greek chamber of deputies in August, 1917, by E. Veni-

zelos and members of his ministry discussing the events since the beginning of the Balkan wars. L. Maccas also surveys events of the same period in *Constantin I^{er} Roi des Hellènes* (Paris, Bossard, 1917, pp. 93). R. Vaucher has published *Constantin Détroné, les Événements de Grèce, Février-Août 1917* (Paris, Perrin, 1918); and A. Gauvain, *L'Affaire Grecque* (Paris, Bossard, 1917).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Bienstock, *La Révolution Russe, Kornilov* (*Mercure de France*, January 1, 15); N., *Trotsky* (*New Europe*, January 17).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Mr. A. Barton Hepburn, of the Chase National Bank, has made a gift of 125,000 yen to the Imperial University of Tokio, to found a professorship of the constitution, history, and diplomacy of the United States. It is understood that the first incumbent is to be Dr. Inazo Ota Nitobé.

Professor Kenneth S. Latourette, of Denison University, brings out through the Macmillan Company a book of modern Japanese history entitled *The Development of Japan*.

What I saw in the Orient is a result of Mr. Frederick Coleman's two years in the Far East, years in which he has been studying the effects of the war there (Cassell).

Volume V. of *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, from 1736 to 1761* (Madras, Government Press), translated from the Tamil, carries the diary of this agent of Dupleix from April 1 to October 17, 1748.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. L. Pérez, *Fr. Francisco de Jesús Escalona y su Relacion de China [1636-1640]* (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, July, 1915), A. Bellessort, *Le Nouveau Japon*, I. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1); Wen-Sze Ching, *The Treaty Relations between China and the United States relating to Commerce* (*Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, September); Col. R. G. Burton, *A Hundred Years Ago, the Mahratta and Pindari War* (*Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, November).

AFRICA

A volume soon to appear from the press of Messrs. Routledge (London) is *Select Constitutional Documents illustrating the History of South Africa, 1795-1910*, edited by G. W. Eybers.

The history of modern missionary work receives a useful contribution in Dr. H. K. W. Kumm's *African Missionary Heroes and Heroines* (Macmillan). Dr. Kumm, in addition to his sketches of the work of various African workers, adds a list of Christian missionary societies in Africa, some geographical notes, and a bibliography.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The War Department, following the example of most European governments, has established an Historical Section of the General Staff, and entrusted it with the duty of making preparations for an eventual history of the present war with Germany. The section, whose creation will be cordially welcomed by historical scholars, is placed under the charge of Lieut.-Col. C. W. Weeks, of the General Staff.

Among the recent accessions of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress are: miscellaneous papers of Robert R. Livingston, 1775-1776, including the draft of the resolutions offered in the Stamp Act Congress by Robert R. Livingston 1st; papers of John Leeds Bozman and John Leeds Kerr, 1784-1841; papers of Reverdy Johnson, 1826-1876; miscellaneous correspondence of Louis Tousard, 1810-1828; miscellaneous papers of Robert Mills, 1804-1853; miscellaneous letters to Dr. Samuel G. Howe and Julia Ward Howe from Charles Francis Adams, Horace Mann, and Francis Lieber, 1846-1871; a journal of La Pérouse's expedition against the Hudson Bay Company's posts (May-October, 1782), kept by the captain of one of the French ships of war on that expedition (1 vol., pp. 272); a log-book of the U. S. S. *Enterprise*, under the command of David Porter, 1805-1806; a diary of John Evans of his journey from North Dakota over the Rocky Mountains, July-September, 1853; and miscellaneous additions to the Andrew H. Foote papers.

In the last printing of Professor H. W. Elson's well known *History of the United States* (Macmillan, 1917), the narrative has been continued, from 1903 to the re-election of President Wilson, by the addition of some forty pages. No changes have been made in the original plates, with the result that some statements have been left standing which are contradicted in the supplementary matter.

This Country of Ours: the Story of the United States, by Henrietta E. Marshall, with pictures in color by A. C. Michael, tells the history of America in story form for boys and girls. The story is brought down to the entrance of the United States into the world war.

A First Book in American History; with European Beginnings, by Gertrude Van Duyn Southworth, comes from the press of D. Appleton.

In the September-October issue of the *Magazine of History* are found a brief article on John Quincy Adams and Secession in 1842, by Willis F. Johnson, an account of some price-fixing in 1775, and a continuation of W. M. Thompson's papers bearing the title When Washington Toured New England.

William Abbatt (Tarrytown, New York) has made numerous addi-

tions recently to the collection of reprints known as *Magazine of History Extras*. Among these are: Davis's *Four Principal Battles of the Late War* [of 1812] and Solomon Stoddard's *Answer to some Cases of Conscience* (no. 55); Thomas Ashe's *Carolina* (1682) and the *Narrative of the Sufferings . . . of Capt. John Dean* (1711) (no. 59); and Adalbert J. Volck's *Confederate War Etchings* (no. 60). Nos. 53, 58, and 61 are collections of rare Lincolniana.

Messrs. B. F. Bowen and Company of Indianapolis offer in one volume of 1600 pages a complete text of *The State Constitutions*, edited by Dr. Charles Kettleborough, and well indexed, and promise that an annual supplement will be issued which will keep the compilation up to date.

Harper and Brothers have brought out *The Principles of American Diplomacy*, by John Bassett Moore, revised and enlarged from the author's *American Diplomacy*.

The September-December issue of the *German American Annals* contains a number of tributes to the late Professor Marion D. Learned, its editor. They are from the pens of J. G. Rosengarten, Rudolph Blankenburg, A. B. Faust, David J. Hill, and Henry Wood. There is also a frontispiece portrait of Professor Learned. Clement Vollmer's articles on the American Novel in Germany, 1871-1913, are concluded in this number, closing with a bibliography of American novels published in Germany during the period.

The Smithsonian Institution issues, as *Bulletin 101* of the United States National Museum, a pamphlet of 85 pages on the Columbian Institute for the Promotion of Arts and Sciences, a society which existed in Washington from 1816 to 1838, and which established, under government patronage, a museum and a botanic garden. The author of the pamphlet is Dr. Richard Rathbun, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Of the three leading articles in the *Catholic Historical Review* for January, two concern the Philippine Islands, that of Dr. James A. Robertson on Catholicism in the Philippines and that of Dr. Charles H. Cunningham on the Inquisition in the Philippines—both by non-Catholic laymen, and both excellent. The third article, by Archbishop Messmer of Milwaukee, is a collection of notes on Rev. Hercule Brassac, priest in the Mississippi Valley from 1817 to 1837 and vicar-general in Europe of the American bishops from 1839 to 1861, much of whose correspondence with the American bishops is printed, in full text or in extracts.

The Religious Foundations of America: a Study in National Origins, by Charles Lemuel Thompson, D.D., is from the press of Revell.

The American Sunday-School Union (Philadelphia) has commemo-

rated its centenary by bringing out *The Sunday-School Movement (1780-1917)* and the *American Sunday-School Union (1817-1917)*, by Edwin W. Rice.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication in April a *History of Labor in the United States*, in two volumes, by Professor John R. Commons of the University of Wisconsin, with collaboration on the part of several others. It is a product of work formerly done under the auspices of the Department of Economics in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and more recently under those of the Board of Research Associates in American Economic History.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

John Pory, secretary to Governor Yeardley of Virginia, visited Plymouth in 1622 and wrote to the Earl of Southampton a letter respecting it, never hitherto published. This the Houghton Mifflin Company is about to print, from an old manuscript copy in the John Carter Brown Library, in a volume of special elegance entitled *John Pory's Lost Description of Plymouth Colony in the Earliest Days of the Pilgrim Fathers*, including in the volume at the same time a description by Pory of other early settlements on the New England coast, a full and interesting contemporary account of the Bermudas, a reproduction of Captain John Smith's map of Bermuda, and other facsimiles, the whole edited, with an introduction and notes, by Champlin Burrage, formerly librarian of the library named.

Messrs. Lippincott have brought out a "Mount Vernon Edition" of Mason L. Weems's *Life of Washington*, with new illustrations.

For juvenile readers, few more delightful portrayals of colonial life and character can be found than Miss Laura E. Richards's *Abigail Adams and her Times* (Appleton, pp. 283). The picture, in large part based on the *Familiar Letters* of John and Abigail Adams and the works of Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, is created with much skill and with admirable regard for historical accuracy.

Napoléon et l'Amérique (Paris, Payot, 1917) is a study of Napoleon's relations with the United States, by A. Schalck de la Faverie.

The Rowfant Club expects to bring out during the summer a volume of *Documents relating to the Battle of Lake Erie*, edited by Dr. Charles O. Paullin, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Dr. Reginald C. McGrane is editing the papers of Nicholas Biddle for early publication.

The Political History of the Public Lands, from 1840 to 1862, from Pre-emption to Homestead, by G. M. Stephenson, is published in Badger's series of *Studies in American History*.

The Record of a Quaker Conscience: Cyrus Pringle's Diary (Macmillan), published with an introduction by Professor Rufus M. Jones of Haverford College, is a little book consisting of the personal diary of a young Quaker, drafted for service in the Union army in 1863, but prevented by religious scruples from engaging in war.

In *The Voice of Lincoln*, by R. M. Wanamaker, justice of the supreme court of Ohio, Lincoln is allowed in great measure to reveal himself through liberal quotations from his utterances (Scribner).

The Life of Lieutenant-General Richard Heron Anderson of the Confederate States Army, by C. Irvine Walker, has been published in Charleston (Arts Publishing Company).

Active Service, by John B. Castleman, is the memoirs of a major in the Confederate army and later a brigadier-general, U. S. A. (Louisville, *Courier Journal*).

Fifty Years of American Education: a Sketch of the Progress of Education in the United States from 1867 to 1917, by Ernest C. Moore, was issued in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the house of Ginn and Company.

Among the bulletins of the University of Wisconsin appears, as no. 844, a doctoral thesis by J. W. Oliver (pp. 120), on the *History of the Civil War Military Pensions*.

In the series of volumes of addresses by Hon. Elihu Root, edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, the volume entitled *North Atlantic Coast Fisheries Arbitration at the Hague* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1917, pp. cix, 445) consists of the argument on behalf of the United States by Mr. Root who then—perhaps there is no other similar instance—appeared as chief counsel in an international arbitration which, as Secretary of State, he had prepared and submitted. The historical importance of the argument and of the prefatory material which accompanies it needs no emphasis.

In the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for January is a sketch of Joseph H. Choate, by J. C. Pumpelly; also an Appreciation, by Charles E. Rushmore.

Maj.-Gen. William H. Carter, U. S. A., has prepared a *Life of Lieutenant-General Adna R. Chaffee*, to be published by the University of Chicago Press, a record of the remarkable career of one who rose from the ranks to the highest position in the United States army.

Messrs. Little, Brown and Company have in press, for early publication, a biography of the late George Westinghouse, by Mr. Francis E. Leupp of Washington.

An Essay towards a Bibliography of the Published Writings and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson, 1910-1917 (pp. 52), by George D. Brown, reference librarian of Princeton University, is a continuation of a similar *Essay towards a Bibliography* for the years 1875-1910, by Harry Clemons. The present compilation brings the record down to March 4, 1917; it is announced that a further continuation and a subject index are in preparation (Library of Princeton University).

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

Of the pamphlet entitled *Conquest and Kultur: Aims of the Germans in their own Words*, compiled by Professors Wallace Notestein and Elmer E. Stoll of the University of Minnesota, an edition has now been made available by the Committee on Public Information which differs from that mentioned in our last issue by the insertion of a few additional extracts and by the presence of an index—a great convenience in such a book. The committee has also published part II. of Professor Munro's *German War Practices*, dealing with German treatment of conquered territory.

Four numbers of the *University of Chicago War Papers* have so far appeared, viz.: *The Threat of German World-Politics*, by President Harry P. Judson; *Americans and the World-Crisis*, by Professor Albion W. Small; *Democracy the Basis for World-Order*, by Frederick D. Bramhall; and *Sixteen Causes of the War*, by Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin.

The Monroe Doctrine and the War, by Professor Harry G. Plum, is issued as the University of Iowa *Extension Bulletin*, no. 31.

French views of the United States and its participation in the war will be found in *Le Président Wilson, Étude sur la Démocratie Américaine* (Paris, Payot, 1917) by Daniel Halévy; and in *L'Intérêt et l'Idéal des États-Unis dans la Guerre Mondiale* (Paris, Perrin, 1917) by Ferri-Pisani.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Sprague's *Journal of Maine History*, in the number for November-December-January, presents the beginning of an alphabetical index of Revolutionary pensioners who lived in Maine, prepared by Charles A. Flagg, librarian of the Bangor Public Library. The present installment of the list runs only half-way through the letter "A", but the bibliographical and other preliminary matter is of value to all searchers after Revolutionary veterans.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the New England Historic Genealogical Society (by aid of the Eddy Town Record Fund) have

printed the vital records, to 1850, of the towns of East Bridgewater, Gloucester (vol. I.), Granville, Greenfield, Salem (vol. I.), and Uxbridge.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has published volume XIX. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (pp. 1062), containing resolves, orders, votes, etc., passed at the sessions extending from July 19, 1775, to May 10, 1777. Resolves, orders, and votes to the number of 2294 are embraced in the volume, and, with an elaborate index, enable the student to follow in minute detail the doings of the legislature. A complete print of the legislative records of the Council, or of the House Journals, would not take much more space. There are no annotations except marginal references to sources. We note, as of timely interest, a resolve of October 13, 1775, recommending the corporation and overseers of Harvard College "not to appoint any persons as Governors or Instructors but such whose political principles they can confide in and also to inquire into the principles of such as are now in Office and dismiss those who by their past or present Conduct appear to be unfriendly to the Liberties and Privileges of the Colonies".

The November-December serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains an appreciative review of Lord Charnwood's *Abraham Lincoln* by another biographer, Mr. John T. Morse, jr.; a long disquisition on Medieval English Sovereignty, by Professor M. M. Bigelow; and an account of Joseph Badger, and full descriptive list of all known portraits from his hand, by Mr. Lawrence Park.

Fiction and Truth about the Battle of Lexington Common, April 19, 1775, is the title of a paper read before the Lexington Historical Society in December by F. W. Coburn.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for January reprints from the *Harvard Theological Review* Professor Francis A. Christie's article on the Diary of an Old New England Minister (William Bentley, 1759-1819). In the same number is found a series of documents relating to Marblehead, Massachusetts (1643-1676), copied from the archives of Massachusetts by John H. Edmunds.

An enlarged edition of Joseph E. Fiske's *History of the Town of Wellesley, Massachusetts*, edited by Ellen W. Fiske, has been published by the author (Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts).

A History of Conway, Massachusetts, 1767-1917, "by the People of Conway", edited by Rev. C. S. Pease, is published in Conway by the Field Memorial Library.

The eleventh volume of the Rhode Island Historical Society's *Collections* is being issued in the form of a quarterly historical magazine. The first number appeared in January of this year and contained articles on historical, bibliographical, and genealogical subjects, among them an

article on the recent excavations of the Jireh Bull garrison house in South Kingstown, and one on the Sachem Pomham's fort.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Division of Archives and History in the New York State Department of Education expects to issue inventories of the records of counties, cities, towns, and incorporated villages, in a series of pamphlets of which the first, on the records of Smithtown in Suffolk County, is now in press. Other series will open with pamphlets on the records of the county of Suffolk and of the village of Ballston Spa.

The *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting* of the New York State Historical Association, held at West Point in October, 1915, volume XV. of this series (Albany, pp. 357), contains for the most part papers relating to the history of West Point, by various excellent authorities. There is also a valuable paper on Later French Settlements in New York State, 1783-1800, by J. I. Wyer, jr., state librarian, and a statistical account of the origins, dates, and names of the towns and cities of New York, by J. N. Eno.

By undertaking to print the *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York* from 1784 to 1831, the city government has provided for filling the last remaining gap in the published records of the common council, or analogous bodies, from the beginning of the records of the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam, in 1653, to the present time. Few matters in American history are more important than the development of this municipality, and these are its fundamental records. They have been edited by Dr. A. E. Peterson, under the auspices of a committee of which Dr. Victor H. Paltsits is chairman, and will make twenty printed volumes, to be issued in 1918, probably, with an index in one or two volumes to follow. Sets will not be given away, but will be sold (below cost) at sixty dollars a set.

In the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* for January is an article, by Caroline L. Ransome, on the Egyptian Ushebtis belonging to the New York Historical Society. The *Bulletin* publishes a facsimile and translation of a Dutch Thanksgiving Proclamation, June 30, 1674, and a facsimile of the letter from the President of the Continental Congress, Henry Laurens, to the King of France, October 21, 1778, in commendation of Lafayette.

The Onondaga Historical Association (Syracuse, New York) has published the *Moravian Journals relating to Central New York, 1745-1766* (pp. 242), edited by W. M. Beauchamp.

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press volume XXII. of its *Publications*. A considerable part of the volume will be devoted to a history of the University of Buffalo, by Julian Park, secretary of the

arts department of the university. The volume will also contain an account of Niagara ship canal projects, by Hon. Henry W. Hill, president of the society.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies has published *A Bibliography of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1745-1912*, by Lottie M. Bausman, the third in its series of county bibliographies and by far the most important (pp. 468).

The Story of Lancaster, Old and New: being a Narrative History of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, from 1730 to the Centennial Year, 1918, by William Riddle, is published in Lancaster by the author.

The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society's *Proceedings and Collections* for the year 1917, edited by Horace E. Hayden, has come from the press.

The Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania began with January the issue of a small quarterly publication, *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, of good promise as to contents and interest. The first number describes the career of the Rev. John Taylor, the first rector of Trinity Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh, a typical pioneer clerical life, and presents extracts from records kept by him; also Judge Brackenridge's record of the trial of Mamachtaga, a Delaware Indian, the first person hanged for murder west of the Allegheny Mountains.

A new edition of Neville B. Craig's *History of Pittsburgh*, with introduction and notes by G. T. Fleming, has appeared (Pittsburgh, J. R. Weldin Company).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* appear, beside continuations: an installment of materials relating to the Library Company of Baltimore, organized in 1795 and merged with the Maryland Historical Society in 1854; a collection of advertisements taken from the Baltimore *Daily Repository* of 1792-1793, being chiefly the offers of professional services from teachers, doctors, and others; and some correspondence of Governor Sharpe (1763-1768), from transcripts in the Library of Congress.

Among the varied documents printed in the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* may be mentioned some minutes of the council and general court relative to a case of witchcraft (1626), letters of William Byrd (1688-1689), some minutes of a committee of trade and plantations in 1681, the tobacco act of 1713, and selections from the Jones Papers in the Library of Congress. This selection includes letters (1725) from Colonel Thomas Jones to Mrs. Pratt, who shortly became his wife; letters (1724-1726) to the same

lady from her brother, Catesby Cocke; also a physician's bill to Colonel Jones (1747).

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* of January prints Some Fragments of an Intended Report on the Post-Revolutionary History of Agriculture in Virginia, by N. F. Cabell (1807-1891), with notes by E. G. Swem. Professor A. J. Morrison contributes a Note on the Organization of Virginia Agriculture. The German Colony of 1717, by A. L. Keith, is continued.

William Claiborne of Virginia; with some Account of his Pedigree (Putnam), by John H. Claiborne, with an introduction by John D. Lindsay, is primarily genealogical in character, but contains an account of the dispute between Claiborne and Lord Baltimore regarding the ownership of Kent Island.

The October number of the *North Carolina Booklet* completes Professor Archibald Henderson's sketch of his ancestor of the same name, A Federalist of the Old School. The same number presents documents respecting a secession declaration of certain North Carolina counties, at Palmyra, October 14, 1860. There is likewise a brief sketch by W. A. Smith of Dr. John Washington Bennett.

In a series of letters of John Rutledge which the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is printing, with annotations by Joseph W. Barnwell, five letters written by Rutledge as governor to the South Carolina delegates in the Continental Congress, 1781-1782, appear in the October number of the *Magazine*.

The article of Professor R. P. Brooks, "Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850", which appeared in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, vol. IV., no. 3, has been reprinted as a *Bulletin of the University of Georgia* (January).

A publication of bi-centenary interest is the *Histoire de la Fondation de la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1717-1722* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1917) by Baron Marc de Villiers.

The Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge expects soon to send to the press the manuscript of volume II. of its *Proceedings*.

WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has for its chief contents four articles: one by Professor R. P. Brooks, on Howell Cobb and the Crisis of 1850, seeking to define Cobb's Unionism; one by Mr. Cardinal Goodwin, A Larger View of the Yellowstone Expedition, 1819-1820, the larger view indicated by Calhoun's statement of purposes; and one by Professor Clarence E. Carter, on the Beginnings of West Florida. Mr. Dan E. Clark supplies a survey of the

historical activities of the last two years in the trans-Mississippi Northwest.

Messrs. Lowdermilk of Washington have brought out, with the title *The First Map and Description of Ohio, 1787*, a facsimile of the "Map of the Federal Territory" which Manasseh Cutler caused to be prepared in 1787, together with Cutler's *Explanation of the Map*, etc., which was originally intended to accompany the map but which was in fact issued some months before it. But two copies of the map are known to exist, and only a few copies of the *Explanation* have survived. Mr. P. Lee Phillips, chief of the division of maps in the Library of Congress, contributes a bibliographical account of both.

The *Annual Reports* of the Western Reserve Historical Society (pp. 231), includes the Annual Report for 1916-1917 (pp. 62) and Side Lights on the Ohio Company of Associates from the John May Papers (pp. 63-231). John May (1748-1812) was one of the active founders of the Ohio Company and was agent for a number of the associates. His papers were acquired by the Western Reserve Historical Society in 1909. The papers here printed, which cover the period from 1787 to 1811, include numerous letters of correspondence between May and William Rufus Putnam, some letters of Manasseh Cutler, three maps, and sundry records and statements. One of the maps reproduced is probably a copy of the Cutler map of 1787, mentioned above; another bears the title "Plan des Achats des Compagnies de l'Ohio et de Scioto", and is supposed to have been prepared for use in selling the Scioto lands in France. It is accompanied by Cutler's *Explanation*, which is here retranslated from the French.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains an article concerning Col. Henry Bouquet, based chiefly on A. Burnand's *Henry Bouquet, Vainqueur des Peaux-Rouges de l'Ohio* (Neuchâtel, 1909). In the same number Miss Keren J. Gaumer writes concerning Mac-O-Chee Valley, H. L. Peeke concerning Johnson's Island, and Irvén Travis concerning Muskingum River Pilots. There is also a description of the Hayes Memorial at Fremont, Ohio, including a catalogue of the relics, souvenirs, etc., deposited there.

The Department of Indiana History and Archives is arranging for the calendaring of the Lasselle and Tipton collections of manuscripts this spring and summer.

The Indiana Historical Society has recently published a *History of Morgan's Raid in Indiana* (pp. 51), by Judge Louis B. Ewbank of Indianapolis.

In the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* J. Edward Murr, using the title Lincoln in Indiana, writes entertainingly

of Lincoln's early life. Charles Zimmerman's paper on the Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1856 to 1860 is concluded in this number. In the March issue Mr. Murr's paper is continued, and there is a briefer article on Topenbee and the Decline of the Pottawat-tomie Nation, by Elmore Barce.

The centennial celebration of the entrance of Illinois into the Union in 1818 will be marked by two particular state functions: the one, a centennial meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, at Springfield, on April 17 and 18, when addresses will be made by President John H. Finley, of the University of the State of New York, M. Louis Aubert, of the French High Commission to the United States, Professors Allen Johnson of Yale University, Elbert J. Benton, of the Western Reserve University, Clarence W. Alvord, of Illinois, Mr. H. J. Eckenrode, of Virginia, and Mr. Charles W. Moores, of Indianapolis; the other, an official celebration in October, accompanied by the dedication of statues of Lincoln and Douglas on the State House grounds.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1916 (*Publications*, no. 22, of the Illinois State Library) include the following papers: the First Two Counties of Illinois and their People, by Fred J. Kern; the Veto Power of the Governor of Illinois, by N. H. Debel; the Indian History of Illinois, by Ralph Linton; Early Presbyterianism in East Central Illinois, by Rev. Ira W. Allen; Random Recollections of Sixty Years in Chicago, by William J. Onahan; Slavery and Involuntary Servitude in Illinois, by Orlando W. Aldrich; and the Fox River of Illinois, by John F. Steward.

In the January number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, under the title Penalties of Patriotism, Joseph J. Thompson writes an Appreciation of the Life, Patriotism, and Services of Francis Vigo, Pierre Gibault, George Rogers Clark, and Arthur St. Clair, the Founders of the Northwest; President Edmund J. James writes a biographical sketch and reminiscences of his father, Rev. Colin Dew James, a pioneer Methodist preacher of early Illinois; Mrs. Katherine Stahl gives some account of two Early Women Preachers of Illinois, Mrs. Hubbard and Mrs. Henry; and William Epler sketches Some Beginnings in Central Cass County.

The Bobbs-Merrill Company has issued a Centennial Edition of *Illinois: the Story of the Prairie State*, by Grace Humphrey.

The Quarter-Centennial Celebration of the University of Chicago (University Press, 1918, pp. xii, 234), recorded by Professor David A. Robertson, not only describes with fullness the ceremonies of June 2-6, 1916, but furnishes much material for a knowledge of the history of the institution.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out *Lawton Thomas Hemans: a Memorial*, "By the People of Michigan". There is a frontispiece portrait, a biographical sketch by Mrs. Hemans, and numerous tributes.

Mr. Edward G. Holden contributes to the January number of the *Michigan History Magazine* some interesting reminiscences of Carl Schurz in Michigan. Other articles in the *Magazine* are: Indian Legends of Northern Michigan, by John C. Wright; History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in Michigan, by Karolena M. Fox; Coming of the Italians to Detroit, by John C. Vismara; Father Marquette at Michilimackinac, by Edwin O. Wood; Congregationalism as a Factor in the Making of Michigan, by John P. Sanderson; Historical Sketch of the University of Detroit, by President William T. Doran; and the Factional Character of Early Michigan Politics, by Floyd B. Streeter.

No. 5 of Mr. C. M. Burton's *Manuscripts and Records from the Burton Historical Collection* prints the orderly book, for the Tippecanoe campaign, of Col. John P. Boyd, who, after a romantic military career in India, had come home to the command of the 4th United States Infantry. It also continues the correspondence of Governor Harrison, for a similar period, the second half of 1811, which also fills the whole of no. 6. It is a very important series of letters, for the history of the campaign against the Prophet, and also for the biography of Harrison during the period that gave him his chief title to fame. They show him in a favorable light, though when we see him quoting Greek (to Secretary Eustis! and very badly, if the transcriber and printer have not done him injustice) one thinks of the Roman proconsuls whom Webster deported from his inaugural address.

The Macmillan Company announces for early publication a work by Hon. Edwin O. Wood, in two volumes, entitled *Historic Mackinac*. The work will contain several hundred pictures and a number of folding maps.

The second number (December) of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains the annual address delivered before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in October, 1917, by Professor Carl R. Fish. It is an instructive and suggestive study entitled *The Frontier a World Problem*. The *Magazine* publishes in this number an English translation, by R. B. Anderson, of Ole Knudsen Nattestad's *Description of a Journey to North America (Beskrivelse over en Reise til Nordamerika, begyndt den 8de April 1837, Drammen, 1839)*, of which only one copy of the original is known to exist, that now in the library of the society. An article of interest is *Early Recollections of Lake Geneva (Big Foot Lake)*, Wisconsin, by George Manierre. In the March number of the *Magazine*, under the title *A Wisconsin Woman's Picture of President Lincoln*, is printed the narrative of Mrs. Cordelia A. P. Harvey, de-

scribing her work in the hospitals during the Civil War and in particular some interviews with President Lincoln. In the same number are found an account of the Dutch Settlements of Sheboygan County, by S. F. Rederus; some Pioneer Recollections of Beloit and Southern Wisconsin, by Lucius G. Fisher, edited by M. M. Quaife; and the Chicago Treaty of 1833, with introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife.

In the *Minnesota History Bulletin* of November appears a translation, by Theodore C. Blegen, of Ole Rynning's *True Account of America* (*Sandfaerdig Beretning om Amerika*, Christiania, 1838), of which only one copy of the original is known to the translator. Rynning's pamphlet (39 pp.) was reprinted at Madison in 1896, with the title *Student Ole Rynnings Amerikabog*, but copies of the reprint are also said to be rare. Mr. Blegen furnishes an introduction and notes.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press a volume on the *History of Economic Legislation in Iowa*, by Ivan L. Pollock.

Numbers VI., VII., VIII., and IX. of the publication known as *Iowa and War*, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa, are devoted to the following subjects: *Sanitary Fairs: a Method of Raising Funds for Relief Work in Iowa during the Civil War*, by Earl S. Fullbrook; *Old Fort Madison: Early Wars on the Eastern Border of the Iowa Country*, by Jacob Van der Zee; *The State University of Iowa and the Civil War*, by Mrs. Ellen M. Rich; and *The Black Hawk War*, by Jacob Van der Zee.

Two extended articles appear in the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. They are: *Arms and Equipment for the Iowa Troops in the Civil War*, by Cyril B. Upham, and *State Finances in Iowa during the Civil War*. There are also two early reports concerning the Des Moines River, one by W. Bowling Guion, October 9, 1841, and the other by John C. Frémont, April 14, 1842, together with a letter of Frémont, December 10, 1842.

Contributions to the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: an historical sketch of Missouri-Montana Highways, by H. A. Trexler; the second installment of Gottfried Duden's Report, translated by William G. Bek; a second article on Missouri and the War, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; and an appreciative sketch of George Creel, by I. H. Epperson.

Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri, by G. F. Will and G. E. Hyde, is a recent addition to the series of *Little Histories of North American Indians* (St. Louis, William Harvey Miner Company).

The Arkansas Historical Association has just brought out volume IV. of its *Publications* (pp. 460), in which are articles on the state's constitutional convention of 1874, on its official flag, its history commission, and its mounds, on Captain V. M. McGehee, David O. Dodd, John Pope,

and Michael S. Kennard, and on many more local matters, and a narrative of a journey in the prairie by Albert Pike.

Articles in the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the Government of Austin's Colony, 1821-1831, by Professor Eugene C. Barker; the Residencia in the Spanish Colonies, by Dr. Charles H. Cunningham; and the Powers of the Commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, 1863-1865, by Florence E. Holaday. The latter is to be continued. There is also a first installment of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Barker.

History and Legends of the Alamo and other Missions in and around San Antonio, by Adina de Zavala, is published in San Antonio by the author.

The *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin*, November 15, 1917, includes translations of two letters of Pope Innocent III., 1198-1199, relating to the Fourth Crusade, contributed by Milton R. Gutsch; and ten letters written to Stephen F. Austin between November, 1821, and March, 1822, contributed by Eugene C. Barker.

Volume XVIII. of the *Publications* of the Nebraska State Historical Society, edited by Albert Watkins, its historian (Lincoln, 1917, pp. xiii, 449), contains memorials of the late Clarence S. Paine and others, and articles on the Rural Carrier in 1849, on Trailing Texas Long-horned Cattle through Nebraska, on Neapolis, and on the struggle for the admission of the state. The society has lately reduced to chronological and alphabetical order the papers, valuable to Nebraska history, of Governor Robert W. Furnas, Judge Samuel Maxwell, and Judge Samuel M. Chapman, papers long in its possession. In February it began the issue of a popular monthly paper entitled *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*.

The Exercise of the Veto Power in Nebraska, by Knute E. Carlson, constitutes *Bulletin* no. 12, of the Nebraska History and Political Science Series, a joint publication of the Nebraska State Historical Society and the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau.

A Standard History of Kansas and Kansans, in five volumes, by W. E. Connelley, is put forth by the Lewis Publishing Company.

The Formation of the State of Oklahoma, 1803-1906, by Roy Gittinger, Ph.D., constitutes vol. VI. of the *University of California Publications in History*. In the history of our state-making Oklahoma holds a unique position. Constituted mainly from the Louisiana Purchase, the territory was early set apart for the Indians, with a consequent delay in its occupation by white settlers and its admission as a state. The steps in the creation of this "Indian Territory" are outlined by the author in three introductory chapters. In nine other chapters is related the history

of the territory from the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the effort to create the state of Neosho in 1854 to the admission of Oklahoma in 1906. There are five maps; also nine appendixes of notes and documents, and a bibliography.

Pioneering the West, 1846 to 1878: Major Howard Egan's Diary, is the principal title of a small volume published at Richmond, Utah, by the Howard R. Egan Estate. Much of the matter in the volume is from the pen of Howard R. Egan, the son, and the whole has been compiled and edited by W. M. Egan.

In *Nevada Historical Society Papers, 1913-1916* (Carson City, 1917, pp. 221), the secretary of the society, Miss Jeanne E. Wier, has assembled a number of interesting papers commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the admission of the state and other portions of its history, such as the last Indian uprising in Nevada, and religious development in the state. She also presents a paper on Mark Twain's Relations to Nevada and to the West.

Volume VIII. of *Contributions* of the Historical Society of Montana (Helena, 1917, pp. 376), contains articles upon the pioneer courts of the state, upon pioneer lumbering, upon the Yellowstone Expedition of 1874, upon Captain Townsend's battle on the Powder River, upon the boundary survey between Montana and Dakota, and upon various individuals connected with the state.

Articles in the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are: an account of Alaska Whaling, by Clarence L. Andrews; David Thompson's journal of two journeys in the Spokane country in 1811, with introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott; a survey of the Pioneer and Historical Associations in the State of Washington, by Victor J. Farrar; a continuation of Professor Edmond S. Meany's papers on the Origin of Washington Geographic Names; and a statement, by President Henry Suzzallo, of the organization of the Washington War History Committees.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have issued a revised and enlarged edition of W. D. Denison's *The Columbia River: its History, its Myths, its Scenery, its Commerce*.

Leslie M. Scott contributes to the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September a study of the Pioneer Stimulus of Gold. F. W. Powell's biography of Hall Jackson Kelley is continued. The *Quarterly* for December contains the relevant portion of the log of H. M. S. *Chatham*, which accompanied Vancouver and the *Discovery* at the time of his entrance into the Columbia River, a selection from various writings of Harvey W. Scott, concerning early Oregon (Mr. Scott was for forty years editor of the *Morning Oregonian*), and a reprint of Hall J. Kelley's memorial of 1839 addressed to Caleb Cushing. The society has lately entered upon the occupancy of new quarters in a fireproof building, the Auditorium of the city of Portland.

California: the Name, by Miss Ruth Putnam, with the collaboration of Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California (University of California Publications, vol. IV., no. 4, pp. 293-365), is an interesting investigation of the earliest uses of the name and discussion of its origin, discovered long ago by the late Dr. E. E. Hale, accompanied by a section of the Diego Gutierrez map of 1562, the first upon which the name appears.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The first number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* is upon the point of being published. The organization effected at Philadelphia in December provided for a board of editors numbering six and for two advisory editors. For membership in the Board of Editors choice was made of Professors Charles E. Chapman, of California, Isaac J. Cox, of Cincinnati, Julius Klein, of Harvard, William R. Manning, of Texas, Dr. James A. Robertson, of Washington, and Professor William S. Robertson, of Illinois, while Professors Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, and William R. Shepherd, of Columbia, were elected as advisory editors. The Board has chosen Dr. James A. Robertson as managing editor. The first number of the journal is to embrace an account of the founding of the *Review*, by Dr. Chapman, an article on the Institutional Background of Spanish American History, by Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of Texas, one on the Delimitation of Political Jurisdictions in Spanish North America to 1535, by Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of California, one on the Recognition of the Spanish Colonies by the Motherland, by Dr. W. S. Robertson, and book reviews and notes. To the bibliographical section, Señor J. T. Medina, of Santiago de Chile, chief of Hispanic American bibliographers, makes a contribution concerning certain books of travel.

Señor Segundo de Ispizua has published, as an additional volume of his *Los Vascos en América* (Madrid, *La Italica*, 1917, pp. 438) his two "books" on the conquest and colonization of Panama and on the discovery and conquest of Peru.

Expressions of Latin-American sympathy with the Allied cause have been collected by Francisco Contreras in *Les Écrivains Hispano-Américains et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Bossard, 1917). An article by C. Silva-Vildosola has been translated by Cardozo de Bethencourt with the title *Le Chili et la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1917, pp. 71).

Mexico: From Diaz to the Kaiser, by Mrs. Alec Tweedie, is from the press of George M. Doran Company.

The hitherto unpublished portion of Fray Pedro de Aguado's *Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Madrid, Ratés, 1917) is contained in the second volume of the edition which has been prepared with introduction and notes by Jerónimo Becker.

Though not primarily a book of history, the *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile*, prepared under the auspices of the Library of Congress, by Professor Edward M. Borchard, now of the Yale Law School (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917, pp. 523), contains a great amount of legal and bibliographical material valuable to the student of South American history.

The section of history in the faculty of philosophy and letters in the University of Buenos Aires has begun a series of *Publicaciones* (Buenos Aires, 1917), of which three numbers have already been brought out: *La Administracion de Temporalidades en el Rio de la Plata*, by Dr. Luis Maria Torres; *Constituciones del Real Colegio de San Carlos*, by Dr. Emilio Ravignani, and *Valores Aproximados de Algunas Monedas Hispano-Americanas (1497-1771)*, by Dr. Juan Alvarez. These publications and their successors the faculty named will be happy to exchange against serial publications in history from universities in the United States.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. C. Moore Smith, *Robert Hayman and the Plantation of Newfoundland* (English Historical Review, January); C. E. Carter, *British Policy towards the American Indians in the South, 1763-1768* (*ibid.*); Sir E. Fremantle, *Sea Power and the American War of Independence* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, August); Grace M. Pierce, *Pension Laws of the Revolution* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, March); S. A. Ashe, *Some New Light on John Paul Jones* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); R. de Cárdenas, *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano*, I. (Cuba Contemporánea, January); H. S. Quigley, *The American Attitude toward Capture at Sea* (American Journal of International Law, October); T. R. Powell, *Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on Constitutional Questions, 1914-1917*, I. (American Political Science Review, February); Lieut.-Col. M. B. Stewart, *Building the National Army* (Scribner's Magazine, February); M. Turmann, *La Première Présidence de M. Wilson, 1913-1917* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 13); Maj. Robert E. Wylie, *The Quebec Campaign of 1759*, concl. (Journal of the Military Service Institution, November-December); G. Desdèvis du Dezert, *L'Église Espagnole des Indes à la Fin du Dix-huitième Siècle* (Revue Hispanique, February, 1917); Ledeuil d'Enquin, *La Dernière Phase de l'Expédition de Saint-Domingue, les Généraux Ferrand et Barquier, 1803-1809* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); C. A. Villanueva, *Napoleón y los Diputados de América en las Cortes Españolas de Bayona* (Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1917, July-September); *id.*, *French Diplomacy in Latin America* (Inter-America, February); Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, *The Monroe Doctrine from the Latin-American Point of View* (St. Louis Law Review, November); W. F. Slade, *The Federation of Central America*, cont. (Journal of Race Development, October).

The
American Historical Review

ORIENTAL IMPERIALISM¹

RESTATEMENT of our ideals in government, and especially with reference to that phase which deals with smaller, backward, or dependent peoples, is imperatively demanded by the present world-crisis. To secure the requisite foundation for such an investigation, the anthropologist advises the study of the less advanced races of the present-day world. Large as is the degree of truth in his claim, in the almost universal backsliding to a régime of tooth and claw, which has proved that after all the so-called retarded races are not such distant brothers, far more can be learned from the history of the ancient Near East. The one shows us parallel development, the other the very elements from which have arisen our present-day conceptions.

Long centuries before written history developed elsewhere, the historian has an adequate knowledge of the Near East. The tribal stage was long past, urban civilization well developed. In Egypt and in Babylonia alike, we have the city-state, a section of land, rarely more than a man could cover in a day's walk, devoted to agriculture, and with its centre in a village which in time of peace furnished a market-place for the simple industrial needs of the peasant, and in war could furnish protection against enemy raids. In them ruled representatives of the deity, *patesi* they were called in Babylonia, kings we can hardly name them with accuracy.

Much that is attractive is found in these early city-states, developing behind the protection of their mud brick walls the first civilization the world had seen, and conjecture may play with the dream of what might have been had there been a more delicately poised

¹[The three articles which follow, on Oriental Imperialism, Greek Imperialism, and Roman Imperialism—sketches or "short studies of great subjects"—were prepared for the meeting of the American Historical Association held at Philadelphia in December, 1917, and were read in the ancient history section of that meeting as a series of papers on Ancient Imperialism. Ed.]

balance of power, how they might have anticipated the Phoenician aristocracy or even the democracy of the Greeks. Perhaps the times were too early and too rude, certain it is that before such a stage could be reached, the victorious city-state had become imperialistic and the day of the city-state was done.

This imperialism was not developed without a struggle. Against it were ranged the forces of geography and of racial temperament. In the case of Egypt, it needs no proof that the long thin line of civilization along the Nile, where city-state bounded city-state on but two sides, up stream and down, was not conducive to unity, and that such a condition bred a localism which broke up Egypt into its constituent parts every time that the central power weakened. In spite of this difficulty, the dawn of history finds the process virtually complete, and the intermediate stage, when north and south were separate units, was important in later times only in so far as it furnished the ruler with separate crowns, separate titularies, and a separate administration. North or south might in turn furnish that ruler, Re or Amon might be the supreme god, the dream of a united Egypt was never forgotten.

Babylonia seemed more favorable to unity, with its lack of frontiers in its dead level, its easy communication by river and by canal, the need of a common irrigation system, yet unity came late. We must attribute this not so much to the location of the leading states along the ancient bed of the Euphrates as to the ingrained particularism of the individual city-state, the result, we may conjecture, of unnumbered generations of Shumerians who had led an isolated life in the mountain valleys to the east. The pages of a detailed history, then, must be burdened by the names of dozens of village chiefs whose battles have scores of casualties. From all this welter of meaningless names, states of a larger importance gradually emerge, under a true king but still with no real unity. If the *patesi* of the conquered city paid his tribute, he was retained, otherwise another took his place. The average citizen had his status changed not a whit, he retained his local customs, and worshipped his city god as before. These kingdoms, likewise, found their centre in a single state: for example, the possession of Kutu permitted the bearing of the title "King of the Four World Regions". Significant is the fact that to the end there was no single title which unqualifiedly gave its possessor the rule of all Babylonia.

The first Semites, the Sargonids, extended the empire outside the alluvium, but no change of policy or of administration is marked thereby. First under the kings of Ur, representing the Shumerian

reaction, was there such a centralization of authority that the *patesi* sank rapidly to the status of a mere governor whose every act was directed from the capital. By the first dynasty of Babylon, the correspondence of Hammurapi shows the process complete and the smallest details are controlled by the monarch at home.

Then follows the Kashshite conquest. These mountaineers from the east might well be particularistic, and where Hammurapi had over-centralized they brought in a system which can only be called feudal. Already the foundation was laid, for, from the beginning, Babylonia like Egypt had possessed a land organization which was ancestor and prototype of the manorial system of medieval Europe. Once more like its successor, the actual feudal development came only with the invasion of foreigners with cruder ideals. No longer do we have governors appointed and removed by the crown, but a group of great landlords, holding because they had aided the king in battle, and with charters which freed them from the usual dues, so that the royal officials are definitely prohibited from so much as entering the domain thus granted out, whether to inflict taxes, to collect rents, to levy troops, or for any other seigniorial right whatsoever. The influence of these great feudal barons on the course of history is infinitely more important than is that of the majority of so-called kings of an earlier time.

Meanwhile, Egypt had outgrown a similar feudal régime and had cast out the foreigners who had taken advantage of the weakness which feudalism had brought in its train. The reaction carried the Egyptians across the desert, beyond the Sinaitic Peninsula, which they had always held as a bridge-head against Syria, and up to the Euphrates. The archive-materials now show full-grown powers, in direct contact with each other, evenly matched and adopting the principle of the balance of power, diplomacy developed to a high degree, recognition of commercial interests and of spheres of influence, treaties with extradition clauses for equals and with close regulations for subject allies. But one modern characteristic we miss; we look in vain for actual provincial organization.

This provincial system we first find developed among the Assyrians. Their earlier conquests were of the usual type, but Assyria had one great advantage over her rivals: city, state, and god were identical. The original city-state of Ashur merged into the empire and other capitals became the royal residences, but the name of the larger state was still Ashur, the city was still peculiarly sacred, and the chief god, Ashur, the deified state itself, was worshipped in the best days with an almost single-minded devotion which left other

deities little more than saints. Thus we have a psychological unity foreign to Babylonia.

The city of Ashur stood on a great land strait, on the Tigris, between two strips of unirrigated land, at the crossing of the one line of hills which commands the east-west road of the ancient world. Such a position, of danger and of opportunity alike, could not but develop in the Assyrians the spirit which found its only worthy activity in war and in government, which looked down with contempt on the merchant princes of the south. While the earlier Assyrian monarchs were, as they called themselves, "kings of kings", the formal change was made by Ashur-nasir-apal and the conquered states began to be placed directly under provincial governors. By the reign of the last Adad-nirari, the system was in full working order.

In the system, the provinces were of regular size. The officials were advanced in a regular cursus from the provinces of Assyria proper, where they were under the direct control of the king, to the marches on the exposed frontiers to which could be sent only the most experienced and the most trusted. Taxation was formally organized and there was a regular budget of taxes and expenditures. The whole organization centred around the worship of Ashur, the deified state, and of the reigning king, prototype of the later cult of Rome and Augustus. When all the archival material is utilized, not the least the more than a thousand letters exchanged between the king and his provincial governors, we shall have a picture of the system in its actual workings which will rival that of the Roman.

Like the Romans, the Assyrians permitted their sentiment in one instance to outweigh their political sense, for Babylonia was the same culture mother-land to them as was Greece to the Romans. Thus, while a part of the country was ruled by governors, Babylon itself was never brought within the system. At first Assyrian intervention meant merely placing on the throne the Assyrian nominee. The last Tiglath Pileser began the practice of ruling Babylonia directly, but only by a personal union and that hidden by the changed name he used in official documents. But one king, Sennacherib, fairly grappled with the problem, and then only after repeated attempts to rule through a native nominee or through members of the royal house. When his own first-born was treacherously betrayed into captivity, Babylon was destroyed. A sentimental son, Esarhaddon, rebuilt it and granted almost complete autonomy, "so that a dog entering its borders should not be killed". The result of this ill-advised clemency was that Babylon succeeded Assyria. Rome was wiser when she destroyed Carthage and Corinth.

We have seen in our own day and in these very regions the revival of the Assyrian system of deportation. We have learned how terribly effective and how wasteful it all was and is. Revolt was stamped out by separating leaders and led, and by placing the former under such conditions as colonists that they secured only the hatred of the peoples among whom they were settled. Thus they were forced to look for protection to the very power which had dragged them across the empire. The Assyrian peace was indeed a very welcome change from the petty wars which were destroying the life of the east, and the Aramaean and Phoenician merchants were not slow to seize the opportunities which the Assyrian noble scorned. Thought followed trade along roads formerly taken by armies, and the deportations increased the cultural unification of the empire. For those who believe in cultural unification, the value of the system is obvious. There are those, however, who believe that smaller nations have their rights and their value to history. What would it have meant to the world, to take but a single illustration, if Ashur and the king had succeeded in reducing to a subordinate position Yahweh in his own temple at Jerusalem?

Then, too, the losses in deportation were enormous. Not all the women and children, the old men and the young, whom the sculptures show us marching into captivity, reached their goal. When mountaineers of Asia Minor were settled in the fever-laden swamps of Babylonia, few can have survived. And the deported were not the rank and file but the political leaders and the cultural as well, an Ezekiel as well as a Jehoiachin, to illustrate from the Chaldaean period. The breakdown of industry and trade, the lapsing of lands from cultivation, the loss of capital, the discouragement of further effort, all heavily discounted the Assyrian peace. Only the crushing taxation was needed to complete the dissolution of the Assyrian world.

The Chaldaeans followed the example of their Assyrian predecessors, but with the Persian Empire we have a difference. The very first ruler, Cyrus, shows in his dealings with Babylonians and Jews a desire to pacify the subject peoples, a marked toleration which was quite unlike the attitude of the Assyrians. A Darius might emphasize the supreme position of Ahuramazda, but he also cherished officially Apollo, and there was no worship of Persia and of the king. The empire was much larger, but instead of increasing the number of the provinces, their size was enlarged until some were little inferior to the old Assyrian empire in size, wealth, and population. The larger size of the provinces and the greater distance from

the capital made direct control less practicable, notwithstanding the fact that to the postal service, which had been in use since the first Semites ruled in Babylonia, Sargon and Sennacherib had added paved roads and mile-stones.

The satrap was thus not far inferior to the Assyrian king in actual power. Two systems of check were invented. One was the use of the two subordinates, reporting directly to the king and aided by the espionage so characteristic of an Oriental despotism. The other was the new principle, that subject peoples might be a formal part of the provincial organization and yet have so much local autonomy that they would prefer their chains. The best illustration we may find in the Old Testament, where Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah are virtually local dynasts and enforce their own schemes of reform. The system had its dangers, for it kept alive nationalist feelings, and a change of dynasty might allow revolt or a weak rule result in civil war, but this is only to express in other words the truism that, in an hereditary monarchy, all depends on the character of the monarch. Thanks to this toleration, Judaism, for instance, with all that it has meant to the world, was preserved, with Persian coloring, it is true, but with natural growth permitted.

To those who have thought of the empire as a despotism, there comes a shock of surprise when they find the Persians, after the Ionic revolt, actually introducing democracies into the cities of Asia Minor; still more strange does it seem that the democracies of Athens and of the other Greek city-states were pro-Persian up to the very outbreak of the Great War. This attitude cannot be explained as simply another example of the stupidity of the proletariat. Persian rule permitted the Carian kingship, the Carduchi tribal organization, the Judæan theocracy, the Phœnician aristocracy, the Ionic democracy, and this rule of the foreigner was less repellent to the democrat at Athens than was the close oligarchy of his oppressors at home. The newly risen merchant class likewise desired those commercial advantages now so largely monopolized by Phœnician and Aramaean. At the very end of Greek freedom, revived and sobered Athens was pro-Persian.

Once more we may conjecture what might have been. Would Greece as a whole have had a less full life if the city-states had become municipalities with local autonomy within the empire? The Acropolis would not have been decked with the spoils of subject city-states, but neither would the Peloponnesian War have brought Greek civilization close to ruin. The extreme democracy of Cleon probably never would have been reached but stasis would have been

checked likewise. Had the brilliant but erratic Greek genius been steadied by the empire, had the empire in turn been vivified and supported by the Greek, how different history might have been! But the gods willed otherwise, the Greeks were victorious, Persian expansion came to a sudden end. It was Rome and not Persia that Greece permeated, and by that time Greek culture had lost its pristine bloom.

Men commonly assume that the Persian empire was a failure because after a little more than two hundred years men of Persian race ceased to rule. Yet history shows no more striking case of a conquered state taking its conqueror captive, and in this case the conqueror was at least veneered with the highest culture the world had thus far seen. Alexander began as leader of a crusade against the Orient. He ended by being more Oriental than the Persians themselves. He took over, not only the royal robes, the harem and the harem exclusiveness, the satrapial system. To the royal obeisance he added a sonship of the god which the Persians had been willing to leave to Egypt and he spread it broadcast over the world. Intellectuals at Athens might still joke about Alexander being god if he wished, the masses of the Orient took it in dead earnest, and as the West came to be more and more penetrated by men of Oriental descent and by the Oriental ideas which followed their incoming, the Oriental conception of kingship followed.

Political conditions under the successors of Alexander have more in common with the days of Hammurapi or of Ramses than with those of Pericles. The theory behind the fact is also descended from the empires. From the earliest days to the present, the bulk of the land in the Near East has been in the possession of the king, of his court, or of his church establishment. These lands pay, not taxes but rent, and the king is not so much monarch as landlord. Divine right to the land, whether in the Hellenistic period or in the twentieth century after Christ, meant loss of individualism, dynastic wars, a total denial of nationalism.

None the less, nationalism of a sort persisted. Three quarters of a century after the death of Alexander, the eastern half of the empire had relapsed into Orientalism, and in another century the old culture-lands of Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Persia had followed. Astonishingly little of Greek culture was left behind. As a single illustration, we have cuneiform business documents from Uruk, one of the Babylonian city-states of former days, which date from the very end of the Seleucid period. Aside from the dating by Macedonian kings, the presence of a half-dozen Greek names,

the use of the signet seal, we might be a thousand years earlier. What was left to Macedonian or Roman sway was more thoroughly Hellenized, but how superficial this was is shown by the constant tendency to fall away to the Oriental power across the Euphrates, by the ease with which the Arabs brought about its conquest, by the fewness of the survivals in the land to-day of the once dominant foreign influence.

But while such foreign influence as we find in the Near East to-day is almost without exception modern, or at the very best medieval, the very reverse is true of the western lands. The great stream of political thinking from its source in Babylonia and Egypt passed, with many a notable change but still the same stream, through the organization of Assyria and Persia, to the writings of the Hebrews and of the later Greeks, to the practice of the Romans, through feudalism and the Holy Roman Empire alike, to the classicism of the Renaissance and the modernity of the present day. As the eagle which is the state symbol of Lagash, earliest of Babylonian states, is the direct ancestor of the birds of varied plumage and number of heads which to-day adorn the national seals, so there is a direct line of apostolic succession from the priest-god of the early Orient to the divine right of the twentieth-century rulers, from the first feeble attempt to enforce tribute from the conquered rival to our own enlightened government of dependencies.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

GREEK IMPERIALISM¹

IN acceding to the request of the chairman that I should present here in a twenty-minute paper the gist of my book on *Greek Imperialism*² I made a mental reservation, namely, that I would envisage the movement less from the standpoint of the states which aimed at dominion over others, more with the situation and sentiments of those nations in mind against which imperialism was directed. And, indeed, theirs is the cause for the righteousness of which the experience of Greece testifies. For despite the manifold shapes assumed by imperialism, and the strength of the forces tending to show that weak states were bad states, the Greek peoples persisted to the end in refusing to submit to unauthorized external authority. That end, however, was for them a great calamity—their common subjugation by Rome; but it may be fairly maintained that their earlier subjugation by one of their own kind would have been an equal calamity for them and a greater disaster for civilization.

The states which were made the objects of imperialistic experimentation in our epoch were primarily Greek in language and institutions. Only secondarily were they barbaric. We might ignore the latter altogether were it not for the rôle they played in the empires founded in Asia and Africa by Alexander and his successors. The advent of the Greeks into Greece occurred so early as to preclude our knowing anything whatsoever about their treatment of their non-Greek predecessors; and concerning the natives in Asia Minor, Italy, Thrace, Russia, Gaul, Spain, Sicily, and Libya whom the Greek colonists, on occupying their lands and harbors, overpowered or admitted into their polities, we have only a few scattered notices. It would seem that ordinarily they became completely Hellenized in so short a time that they presented substantially the same internal or domestic problem as did the Helots in Laconia, the Pelatae in Attica, and the Penestae in Thessaly. In other words, their case enters into the discussion rather of Greek democracy than of Greek imperialism. Hence it is only in the Macedonian age that the objects of Greek imperialism were not themselves in the main Greeks.

Like the mice which sprang from the soil in the Thebaid, "true

¹ [See note 1 on p. 755. Ed.]

² [Boston, 1913. See *American Historical Review*, XIX. 848. Ed.]

to their kind and capable of motion as far as the breast and the front feet, but otherwise unshapen and weighted down with their native earth", the Greek city-states kept from their origin affiliations with their parent *ethne* or tribes; and on these bases attempts were made, notably by Thebes in Boeotia, but also by Sparta among the Dorians, and Athens among the Ionians, to convert a tie of kinship into a bond of empire. But important though these inherited links between cities may have been in breaking down the idea of the complete isolation of states, they were so obviously identical with the institutions of the peoples of Greece who continued to be only half-civilized that progress seemed to demand their complete destruction. The triumph of national over ethnic claims may be said to have been decisive when colonization dotted the shores of the outer Mediterranean with Greek states unrelated to their metropolises and to one another.

It need hardly be insisted that "national" in the case of Greece means "urban", not "Hellenic"; for "Hellenic" finds its modern equivalent not in "French" or "Spanish" or "Italian" or "Portuguese" or "Rumanian", but in "Latin". Like "Teutonic" it designates a language, not a political organization, and only in a general way a race. As time elapsed and the rhapsodists carried Homer from state to state and the Sophists went everywhere as the missionaries of the New Learning and Athens became the school-mistress of Greece, the mountains which kept asunder succumbed in their age-long struggle with the sea which bound together, and "Hellenic" came to designate a culture, just as "European" does; but in no other sense.

A serious menace to national autonomy arose from the alliances or coalitions that were formed from the end of the colonizing epoch onwards. Here Sparta led the way with the formation of the Peloponnesian League in the sixth century; and the others—those centring in Athens and Thebes—followed in turn, each having mutual defense against barbarian or, what was almost the same thing, Hellenic, assailants as its justification. Ineffective without an organization, the states of each coalition recognized a leader or *hegemon* for its armed forces and at once incurred the risk of surrendering to him their liberty; and this risk was widened and augmented when the leaders—Athens, Sparta, Thebes—tried in turn to make their hegemonies universal. "Your contract with the members of your coalition", exclaims an indignant anti-imperialist in Xenophon, "contains this as its first stipulation, that they should follow whithersoever you may lead. Yet how is this compatible with autonomy?"

You make enemies without taking your allies into your counsels and lead them against them; so that frequently they are compelled—these so-called autonomous states—to march against their own best friends.”

The implication of this protest is that had their allies *been* taken into their counsels they would not have been led into distasteful wars and would not have lost their autonomy. This, however, has as its presupposition that the allies *could* all come to the same opinion as to who were and who were not their friends and foes—in other words, that they should all have in reality the same enemies. The problem, therefore, was the formation within the coalition of a united public opinion on foreign policies. Without it, taking counsel together must result either in the disruption of the coalition or in the violation of national autonomy.

Of these coalitions the most successful was beyond all doubt the Peloponnesian League under the headship of Sparta. For two centuries prior to its dismemberment by Epaminondas, despite a number of occasions when the leadership of Sparta was renounced, or the hand of Sparta was forced, by some of the confederates, it held together and acted as a unit, all the while lessening war within and attacks from without the Peloponnesus. Outside the Peloponnesus, on the other hand, the hegemony of Sparta lasted at the time of the Persian War only three, and at the end of the Peloponnesian War only ten years, on each occasion with increasing dissatisfaction. Why this unlikeness of experience? Why did the Peloponnesians willingly follow the leadership of Sparta for such a long time? Since it was not a matter of constraint the reason can only be that, taking into account the state of political development there existing, the agencies for creating public opinion in the Peloponnesian League on questions of war and peace were adequate. It was, however, the opinion alone of those who ruled the allied states that counted, and these were invariably small groups of noblemen bound to Sparta by the law of self-preservation, and to one another by community of class and culture, by intermarriages oftentimes, and the social intimacies that sprang from meeting at common festivals and games. For such groups the synod convoked at Sparta to discuss war and peace, in which each state, irrespective of size, had one vote, and whose decision was final “if there were no hindrance from gods or heroes”, afforded a sufficient opportunity for the interchange and adjustment of national viewpoints, the evaluating of arguments, and the exercise of personal influence which were essential for the attainment of a consensus of opinion or at least a willingness to abide by the decision of a majority.

In the case of the coalition of which Athens was the hegemon, the synod performed no useful function and atrophied. The states began to secede almost in the face of the enemy to combat which the confederacy had been formed; and even after Athens, itself ruled by a majority, brought it about that a sympathetic majority ruled also throughout its alliance, and freed many of its allies from bondage to their stronger associates, membership in the coalition was so generally distasteful that the hegemon was led farther and farther on the way of centralization and suppression of national rights till finally a real empire emerged, by the side of which stood as allies only three of the original confederates—Lesbos, Samos, and Chios. Athens took their lands and Athenians bought them. Athens took from them tribute and used it for her own private needs. Athens summoned them to her local courts and tried them by her *ius civile*. Athens decided questions of peace and war in her own ecclesia and led her allies into battle regardless of their inclinations. Athens denied social equality as well as political to her allies, thus degrading them to be her subjects. The result was an extraordinary intensity and fulness of public life for the Athenians, and the substitution of a municipal for a national life among their dependent allies. It may be admitted that the rule of Athens, like that of Pisistratus, was δημοτικὸν τῷ ᾗθει καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, but it was equally tyrannical in the sense of being usurped and autocratic. Citizenship in Athens was, of course, too precious to citizens and too hateful to subjects to be made joint; and the imperial government made no pretense of ascertaining the wishes of its allies in regard to war and peace, or of guiding its actions thereby.

What was there in the situation that made the procedure of Athens so unlike that of Sparta, the results so divergent? National character—conservatism and indifference on the one hand, enterprise and meddlesomeness on the other—was in each case acquired. It was the resultant of repeated actions. It is true that the Peloponnesus was a geographical unity, but so was the Aegean Archipelago, and the roads trod by the Spartan phalanx were no easier than the sea-ways followed by the Athenian battle-ships. Indeed, the greater facility of communication in the Athenian Empire is reflected in the greater centralization of administration and the greater intermingling of its economic and legal life. There were no ethnic divergences in the Aegean area that did not reappear in the Peloponnesus. What then led Athens on to tyranny, its allies to subjection?

A contemporary was unquestionably right in emphasizing the

isolation and helplessness of islanders and quasi-islanders in the face of superior naval power; and there can, indeed, be no doubt that Athens abused her opportunities. But the trouble was more deep-seated yet. With the utmost goodwill it would have been impossible for Athens to keep the Delian Confederacy to its purpose on liberal principles. The world had advanced a long step towards democracy since the formation of the Peloponnesian League. The cities with which Athens was related were governed, not by a handful of nobles, but by a large part, when not by all, of their native-born free populations, and they had become indoctrinated with the idea that the nation stood *über alles*. In these circumstances we can conceive of a league project being discussed in each national ecclesia and a decision being reached there in harmony with local sentiment and interest; but in what way were local divergences to be harmonized, eccentric local decisions to be recalled and reversed, as must inevitably be done if action were to follow upon general agreement? What at the present day enables not merely the simultaneous consideration of public problems all over a large territorial state, but the simultaneous appraisal of sectional sentiments and interests—modern communications, and the modern press—was, of course, lacking in the Aegean Archipelago at a time when the sea was abandoned for four months of every year. And there was no tolerable substitute. Delegates met in an international council could make no compromises for which their constituents were unready. The Delian synod must therefore have been a forum merely for the expression of divergences, not for their adjustment, and its atrophy is in the circumstances not surprising. To have given the delegates autocratic powers would have been in each case to surrender the foreign policy of the state not merely to a representative or two but also to the unknown demands of other states. Yet if there was one thing more than another on which democracies were at that time insistent it was that they should themselves formulate their own policies and not leave it to magistrates or others in authority to do for them. How then could they have proceeded with the settlement of international affairs on a principle which they had discarded in their domestic organization?

As things then stood democracy demanded the complete autonomy of cities, big and little; this in turn, when the foreign situation made a joint effort necessary, required a temporary coalition for a specific purpose under an hegemon whose mission ended with its accomplishment. On the other hand, safety demanded, perhaps not the degree of centralization effected by Athens, but certainly a quicker

perception of danger, better preparation and co-ordination of forces, and greater perseverance than could be counted on in a world of constantly changing coalitions.

It was not in human nature that an hegemon, possessing the power, should refrain from using it to curb democracy or autonomy in the interest of security. Hence when Sparta succeeded to the hegemony of Athens and Thebes to that of Sparta, they simply tried, as Epaminondas put it, to transfer the Propylaea to their own citadels, Thebes like Athens in defiance of autonomy, Sparta in defiance of both democracy and autonomy. Each hegemony nurtured in time its own destroyer and seemed destined to nurture it so long as international law and political science, the self-determination of nations and abstract justice alike demanded that "all Hellenic cities, great and small, should be autonomous". This meant, on the evidence of the coins, that at least 385 cities, seven federations, and thirteen *ethne* claimed their independence. Small wonder, then, that the statesmen who move across the pages of Xenophon treat the occurrence of wars as equally inevitable with the occurrence of litigation, or that the most far-seeing statesman of the age, Philip II. of Macedon, based his hegemony on a League to Enforce Peace of which each member bound himself to the following undertaking:

I will not bear arms for the purpose of injury against any of those that abide by their oaths, either by land or by sea. I will not seize with hostile intent a city or fort or harbor belonging to any of those that share in the peace, by any art or device whatsoever. I will not overthrow the kingship of Philip and his descendants (in Macedon) or the governments existing in the several states at the time when they swore the oaths regarding the peace. I will do nothing contrary to this treaty myself nor shall I permit another to do so if I can prevent it; and if any one does violate his covenants, I will give aid to those who need it according to their demand. I will make war on him who violates the general peace, according as it may be required of me and the hegemon may order.

An hegemony among democratic states, even when the Aegean Sea spread its network of highways among them, meant their conversion into sluggish democratic municipalities. An hegemony among aristocratic states, even within a compact territory like the Peloponnesus, meant the permanent suppression of liberalism. What about an hegemony on monarchical lines? That was what the Macedonian conquest of Greece entailed. Its principle—loyalty to a king as an incentive to co-operative action—admitted of an almost indefinite geographical application, and where such loyalty existed, as among the Macedonians, satisfaction resulted; but it was the satisfaction of the politically immature. Where such loyalty

did not exist, the hegemony of Macedon was even more unpalatable than the hegemony of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had been. It did not matter in what form this hegemony appeared. It might appear as the mandatory of an Hellenic league organized on a strictly representative basis, with an autocratic synod, to fulfil a great Hellenic enterprise; or as a universal monarchy masquerading as a theocracy; or as an undisguised despotism upheld by local tyrants; the hegemony of Philip, Alexander, Cassander, and Antigonos Gonatas—all uncommonly able rulers—resulted in making Greece neither more submissive nor contented. And it, too, like all earlier hegemonies, eventually created its own equipoise in the federal leagues of the Achaeans and Aetolians.

In the constitutions of these two federations is written the republican criticism of earlier coalitions. They possessed something which their forerunners had lacked and they lacked something which they had possessed. What they lacked was an hegemon, for whom an annually elected general was substituted. What they added was an international or federal assembly open to all citizens of the constituent states, at which, however, each group of nationals, irrespective of its size or the size of its state, cast one vote only. The executive was thus subject to the haphazard of a popular election, but this was probably less injurious than for it to be subject to the haphazard of heredity, as in the contemporary monarchies. The leagues did full justice to autonomy, but were they right in proposing that a handful of men in Dyme, for example, should count equally in the voting with the thousands of citizens of Argos, Sparta, or Athens? They gave full recognition to the necessity of a unified and effective public opinion, and in its interest they required that the citizens of each state, instead of determining its vote at home, should travel to the central assembly and cast it there after hearing the question discussed from all quarters; but did they not thereby, through virtually disfranchising all but the well-to-do who could afford to make the trip, make nugatory their democracy? And did they not at the same time set a rather narrow limit to the magnitude of federal leagues? Even the well-to-do could not travel *very* far to a not infrequent assembly.

From these causes the Achaean League, for example, when its supreme test came, evoked too little enthusiasm among its poor, counted among its members too few of its large neighbors, and possessed insufficient material resources, to avoid the necessity of entering, with a lot of other federations, into a coalition of leagues with first Antigonos Doson and then Philip V. of Macedon as hegemon.

It had accordingly to submit to an hegemon and entrust its diplomacy to an interfederal synod; but it was strong enough to stipulate that the synod should not be autocratic, that a league should be bound to participate in wars authorized by the synod only when it had itself ratified their declaration. And the inability thence resulting to marshal the forces of his federation of leagues against the Aetolians and the Romans crippled the military operations of Philip V.

The gist of the whole matter seems to be that the Greeks could not get along without urban autonomy, for that meant without democracy; nor with it, for that meant sooner or later its loss; but that they got along uncommonly well and far notwithstanding.

A word must suffice for the Macedonian kingdoms in Asia and Africa. By becoming gods, like Alexander, their rulers ceased to be tyrants in the law of the so-called "free" states in and about the Mediterranean, whose citizens, being Hellenes, were their most legal-minded subjects. But the legalization of a rule does not render it popular. Nor can a theocracy based upon atheism derive strength from religious fervor. Hence the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, lacking the native loyalty which upheld the Antigonids in Macedon, had nothing to fall back upon in their Greek dominions in case their soldiers, ships, and money failed them. At best they encountered acquiescence and evasion, at worst rebellion.

The two dynasties had this in common, that their barbaric subjects were in the main not the politically immature, as were the home-staying Macedonians, but the politically over-ripe—men weary of politics or indifferent to them, who sought but to enjoy the material fruits of their labors, unconcerned as to who governed them or what he demanded of them so long as he left undisturbed the priests and the shrines and the worship of the gods in whose hands they had placed all their higher hopes. They differed in this, however, that whereas the Ptolemies were content with their natives as they found them and sought simply to ingratiate themselves with them by protecting them, adjusting their disputes according to their own customs, keeping their dikes and canals in order, giving them the benefits that came from a well-managed estate, and above all by making the Egyptian religion their own and posing as incarnations of Ammon, the Seleucids labored to make the Asiatics into Europeans, and to this end they associated them with the Hellenic immigrants in newly-founded city-states of the Greek type. In the one case the land became more prosperous if not more contented; in the other it was stirred to the depths. In each, through the inclusion of Greeks and natives in the same benevolent despotism, the natives

got a chance to make contributions of decisive importance to the cosmopolitan culture of the age. At first, while the Macedonians were unconquered, while they remained imbued with a clear sense of the unrivalled superiority of their own Hellenic philosophy, science, art, and literature, and stood steadfast by their conviction that these were the highest objects of human endeavor, the natives had to give way before them, and Greek art, science, and philosophy cast their spell upon Egyptian iconography, Babylonian astrology, and Anatolian, Syrian, and Judæan theology. But after the Roman conquest, when the Greek world became helpless in the grasp of hard practical men, impatient of political discussion, contemptuous of speculation, and untrained in art, the Oriental ritual, observance, and view of life made more and more headway up the social ladder of Hellenedom, bringing its consolations to those for whom politics had lost perforce their savor.

W. S. FERGUSON.

ROMAN IMPERIALISM¹

THE aim of this paper is merely to touch lightly upon a few of the more important problems of the imperial government and administration, beginning with Julius Caesar. For comparisons between Roman and modern, particularly British, imperialism, those who are interested should consult the writings on this subject of the scholarly statesmen Bryce and Cromer.

The most illuminating fact that has come to me in recent years is that the imperial organization and administration were inherited more from the Hellenistic kingdoms than from the Republic. Hellenistic conditions found in Sicily, Macedonia, the Seleucid realm, and Egypt were perpetuated with little modification and extended in a varying degree to the remaining parts of the Empire. In other words it is a fact that the Greeks, whose political achievements we have been accustomed to belittle, created a great and essential part of the imperial fabric. In the central administration, as well as in the localities, their influence was largely determinative. In spite of endless discussion the aims of Julius Caesar have remained a riddle. The solution here offered, which seems to me to account better than any other for his actions, is that he considered himself a successor to Alexander the Great. This character appears clearly in the prospective conqueror of the Parthian realm, who would have made the great bulk of the Empire Oriental, and have reduced the portion west of the Adriatic to an insignificant, and perhaps temporary, appendage. The form of state and government toward which he was visibly, and perhaps deliberately, moving was the Hellenistic, which obliterated nationality and the sentiment of patriotism, substituting for them business principles in the dealings of the absolute monarch with his high officials, and imposing upon the masses with his pretense of divinity.

Caesar's assassination was but a part of the inevitable failure of this scheme. Its collapse was due mainly to the impossibility of creating a Hellenistic officialdom of such material as could then be found in and about Rome. Octavian, his heir, early discovered the mistake and, to correct it, reverted at once to the republican idea of an empire governed by the Italian nationality. Religion, literature,

¹ [See note 1 on p. 755. The untimely death of Professor Botsford has deprived the paper of the benefit of any possible revision on his part. Ed.]

art, legislation, and all other possible means were resorted to for creating the moral and patriotic spirit necessary for the task. The legionaries who protected the Empire were to be Roman citizens; and the high military and civil officials were to be drawn from the republican aristocracy. But the Italian nationality was too decadent, and the high society of the capital too ease-loving, dissipated, and demoralized to assure the complete success of the plan. It was certainly due to his effort, maintained by his faithful follower Tiberius, that through all the vicissitudes of the centuries to come there survived the one precious feeling that the state was a commonwealth—*Res Publica*—the inalienable possession of every freeman in the Roman world. Claudius was the first to break with the Augustan national policy. This lopsided eccentric creature was the greatest creative statesman between Augustus and Hadrian. It was not so much himself as his Greek freedmen who in his name abandoned the Augustan tradition and set up a movement definitely in a Hellenistic direction. This policy included (1) the beginning of a great civil service which enabled the government gradually to assume many new functions, and (2) the rapid political assimilation of the provincials to Rome. His successors continued the policy till the goal was finally reached by Diocletian. The late Empire was thoroughly Hellenistic in its administrative machinery and oppressive taxes, in its denationalized population and the substitution of monarch-worship for genuine patriotism.

The motives to the building up of the Empire, as set forth some time ago in this association, were various, but among the most powerful was the predatory interest, the plundering of subject countries of their wealth and their treasures of art. From the conquest the administration inherited its predatory motive. Governors plundered; Verres, less an exception than a type, would scarcely have been known had it not been for Cicero. The tax-gatherers extorted more than their due. Under the protection of Rome swarms of usurers spread over the provinces like hungry leeches, to suck the blood of the innocent. Exceptional was the just governor like the elder Cato, or the humanitarian governor like Cicero.

Those portions only, as the Nearer Orient, which produced luxuries for the Roman market, and received rich compensation for their tribute, in an unending shower of gold and silver, profited by the Empire, felt a keen interest in the prosperity of the City, and bewailed aloud her burning in the principate of Nero.²

² Revelation xviii. 11-19.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth their merchandise any more,

12. The merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones and of pearls and fine linen and purple and silk and scarlet and all sweet wood and all manner vessels of ivory and all manner vessels of most precious wood and of brass and iron and marble,

13. And cinnamon and odours and ointments and frankincense, and wine and oil and fine flour and wheat and beasts and sheep and horses and chariots and slaves and souls of men.

14. And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15. The merchants of these things which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing,

16. And saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen and purple and scarlet and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls!

17. For in one hour so great riches is come to naught; and every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,

18. And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city!

19. And they cast dust on their heads and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

Little of the wealth extracted from the subject countries ever returned by way of imperial improvements. The provinces were the estates of the Roman people—*praedia*, which the school-boy happily translated *prey*. The benefits of protection and peace were largely counterbalanced by the desolating civil wars which raged for many years of the later Republic over the greater part of the Empire.

The principes changed this policy to one of improvement. It was a more prudent, a longer-headed, selfishness, from which developed a benevolent paternalism. In the words of Tiberius: "A shepherd shears his sheep but does not flay them." The shepherd sympathizes with his fellow-creatures. Many a princeps was more appreciated by his provincial subjects than by the historian at Rome; and in fact those who are canonically listed as vicious were often best-willed toward the provincials. Such was Nero, whose accession was announced in Egypt in the following terms:³

The Caesar who had to pay his debt to his ancestors, god manifest, has joined them, and the expectation and hope of the world has been declared autocrator, the good genius of the world and source of all good things, Nero, has been declared Caesar. Therefore ought we all,

³ *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VII., no. 1021.

wearing garlands and with sacrifices of oxen, to give thanks to all the gods.

The first year of the autocrat Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the 21st of the month Neos Sebastos. [A.D. 54.]

In his principate the provincial concilia through honoring or accusing their governors were exercising a growing influence at Rome. And he in part fulfilled the promise through his attention to removing the abuses of tax-farming and through the increased power of the provincial concilia at Rome.

Hadrian and the Antonines were "fathers" of their people. But it was a long way between the princes at Rome and the peasants of Asia Minor in Syria or Egypt. Few of those who were subject to extortion and violence at the hands of local dynasts, travelling soldiers, or imperial officers and agents, dared lift up their voices in prayer to the divine emperor at Rome, and few perhaps of the written petitions ever reached him; but the reply to every prayer received, no matter what the character of the princeps, whether a Hadrian or a Caracalla or Philip the ex-bandit, was one assuring rescue, including a command to the local authorities to investigate and redress. Little came of these assurances, however, for the princeps was at the mercy of the administrative machine; and the problem of giving justice to the subjects failed.

The sum of all imperial problems was the protection of the world's civilization from external enemies and internal decay. The decline of ancient civilization signifies that the problem was too great or the capability of Rome too limited for the task. Many are the causes of decline alleged by the moderns; and far too often the investigator or the thinker has displayed an inordinate jealousy in behalf of his own contribution to the list. "You are all wrong", each one exclaims, "my horse is the only genuine hobby"; and soon the junk-yard is filled with mutually broken "one and onlies". It is reasonable, however, that, as many forms contributed to the up-building of civilization, so too its decline must have been due to the co-operation of various disintegrating movements. All the alleged causes may in a varying degree be true, only let their claims be less intolerant and exclusive. Here two or three of the more prominent suggestions may be considered.

Exhaustion of the soil: Undoubtedly this holds true of vast areas throughout the Empire. But the ancient agriculturists understood well the means of keeping up the soil, and were acquainted even with artificial fertilizers. While acting as a disintegrating force, soil-exhaustion was the result of a deeper cause, of a material force or psychological condition, which led farmers to neglect the up-keep of their holdings.

The degradation of the *coloni* to the condition of serfs: This was perhaps the most characteristic symptom of the decline. It undoubtedly served as a cause but just as surely it demands explanation; for certainly the emperors did not for their own pleasure reduce rural laborers *en masse* to serfdom, but were driven to it by hard necessity. The colonate, quite as much as soil-exhaustion, proceeded from a more fundamental source.

One of the more fundamental causes was urbanization deliberately pursued by the imperial administration as its most effective means of assimilating and of governing subject populations. The natives were attracted to the city by its beauties and pleasures, its theatres, gladiatorial shows, and wine-shops. In this way the fields were robbed of their cultivators and the city population, in lack of sufficient industries for their profitable employment, became a host of parasites, a dead weight upon the creative and sustaining energies of the Empire.

Lack of industry is an even more telling fact. The ancients had a few simple mechanical devices, such as sails for their ships, horse-power for grinding some of their grain, and the water-mill, which they were more inclined to disuse than to develop. In contrast with present conditions, however, we can say that the inhabitants of the Roman world were machineless, that everything required had to be done by hand with the aid of domestic animals. What this meant for the Empire can only be appreciated by imagining what the United States would be, or necessarily become, if we Americans were reduced to the machineless condition of the ancient world.

For the maintenance of the military force, the expensive administrative system, and the hosts of semi-parasites, for the building and repair of fortifications and roads, and of the splendid structures in all the cities, a proportionally greater demand was made upon the laborers than had been necessary in the petty states of earlier time. Our first intimate acquaintance with the Roman world shows us that the Empire was not wealthy and prosperous, but poor; and the more we study the society and economy of the localities, the more the evidence accumulates before our eyes.

Augustus certainly could have raised a sufficient number of troops, with the concomitant supplies, for the conquest of Germany to the Elbe—no serious student of Roman history ever doubted that; but in the end, if not from the beginning, he concluded that, in the units of value with which he reckoned, it would not pay. A vast expenditure of lives and money in such an object ran contrary to his policy of devoting all possible resources to the repair of dam-

ages caused by the devastating civil wars. The conquest of Britain was little or no economic gain to the Empire;⁴ the Danubian provinces and other vast areas cost more to govern and protect than they were economically worth.

As everything had to be done by hand, with the aid of work-animals, the margin between production and consumption even in prosperous seasons was extremely narrow. Agriculture was the principal source of gain; and we can see the imperial procurators painfully striving to increase the area of productive lands, as the province of Africa in the time of Vespasian and his immediate successors. This is a leading object of the *Lex Manciana* drawn up by order of the princeps, probably Vespasian. Such measures seem to have succeeded in increasing the productivity of the Empire, but only for a time. The height of prosperity on the imperial domains of Africa was evidently reached shortly after Vespasian, but it was soon passed and the decline had set in before Hadrian; for the chief concern of the *Lex Hadriana* is not so much the reclaiming of waste lands as of lands once cultivated but abandoned. There are reasons for believing that the change for the worse which took place in Africa about A. D. 100 was typical for a large part of the Empire.

The desertion of farms, however, was no novel phenomenon. It was active in Sicily under the late Republic, and the cause was not soil-exhaustion but the extortions of the governor Verres and his gang of leeches. Under the principate and Empire the desertions continued. They were due in part to the attractions of the cities or of the free bandit life of mountain or border. We know too that in many instances they were caused by oppression. The predatory motive of the administration survived from the Republic, and attained to a new vigor with the development of a complicated machinery of government. Where Bryce says, that the peasants of the Empire were "exempt from all exactions, save those of the tax-gatherer",⁵ he is far from the facts. Lacking adequate compensation for expenses, travelling soldiers and officials quartered themselves on the inhabitants along their various ways, and levied upon men and work-animals for the transportation of their goods. These burdens were the more galling as they were capriciously levied, and as the helpless peasants were exposed in the process to all manner of illegal extortion and brutal violence. Behind this omnipresent grinding was not only the inherent greed of bureaucrats, but with the diminishing productivity of the Empire an ever-growing need of money and supplies, a hunger that never could be satisfied.

⁴ Cf. Appian, Preface, 5.

⁵ Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, p. 20.

The condition above described was intensified by depopulation due to the ravages of pestilence, to the great mortality of cities under imperfect sanitation, and the existence of conditions in city and country which discouraged marriage and the rearing of families.

Possibly with greater intelligence something might have been devised to lessen the fundamental evil; but the most deplorable accompaniment and cause of decline was steady, irresistible dwindling of knowledge and mentality. In pre-Roman times the Greek republics and local dynasts, whether tyrants or kings, encouraged art, literature, and science to such an extent that the civilized world was thickly dotted over with intellectual centres. The Roman conquest destroyed the greater part of this intellectual life, for example at Tarentum, Syracuse, and Pergamum; and the Roman administration repressed and discouraged the little that survived. In the absence of an extensive reading public authorship cannot thrive without the patronage of the wealthy. The imperial government refused patronage to local talent and, after Augustus, gave little aid to the promotion of literature and intelligence in the capital. The founding of an occasional library, or the endowment of a chair of rhetoric, was a poor substitute for the whole-souled co-operation formerly given by the Republic. Imperial negligence was attended and reinforced by an almost Egyptian-like conservatism, an adoration of the wisdom of past ages, so that authors almost ceased to collect new facts by observation but limited themselves substantially to the study of old books. Short-cuts to knowledge became the vogue. Compendia of science and epitomes of historians made the originals unnecessary, so that they were not perpetuated. From the very beginning of Roman rule many who were inclined by nature and taste to a literary or intellectual career devoted themselves instead to money-making. The Empire therefore lacked the knowledge and the intellectual power necessary for the solving of its problems. A machine like the water-mill, instead of developing, was disused. Skilled work became crude and finally barbarous; and in proportion to the increase of ignorance and barbarism the products of the Empire declined in both quantity and quality.

GEORGE W. BOTSFORD.

THE EARLY SPANISH COLONIAL EXCHEQUER

WHETHER the vast colonial lands delivered to Spain by the happy accident of the voyage of Columbus were, in the ultimate analysis, a blessing or a curse to the monarchy is still a debatable question. Castilian writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries loved to dilate upon the territorial extent, the diversity of climate, of flora and fauna, and the unexampled mineral riches of the empire beyond the seas. Catalogues of bishoprics, archbishoprics, and patriarchates, of hospitals, convents, and colleges, served to illustrate the great missionary achievements of the race; while the splendor of viceregal courts and the lavishness of public celebrations reflected the wealth and elegance of Spanish colonial society. But already by the time of Philip III. a few farseeing Spaniards must have been conscious that this was perhaps only one-half the story. The mother country, with her immense American resources, was yet growing steadily weaker, declining in both wealth and population. This may have been in part the consequence of Hapsburg imperialism, of a religious and political foreign policy out of all proportion to the needs and the powers of the nation. But might not the Indies themselves, by their very richness and attractiveness, have contributed to the same result? That the colonies drew from the peninsula many of its most enterprising and adventurous sons could admit of no doubt. But was not this emigration an important cause of the relative depopulation of Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? It is a thesis which has yet to be proved. On the other hand, it is clear enough to-day that the revenues from American mines proved to be one of the nation's greatest misfortunes. Spaniards, consistently with the bullionist theories then current, thought of securing the precious metals to the exclusion of all else; yet complained of the rise in prices which decay of industry coupled with the increase of money brought in their train. The prejudice against manual labor and the mechanic arts, inherited from the military age of crusade against the Moors, was only accentuated, and idleness and an unpractical vanity became in the eyes of visiting foreigners the distinctive traits of the Spanish people.

In the sixteenth century, however, as the Hapsburgs accepted more and more seriously the rôle of champions of Roman Catholicism, with the fatal financial burden it involved, the income from

the Western Indies was the hope, and indeed the salvation, of Hapsburg policy. Under Charles V. this revenue was comparatively small and increased only by slow degrees. In 1516, the year of accession to his Spanish inheritance, it amounted to about 35,000 ducats. In 1518 it was 122,000, but dropped as low as 6,000 in 1521, when the emperor was entering upon his interminable wars with France. In 1538, a very unusual year owing to the return of the first of the great treasure-fleets, the receipts of the treasurer of the Casa de Contratación rose to 980,000 ducats; but the average during this decade and the following was about 165,000. Only after 1550, when the emperor's career was approaching its melancholy twilight, did this average income swell to a million ducats, *i. e.* to a sum equal to that which he drew annually from his possessions in the Low Countries.¹ During the next half-century, in the long and disastrous reign of his son Philip, it increased gradually to between two and three millions.

From the first, taxation in the Indies was not light, though always mild compared with that endured by the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula. New settlers were generally exempted for a period of years, frequently twenty, from the more usual Castilian taxes, except the ecclesiastical tithe.² Queen Isabella, in secret instructions to the governor of Hispaniola in March, 1503, inquired whether it would be feasible to put a tax on gold bullion, on sales, tillage, grazing, and fishing, or port dues on the lading and unlading of ships. So far as we know, none of these expedients were resorted to. The supplying of salt, however, was already farmed out as a monopoly; and from the life-time of Columbus the colonists on Hispaniola were made to pay a duty (*almojarifazgo*) of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross valuation of goods imported from Europe, while the authorities were sometimes permitted to levy a temporary assessment on foodstuffs (the *sisá*) to meet the expense of Indian wars or other special local needs. All treasure-trove, jewels, and ornaments from native graves and shrines, belonged in theory to the king; but in America the Crown chose to forego this right in consideration of a faithful registry of the treasure discovered and the payment of three-fifths into

¹ Archivo de Indias, 2.3.1/2; 2.3.2/3; 2.3.4/5; 2.3.6/7; 2.3.7/8; 2.3.9/10; 39.2.1/8; 39.3.3/1; 39.2.2/9. Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie*, ed. of 1877, p. 271.

² Colonists accompanying Pedrarias Dávila to the isthmus of Darién in 1513 were relieved from the payment of customs for four years, and for twenty years from all other imposts except the tithe and the royal fifth of gold, silver, and precious stones. Similar privileges had been conceded to the original Spanish settlement on Hispaniola, and in 1513 were renewed for thirty years. *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXXIX. 299; 2nd ser., IX. 4.

the royal exchequer.³ Of the slaves and booty captured in war, no contemptible item in the conquest of Mexico and Peru, a fifth also went to the Crown. On some of the West Indian islands, as also in New Spain, the Crown seems to have exploited cattle-ranches till well into the second half of the sixteenth century, and the profits from them form a regular item in the annual receipts of the local treasury; but they probably never exceeded a few thousand *pesos* a year, and are negligible as a contribution to the king's revenues.

By law all mines within the territories of the Crown were included among the *regalia*. In 1501 Ferdinand and Isabella forbade anyone to seek or work mines in the New World without their express permission. Within three years this consent had been extended generally to all colonists except royal officials, provided they first registered their claims before the governor and the officers of the exchequer, and swore to bring all their bullion to the royal smelter to be assayed and taxed. Not till 1584 did the Crown decree that in the future mines were to be held in full ownership by those who discovered them. On the other hand, it had always required large royalties for the privilege of developing mines, and these royalties continued to be exacted to the end of Spanish domination in America. Rarely did the king exploit mines on his own account, the only notable exception being that of the famous quicksilver deposit of Huancavelica in Peru. If an individual discovered a mine on land belonging to another, a part of the mine was by law given to the owner of the property. So too, after the early period of conquest and settlement, when the distinction between royal and private lands came to be more clearly conceived, of new mines found on the royal domain a certain number of square yards were reserved to the Crown.⁴ But there seems never to have been any general attempt to work these claims in the interest of the government. They were probably rented, or disposed of by sale or gift to the discoverers or to other private individuals.

In Castile during the Middle Ages the royalty on bullion had been two-thirds; but to hasten the exploitation of the mineral resources of the new lands, which to the Spaniards meant only gold

³ According to Castilian law, the discoverer of hidden treasure was allowed by royal grace a fourth of his find. Solórzano, *Polit. Ind.*, lib. VI., cap. 4.

⁴ In such cases sixty yards (*varas*) of the claim went to the discoverer; the next sixty, in the direction of the vein as attested under oath by the discoverer, to the king; and another sixty to the discoverer, if he owned no mine within a league of the spot. If he possessed other mines, the last sixty went to any individual who first staked his claim. Leon Pinelo, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales*, etc. (Madrid, 1630), parte II., cap. 23, par. 31 ff.

and silver, this percentage was quickly reduced. Between 1500 and 1504, in response to petitions from the settlers on Hispaniola, it was lowered successively to one-half, one-third, and one-fifth. This royal fifth, the *quinto* of Spanish American treasury records, was established for ten years by a decree of February 5, 1504, and remained till the eighteenth century the general law for all the Indies. Further reductions, to one-tenth and even one-twelfth, were made from time to time, in regions like Central America and the West Indian islands, where the mines or gold-washings were poor or the operating costs very high. The *quinto* remained the most lucrative source of the moneys drawn annually by the Spanish kings from their American possessions. In theory applicable to all minerals, it was never collected on any but gold, silver, mercury, and precious stones. Pearls gathered in the fisheries on the southern coasts of the Caribbean and about the islands near the city of Panama also paid a fifth to the Crown.

The customs duty of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in colonial ports continued to be levied till 1543, when the rate was reduced to 5 per cent. At the same time, however, export and import duties were established in Andalusia on goods sent to and from the New World. Till then the American trade at Seville had been free. Thereafter the customary *almojarifazgo* was collected of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on exports and 5 per cent. on imports. This involved a new burden on American commodities, while the charge on European goods remained the same, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. being now collected in Spain and 5 per cent. in the Indies. Inter-colonial maritime trade in local products also paid customs at the Sevillian rates, and European articles reshipped from one colonial port to another were assessed upon any increase in value accruing thereby. In 1566 the exigencies of royal finance were the excuse for another change in colonial customs. Duties on the west-bound traffic were doubled, to 5 and 10 per cent. respectively, and an export duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was levied in American ports upon articles shipped to Spain. On this basis *almojarifazgo* continued to be collected till the second half of the seventeenth century. The assessment on imports in the Indies was based, not on the schedule of values employed at Seville, but upon prices in the American market at the time when payment was made. These were generally very much higher, often by several hundred per cent.

A source of royal income peculiar to the Indies was the tribute of the natives, an annual payment owed to the king in token of his overlordship, or to Spaniards (*encomenderos*) to whom the Crown granted the privilege of enjoying this revenue. It was in form a

personal or capitation tax, *i. e.* a fixed amount paid by every adult male Indian regardless of his property or other resources. It was analogous to the *moneda forera* and similar medieval dues paid by peasants in Castile. The amount of the tribute varied according to the custom of the province, was sometimes exacted entirely in silver, but more generally in money and such produce as the region most readily afforded. In Peru just after the conquest, and probably in the West Indies, it frequently took the form of personal service, and even after such service was forbidden by the Crown, the practice was doubtless in many cases continued.⁵ This is not, however, to be confused with the *mita*.

Royal tribute was imposed on the unfortunate natives of Hispaniola as early as Columbus's second visit there, and in 1509 seems to have been a *castellano* of gold ($13\frac{1}{4}$ *reals* in later colonial currency), collected from all the aborigines whether held in *encomienda* or not.⁶ What the Spanish settlers might exact in addition was left to their merciful discretion. On the continent all the tribute belonged to the *encomendero*, and eventually by law or custom was limited in quantity. It was first reduced to a regular schedule in Peru by the great viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, who to this end visited personally all parts of his government, and whose *Libro de Tasas* became the model for later colonial legislation on the subject. In Mexico this same service was largely accomplished during the administration of Sebastian Ramírez de Fuenleal, president of the royal *audiencia* in 1531-1535, and of his successor the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza.⁷ There all married males paid, including the sons of negro fathers and Indian mothers, and unmarried after the age of twenty-five. In some provinces women and young unmarried men were also subject to the tax, at least to half the amount owed by the adult male. Men ceased to be liable at the age of fifty-five, women at the age of fifty.⁸ The tributary age began in Peru at eighteen and ended at fifty, but all women, in theory at least, were exempt. Immunity was also everywhere enjoyed by the native chieftains or caciques, in their quality as nobles, and by their eldest sons.

The revenues of the king from this source came mostly from the natives on the estates which had escheated to the Crown (after 1552 *encomiendas* might be held for two lives only), and had not again been alienated. They are called in exchequer records the

⁵ Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, cap. 16.

⁶ Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. I., lib. 7, cap. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, dec. IV., lib. 9, cap. 14.

⁸ Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. II., cap. 20.

tributos vacos. In Peru in the seventeenth century it became customary for the Crown to retain permanently a third of the estates which thus reverted to it. A schedule of what was due from each pueblo was supposed to be kept in a book apart (*libro de tasaciones*), one copy of which was preserved in the archives of the *audiencia*, and another in the coffer which held the king's moneys. The tribute was collected every four or six months by the *corregidores* or the ordinary justices, the produce sold at public auction by the royal factor connected with the local exchequer office, and the proceeds deposited with the colonial treasurer.

Pope Alexander VI., moved by petitions from the Catholic Kings to contribute to the cost of secular and religious conquest, granted to them and their successors, by a bull of December 16, 1501, all the ecclesiastical tithes in the Indies; but at the same time he imposed on the Spanish crown the responsibility for preaching and propagating the Christian faith among the Indians, founding and endowing churches, and supplying them with a competent ministry.⁹ As in other Christian lands, the tithe was gathered on all fruits of the earth, grain, cotton, sugar, silk, flax, garden-truck, etc., as well as on livestock and dairy products. It was collected from both royal and private lands, and on Indian tribute. Gold and silver bullion, of which the *quinto* went to the king, was never subject to this second tax; nor was a personal tithe exacted, *i. e.* from the wages of man's industry and labor, although the clergy in some regions tried hard to introduce it.

Whether the natives ought to pay tithes or not, in addition to their tribute, was a burning question among ecclesiastical and civil lawyers throughout the sixteenth century. The attitude of the Crown seems to have been a variable one. Ferdinand and Isabella in 1501 directed the new governor of Hispaniola, Nicolás de Ovando, to have both Indians and Spaniards pay, but on most parts of the continent the natives from the beginning apparently were exempt. In 1536, however, according to Solórzano, the emperor ordered the tithing of the Indians in New Spain, at least on wheat, barley, silk, and cattle, to the production of which evidently they chiefly devoted themselves. Attempts to extend the rule elsewhere were not successful, and in spite of the violent opposition of the churchmen the decree was repealed for New Spain in 1555.¹⁰ In general it may be said that the natives were exempt from the direct tithe, except in certain districts, notably the archbishopric of Lima,

⁹ Solórzano, lib. IV., cap. 1; *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXXIV. 22.

¹⁰ Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. II., cap. 22.

and there it was deducted from the tribute owed to the king or to the *encomendero*.

Although by the concession of Alexander VI. ecclesiastical tithes in America became, as it were, one of the regalia of the Crown, the greater part of this income was devoted to the Church, for its extension and maintenance. It was the rule from the time of Charles V. that the tithes be divided into two equal parts. Of one part, half went to the bishop of the diocese, half to the dean and chapter of the cathedral. The other was in turn divided into nine parts, of which two were set aside for the royal exchequer. The remaining seven were applied, four to the parish clergy, and three to hospitals and to the repair of churches. Thus in reality only one-ninth of the proceeds of the tithes accrued to the Crown, and that was generally expended in pious works and the support of schools and universities. Moreover, if the tithes were insufficient to meet the fixed charges of the diocese, the deficit was made up out of the royal treasury. At first their collection was in the hands of the treasury officials, and as a rule it continued so in the situation just cited; but if the tithes more than covered all charges, the collection was given over to the ecclesiastical authorities themselves.

Probably the first of the more customary Spanish imposts, apart from tithes and customs duties, to be collected in the New World, was the queerest of all Spanish taxes, the *cruzada*. Bulls of crusade, *i. e.* indulgences sold to provide funds for the wars against the infidel, are believed to date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when they were granted by the Pope to the Christians of Spain in their struggle against the Moors. In the sixteenth century, after the last Moorish stronghold, Granada, had fallen, the proceeds of such indulgences continued to be conceded by various popes to the Spanish kings, generally for periods of six years. The clause was always retained that the tax, for such in effect it became, must be employed in the exaltation and extension of the Holy Catholic Faith, a pretext which might find some justification in the Hapsburg wars against heretics and Turks. Just how early the *cruzada* came to be preached in the colonies is not clear. It is commonly said that the papal concession was extended from Spain to the Indies by Gregory XIII. in 1573.¹¹ However, there exist in the archives at Simancas records of the collection of this tax in South America and the West Indies extending back as far as 1535, and in the ledgers of the colonial treasurers of New Spain, preserved

¹¹ *Ibid.*, lib. IV., cap. 25; *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XVIII. 397.

in Seville, receipts from this source as far back as 1539-1544.¹² Probably before 1573 the bulls were preached under the general concession extended to the dominions of the Spanish crown, and only after that date did the Pope specify in particular the American colonies. As a rule, at least toward the end of the sixteenth century, negroes, Indians, and others of the humbler sort paid two silver *reals* for the indulgences offered, although the law (1543) forbade the bulls to be preached in Indian pueblos or forcibly imposed on the natives. Other Spanish subjects paid eight *reals*, while royal and ecclesiastical officials and those who possessed *encomiendas* of Indians were assessed sixteen.¹³ The bulls were published in America every other year, brought in a considerable revenue, and continued to be imposed till the separation of the colonists from the mother country in the nineteenth century.

The *alcabala*, another characteristic Castilian tax (in Spain 10 per cent. or more of the value of all sales and exchanges), was not introduced into the Indies till near the close of the sixteenth century. Ferdinand and Isabella, in March, 1503, had ordered Governor Ovando to report on the ability of the settlers on Hispaniola to pay such an impost; but so far as we know no further action was then taken. And invariably freedom for a term of years from the *alcabala* was included among the privileges conceded to newly founded colonies. Such an exemption was enjoyed by New Spain immediately after its conquest, and when the first viceroy, Mendoza, went out in 1535, he was instructed to negotiate with the colonists for the collection of an *alcabala*, to aid the emperor in his wars against the Turks.¹⁴ Extension of the tax to New Spain was actually decreed in 1558,¹⁵ but presumably the ordinance was not enforced; and ten years later, when Francisco de Toledo was preparing to go to Peru, a *junta* at Madrid decided that he should make efforts to collect it there. In every instance the colonial authorities were induced by the strength of the local opposition to suppress the king's commands. The tax was finally introduced into New Spain in 1574-1575, and into Guatemala a year later.¹⁶ It was not estab-

¹² Simancas, Contaduría de Cruzada, leg. 554; Archivo de Indias, 4.1.4/22, ramo 1.

¹³ According to Nuñez de Castro (*Solo Madrid es Corte*, p. 224 ff), archbishops, bishops, and abbots paid 32 *reals*, or four *pesos*, for the privileges vouchsafed by these bulls of crusade.

¹⁴ Archivo de Indias, 139.1.1, lib. 1.

¹⁵ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 19,375, f. 27.

¹⁶ Owing to the inaction or passive resistance of the local authorities, it was not collected in Guatemala till 1602. Milla and Gómez Carillo, *Historia de la América Central*, II. 228.

lished in Peru till 1591, when in the province of Quito it almost caused a revolution. The rate in the colonies was fixed at two per cent. and remained at that figure till 1637, when it was doubled in the northern viceroyalty to provide 200,000 *pesos* a year for the maintenance of a fleet of coast-guard vessels called the Armada de Barlovento, to pursue and destroy the pirates from the Windward Islands. As in Spain, the *alcabala* was usually compounded for a lump sum by the principal municipalities, and, paid in this fashion, generally amounted to less than would have been represented by the full legal rate. In the seventeenth century (1627) there was an additional tax on sales of two per cent., called the *derecho de union de armas*, intended to furnish 600,000 ducats a year for the support of a fleet of galleons to protect the trans-Atlantic trade-routes.

Laws in the *Recopilación* governing the administration of the *alcabala* were many in number and minute in detail. *Encomenderos*, planters, and ranchers sent every four months to the collector a sworn statement of the nature and value of the product they had disposed of by sale or barter, for cash or credit, within that time; and in the towns and cities wholesale merchants, and retailers with a fixed place of business, did the same. On the basis of these figures the collector issued warrants for the payment of the tax. Itinerant merchants had to report every sale and pay the two per cent. on the same or the following day, and the buyers were likewise expected to give word to the collector. This rule of notification within twenty-four hours applied also to brokers, through whose hands passed any taxable transaction, and to town criers, who must report every public sale they were called upon to announce. Apothecaries, wine-sellers, and saddlers made their payments weekly. Many articles, however, were not liable, such as bread, horses, coin, bullion, books, manuscripts, arms, and falcons. Inheritances and bequests, goods bought or sold on the account of the *cruzada*, or by churches, monasteries, prelates or lesser clerics not for gain, articles sold retail in the streets and markets to the poor and way-faring, and grain disposed of from the public granaries, were also exempt. The collectors submitted their books annually to the royal treasury officials, and if, as sometimes happened, they were not actually in residence in the town to which they were appointed, settled their accounts every four months.¹⁷

One of the most pernicious of the financial expedients adopted by the Hapsburgs in America was the sale of public offices. Frowned upon in Spain by the Catholic Kings, it was resorted to by Philip II.

¹⁷ *Recop.*, lib. VIII., tit. 13.

at the outset of his reign, in a vain effort to lift his kingdom out of the financial demoralization in which it had been left by his father. It was almost immediately extended to the colonies. At first only the office of notary (*escribano*) was sold, both that of the ordinary notary public, and of the scriveners attached to the various government councils and tribunals; but before the end of the century the system was applied to most municipal offices, and to numerous posts connected with the royal mints, the exchequer, and the courts of law. These offices till 1581 were sold by the Crown for one life only. After 1581 they might be disposed of by the incumbent for a second life, provided that one-third of the value was paid to the Crown, that the second purchaser had the qualifications necessary for exercising the office, and that within three years formal confirmation was secured from the king.¹⁸ But it was evidently intended that the sale must be a bona-fide one during the lifetime of the original proprietor, for a decree six years later stated that the latter had to live at least thirty days after the sale, else it was invalid and the disposition of the office reverted to the government. As offices in Spain, however, were held in perpetuity, with the privilege of re-sale at any time, and as the king believed such an arrangement to be to his financial advantage, he soon proposed establishing the same rule in America, and finally instituted the change in 1606. We find it repeated in numerous *cédulas* that these government posts need not necessarily go to the highest bidder, but that the fitness of the would-be purchaser should be taken into account as well as the interests of the exchequer. As minor offices in the colonies were sold under the direction of the viceroys or *audiencias*, this furnished an obvious loophole by which unscrupulous executives might provide comfortable berths for their friends and dependents.¹⁹

Numerous minor sources of revenue, most of them tapped before

¹⁸ Leon Pinelo, *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales*, etc., lib. II., caps. 1, 2; Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. VI., cap. 13.

¹⁹ In this connection may be mentioned two other methods adopted by the Crown in the seventeenth century for extracting money from public office-holders both in Spain and in the colonies. These were the *mesada* and the *media anata*, both doubtless suggested by the medieval papal annates. The *mesada* was conceded to Philip IV. in 1626 by Pope Urban VIII. for a period of fifteen years, and renewed by Innocent X. in 1644. It was a payment representing a month's income of every newly-presented ecclesiastical officer, from the archbishop to the simple curate, and was calculated on the basis of the average annual value of the benefice during the five years preceding. It was also collected from secular officials until the establishment of the *media anata* in 1632. The latter was one-half of the first year's salary and other emoluments of every public secular office or dignity, whether permanent or temporary. Together they comprised a lucrative source of revenue.

the close of the sixteenth century, call for but brief mention. Among such were the government monopolies of playing-cards, pepper, stamped paper, etc.; a head-tax on negro slaves imported from Africa; a payment in the form of a composition from wine-shops (*pulperías*) over and above the number officially assigned for the supply of each district; judicial fines and confiscations; and a tax of two per cent. on wine produced contrary to law and sold in the viceroyalty of Peru. Government monopolies seem generally to have been more a cause of irritation to the inhabitants than of profit to the exchequer. About 1575, for example, the Crown decided to take over the exploitation of salt-mines and salt-pans in New Spain and Peru. The scheme received a fair trial in the northern viceroyalty, where the supplying of salt was farmed at a considerable figure; but in the south it was declared to be impracticable, and early in the following century was definitely abandoned. Even in Mexico, however, there were many complaints. If the monopoly was administered by a farmer, the supply was scant and the price high; if by public officials, the costs of operation were greater than the profits. At the same time the natives were deprived of what had been one of their means of livelihood, while the silver miners, who used salt in the process of extracting silver from the ore, found themselves handicapped under the new arrangement. After 1556, when the amalgamation of metalliferous ores was introduced into the New World, the Crown also reserved to itself the export and sale of quicksilver, and although it was pretended that the miners secured it practically at cost, as a matter of fact the king always made an excellent profit.

There was an extraordinary expedient to which the king might resort in time of great financial need, in the shape of what in Tudor and Stuart England were called "benevolences". As no legislative assemblies resembling the Castilian Cortes were permitted to develop in the colonies, there was no machinery for obtaining a regular *servicio* or subsidy. But the Crown found means of bringing pressure to bear upon individuals to contribute to its necessities. As early as 1501, Ferdinand directed Governor Ovando when he arrived at Hispaniola to secure from the inhabitants of the struggling, nine-years-old colony a voluntary gift of this sort,²⁰ and the demand was repeated with increasing frequency in later reigns, if not for a gift, at least for a loan. In 1509 Gil González Dávila, sent out to Hispaniola to audit the accounts of the colonial officials, was instructed also to raise a loan for the king, and Diego Columbus, then

²⁰ *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXX, 13.

governor, was ordered to do all in his power to make the effort a success. As the islands declined in population and wealth, in competition with the more alluring prospects on the mainland, they became less and less able to meet requests of this nature. In 1530 Manuel de Rojas wrote to the emperor from Cuba, excusing himself from sending the thousand *pesos* which had been required of him, but remitting 400, which he himself had had to borrow. Other letters of a similar tenor flowed into the Spanish court. Juan Barba wrote to the queen regretting that he could not lend the 300 *pesos* asked for, and complaining that, although he was one of the original *conquistadores*, he had no *encomienda* of Indians and the governor treated him with neglect. The treasurer of the colony wrote in the same strain, while the governor, Gonzalo de Guzman, to whom fell the responsibility and the odium of enforcing the loan, regretted that for his part he was not in a position to remit more than 500 *pesos*. But in the island as a whole, he concluded, there was "great zeal for spending and little diligence in saving".²¹

To the richer provinces on the continent the Crown was much more importunate, and expected from them a more liberal response. Philip II., immediately after his elevation to the throne, lost no time in summoning his American viceroys to find a subsidy in recognition of the auspicious event.²² In 1574 he ordered the royal authorities in Peru to negotiate for a gift to the Crown, or if his loyal and faithful subjects and vassals showed a disinclination to give, which he believed impossible, at least a loan of money and plate would not be unacceptable.²³ By 1598 the king's tone had become truly abject. Instead of demand or regal request, there was apology and even supplication. Philip III. needed a "*donativo y empréstito*" to assist him out of his financial straits and obligations, enable him to retain control of the seas, and maintain the peace, security, and prosperity of his colonies. He began with the president and judges of the *audiencia*, urging them to set a good example of liberality, and ended with the *pueblos* of the Indians.²⁴ Indeed, the natives were perhaps more apt to be mulcted than the king's white subjects. Back in 1530 Dr. Beltran, member of the Council of the Indies, had written a memorial suggesting that from every American Indian held in commendation be collected a head-tax of a *peso* of gold a year to the Crown, to help defray the expenses of the wars with the Turk in the Mediterranean; and two years later the emperor ad-

²¹ *Colecc. de Doc.*, 2nd ser., IV. 449 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, 1st ser., IV. 403.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1st ser., XVIII. 110.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 456 ff.

dressed a personal appeal to the "caciques y demas vasallos ricos" of New Spain for a donative to this same end.²⁵ In 1591, after the disaster of the Great Armada, the Spanish government, in seeking resources with which to rebuild the Atlantic fleet, imposed on the natives of New Granada, Tierra Firme, and Peru an additional tribute equal to one-fifth of what they already owed their *encomenderos*. It was intended to be a temporary measure, was removed in Peru in 1598, in the lowlands of New Granada in 1614, and according to the Laws of the Indies it was still collected in 1681.²⁶ The Indians of New Spain and Guatemala were also assessed, at the rate of four *reals* a year. It is possible that it was for this same reason that in 1591 the Crown insisted upon the collection of the *alcabala* in the southern viceroyalty.

The Spanish crown, unfortunately, did not stop at requests for gifts and loans. It acquired the insidious habit, initiated by Charles V., of seizing the gold and silver bullion remitted from the colonies to Spain by merchants and other private individuals, giving in exchange annuities (*juros*) bearing from three to six per cent. and generally charged upon some one or other of the regular sources of revenue. This practice reached gigantic proportions. Already in 1523, 300,000 ducats were sequestered, all the gold and silver that came on five vessels from the Indies; and in 1535, 800,000 out of the private treasure sent from Peru, most of it, doubtless, remittances from the followers of Pizarro. Six hundred thousand ducats were confiscated in 1553, and in the winter of 1556-1557, just at the outset of Philip II.'s reign, the unprecedented sum of 1,600,000, bringing disaster to the merchant houses interested in the American trade. In the seventeenth century such forced loans continued to be frequent, amounting in 1629 and again in 1649 to a million ducats.

The Crown also frequently took advantage of the presence in the Casa de Contratación at Seville of the funds called *bienes de difuntos*. These represented the property of intestates, and others who died without heirs in the colonies, or on the voyage to or from the colonies. The estates were wound up by royal officers appointed for the purpose, and the proceeds forwarded to Spain, where advertisement was made for known or unknown heirs. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the sums remitted on this account were very great, and, owing to the tardiness of claimants in appearing, accumulated in huge amounts at Seville, offering an ir-

²⁵ Archivo de Indias, Patronato, 2.2.1/1, nos. 40, 50.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 140.3.9, año 1610; *Recop.*, lib. VI., tit. 5, ley 17.

resistible temptation to the Crown. Borrowings from the *bienes de difuntos* became so extensive that men in the Indies preferred to leave their estates to trustees with instructions to transmit to the heirs in Europe, or the latter to collect by their own agents, rather than entrust legacies to the medium officially established for this business. The Crown in the seventeenth century sometimes offered interest at ten per cent., and even the salaries of the members of the Council of the Indies as security, but did not succeed in restoring confidence.²⁷

The organization of the exchequer in the Indies was comparatively simple, and remained till the eighteenth century virtually unchanged. The collection of all revenues except the *crusada* was in charge of individuals styled specifically the royal officials—*oficiales reales*. In the beginning there were four in each colony, a treasurer, a comptroller (*contador*), a factor, and a *veedor*. Solórzano says that these offices were created in imitation of others connected with the custom-houses of Aragon, but the titles had formerly been attached to the king's fiscal representatives on the royal *armadas*.²⁸ The duties of treasurer and comptroller are fairly obvious. The factor or business manager was the active agent in the collection and expending of the revenues; he also disposed of the tribute in kind received from the natives, made purchases for the authorities, and in general attended to any commercial transactions in which the king's moneys were involved. The *veedor* was overseer of the exchequer's interests at the mines and assay offices where the bullion was refined and the *quinto* subtracted therefrom.²⁹ Later the office of *veedor* generally disappeared from the exchequer staff, and in many places that of factor also. But there was always a treasurer and a comptroller in the capital of every province, with deputies at the principal seaports, and if the province was very extensive, in the outlying, frontier towns as well.³⁰ For some of the taxes, such as the *alcabala*, a special collector was appointed in every local district. In the beginning judicial proceedings instituted by the exchequer

²⁷ Veitia Linaje, *Norte de la Contratación de las Indias*, lib. I., cap. 12.

²⁸ Solórzano, *op. cit.*, lib. VI., cap. 15.

²⁹ Instructions to Miguel de Pasamonte, treasurer general in the Indies, June, 1508; *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXXVI. 235. To Gil González Dávila, comptroller of Hispaniola, July, 1511; *ibid.*, 2nd ser., V. 287. To Juan de Ampíes, factor of Hispaniola, October, 1511; *ibid.*, p. 336. To Rodrigo de Villarroel, *veedor* of Cuba, May, 1516; *ibid.*, I. 60. To Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, treasurer of Cuba, August, 1520; *ibid.*, I. 99. "Ordenanzas para el buen recaudo de la real hacienda en Indias", issued by Prince Philip, May, 1554; *ibid.*, 1st ser., XII. 142.

³⁰ Encinas, *Provisiones, Cédulas*, etc., lib. I., c. 29.

had to be pursued by the factor before the ordinary justices; but in the reign of Philip II. the *oficiales reales* were given judicial functions with cognizance in the first instance of all fiscal suits, appeal lying directly to the local *audiencia*.

Officers with duties so important for the continued prosperity and security of the state, combining in themselves both administrative and judicial powers, should obviously be selected with the greatest care and diligence. Their places, however, like most others in the Indies, were before the end of the sixteenth century disposed of by sale to the highest bidder, and the incumbents frequently possessed few or none of the requisite qualifications. Indeed through their incapacity, ignorance, or speculation, the Crown must have lost many times more than it gained from the sale of the places themselves. Treasury officials had to furnish bond for themselves and their deputies, and any one of them or his surety might be held responsible in full for the default of any of his associates. They were forbidden to engage in trade, fit out ships, or exploit mines, directly or through the intermediary of others, on pain of loss of office and forfeiture of their property; and after 1582 they might not marry the daughter, sister, or any other relative within the fourth degree, of officials in their district connected with the exchequer. They had also, at least from the time of Philip IV., to present an inventory of all their property, real and personal, when they entered upon their duties; for the law presumed, and not without cause, that if they subsequently grew rich it was at the prince's expense.

Till 1621 the *oficiales reales* possessed the right to sit and vote as *regidores* or aldermen in the *cabildos* of the towns in which they resided; after that date they retained only the titles and honors which went with such a position. On the other hand, they might not be compelled to accept local offices, such as that of *alcalde* or of *corregidor*, whose duties would interfere with their proper functions as members of the king's exchequer.

Questions of general policy affecting the exchequer were discussed in each province by a *junta* meeting one day in the week, and composed of the viceroy or governor, the *oficiales reales*, the senior judge of the *audiencia*, and the *fiscal* or attorney-general. After 1605 there was also added the senior auditor of the tribunal of accounts. The custom was first introduced in Peru by Pedro de la Gasca in 1549,³¹ after the pacification of that region, and proved so satisfactory that it was soon applied also to New Spain. Extra-

³¹ *Colecc. de Doc.*, 1st ser., XXV, 50.

ordinary expenditures not specifically provided for in the instructions to viceroys and governors had to be referred to Madrid for approval before action might be taken, a course which always involved long delays and often endless red tape. In matters requiring immediate decision some of the earlier viceroys had been allowed to take the initiative, merely communicating their action to their subordinates and to the Crown. But from 1563 such questions had to be settled by majority vote in a general *acuerdo* or administrative session of the *audiencia*, the *oficiales reales* taking part, and a full report afterwards sent to the king of the circumstances and the amount expended.

Royal orders and decrees prescribed with great particularity the form in which the accounts and other records of the *oficiales reales* were to be kept. Every entry in the books of the treasurer and comptroller had to be attested by the signature of all three officials; every deposit of money in the royal coffers had to be made in the presence of the three; and the coffers themselves were provided with three different locks, the keys being distributed among the *oficiales*. If there were only two of the latter, the governor or the *corregidor* of the district generally possessed one of the keys.³² All public acts and communications had also to be signed by the three together. In the early colonial ledgers that have come down to us, we find first the receipts (*cargo*) entered in chronological order, the figures all in Roman numerals, and each item carefully detailed as to its precise character. In the expenditures (*datta*) the items are usually more numerous, many of them of small amount and entries of similar nature frequently repeated, *e. g.* pensions, quarterly salaries, gratuities to monasteries or individual clerics, etc.

The *cruzada*, though most of it ultimately reached the royal coffers, was always an ecclesiastical tax and collected and administered by churchmen. In charge was a commissioner-general at Madrid, who appointed deputies (*comisarios generales subdelegados*) to the principal cities of the Indies. These in turn chose subdelegates for each of the smaller towns and districts, and treasurers to receive the proceeds of the indulgences and remit them each year to Spain. The *subdelegados* were usually members of the cathedral clergy, had supervision of the preaching of the bulls, and possessed judicial cognizance of all matters touching the business. From them there was an appeal to tribunals in the capital cities, and finally to Madrid.

³² These *cajas reales* were usually kept in the royal smeltery and assay office (*casa de fundición*), if there happened to be one, and at least one of the royal officials was supposed to reside there.

The Crown was naturally concerned that those who represented its financial interests in the New World should be subject to a strict and regular audit. From the early days of the Casa de Contratación, officers on Hispaniola and neighboring islands were instructed to send reports of receipts and expenditures to that body; and the Casa to keep a copy of such records in a separate book apart. Among the "New Laws" issued by Charles V. in 1542-1543 was one directing the *oficiales reales* to transmit at the end of each year a general statement of the figures for each branch of the revenue, and a full and detailed report at the expiration of every three years. The duty of taking these accounts was in 1554 imposed upon the president and two judges of the *audiencia*, or if there was no local *audiencia* upon the governor assisted by two of the *regidores*. The task had to be finished within two months after the New Year, the treasury officials losing their salaries for any time elapsing thereafter; and copies were remitted by the *audiencia* to the Casa at Seville, their final destination being the Council of the Indies. Deficiencies in the amounts found deposited in the coffers were to be made up within three days of the completion of the accounts, on pain of loss of office.

The foregoing rules, however, were evidently not enforced, for in spite of reiterated orders and instructions there was plenty of laxity in the form and in the transmission of colonial ledgers. Audits were not taken regularly, and if taken were not honest. It was probably this situation, coupled with the increasing wealth and population of the trans-Atlantic provinces, their distance from the metropolis, and the difficulty of bringing guilty officers to justice, that prompted the innovations of a half-century later. Till 1605 the India Council had remained the final court of audit, where all the *oficiales reales* received their quittance. In that year three tribunals of accounts were erected in the New World, one at Mexico City for the viceroyalty of New Spain, one at Lima for the provinces of Peru, and a third at Santa Fé de Bogotá for the kingdom of New Granada. There was also a special *contador de cuentas* at Havana for the West Indian islands, and another at Carácas for the region of Venezuela. These tribunals were entirely independent of the *audiencias* and other local authorities, they were empowered to review all public accounts, and from their decision there was no appeal, even to the Council at Madrid. They transmitted to the Council, however, an annual report, together with duplicates of all the papers they audited. They acted as a judicial court in matters touching their particular sphere, three judges of the *audiencia* and the *fiscal*

being associated with them on such occasions. To them the *oficiales reales* had to send reports every six months, and a complete statement each year with the original warrants and other papers, and if these were four months overdue the auditors might despatch an agent to get them at the *oficiales'* expense.

In most of the provinces the examination and adjustment of the treasury books had fallen so far behind that even when Solórzano was writing in 1635 the tribunals had not succeeded in catching up, although the number of auditors had from time to time been considerably augmented. And some of the colonies, like the Philip-pines, Guatemala, and Chile, were so distant from the headquarters of the tribunals that it was deemed advisable to allow them to audit their own accounts as before, and send them either to Mexico and Lima, or, as originally, to the Council of the Indies. Solórzano, who as a former judge of the Lima *audiencia* reveals a natural jealousy of the independence and widespread activities of these courts, gives the impression that they had done little to improve the general situation, and that the auditors were too much concerned about their social privileges and rights of precedence, and too little about the faithful and prompt execution of their arduous duties. This is a criticism that might easily be applied to all branches of administration in the Indies. Certain it is, however, that disorders and irregularities of every sort continued in the collection and husbanding of the royal revenues, and that a large percentage of the king's financial resources in his colonies was diverted to private hands.

The supreme control, next to that of the king, in the organization, extension, and governance of the colonial exchequer, as in every other department of American government, lay with the Council of the Indies. An effort was made in 1559 to incorporate the colonial treasury with that of Castile by subjecting it to the Council of the Hacienda. But while this centralized the administration in Spain, it set up in the Indies two co-ordinate and mutually jealous powers, an arrangement which proved so inconvenient that it was abrogated in 1562. The India Council met at least one day in each week to discuss questions of financial policy and make appointments to treasury offices, and when occasion warranted two members of the Council of the Hacienda might be called in to assist. The moneys from America were deposited at Seville with the treasurer of the Casa de Contratación, and were subject to draft by the Hacienda with the approval of the Council of the Indies.

C. H. HARING.

INTERPRETATIONS OF RECENT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN GERMANY

I.

IN concluding a brief analysis of the physical features of Germany, Werner Sombart gives vigorous expression to the convictions that dominate most Germanic interpretation of recent economic development. "This consideration", he says,

like so many others, will doubtless strengthen the conviction that the physical features of a country can influence the development of social life only to a limited extent, and that the actual determinants of social growth are to be found in other factors. Is it not in fact astonishing, that a country like our beloved homeland—poor, despite the mediocre deposits of coal, iron, and potash¹—should have given rise to a powerful state, whose position in the council of nations is notable, and whose recent development in wealth is envied of all? And that there should have grown up in the midst of the sandy wastes [of the Spree] a city which already begins to surpass the old capitals of Europe in wealth and activity, even if it does not yet surpass them in beauty and "*kultur*"? It captures the imagination to see such power come forth from natural resources so limited. I like to think of the well-known poster, made by Suetterlin for the Industrial Exhibition at Berlin in 1896, as the symbol of this new and powerful Germany—the muscular giant hand that breaks through the barren sands and swings the titan's hammer up towards heaven. For the hand of man has, as it were, created this great empire out of nothing—the hand guided by human intelligence.²

One must confess that this is an unusually thoroughgoing application of the doctrine of the will to power in the economic field, but it is none the less a characteristic interpretation of this recent growth in Germany. The parenthetical contempt poured out upon the mineral resources of the country is hardly consistent with many statistical analyses that have wide currency, and the inclusion of the potash deposits in the list seems to indicate that the author is carried away by the fervor of his rhetoric. With the exception of the potash, Veblen makes a comparable statement about the resources of Germany. "Beyond this [potash] Germany does not count even as second best in any of the resources on which modern industry

¹ The original is somewhat stronger in expression, "*ein Paar Kohlen, Eisenerz*", etc.

² W. Sombart, *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft im 19ten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1909), p. 105.

draws."³ The implications are therefore inevitable. The cunning of reason and the craft of the statesman have accomplished for Germany much that would be denied to her if purely natural forces had been the primary determinant of social growth.

The assumption that inferior resources can be given more than their "natural" significance by the arts of statecraft is definitely opposed to the tendencies of thought that have dominated the interpretation of economic history. It is to be hoped that economic history will ever avoid the excesses of a mechanically materialistic interpretation of social growth, but it would seem that one must put out to sea without chart or compass if one abandons the principle that economic growth is limited by natural resources. This is not a doctrine of rigid determinism, for natural resources may assume widely different degrees of significance under changing conditions of technique. There is a reaction between men and their environment in economic concerns that is no less significant than the reactions between biological organisms and their environment. Environment is characteristically a limiting factor, and although a particular society may fail to accomplish all that would be within the limits of the physical potentialities of the environment, it seems unscientific to assert that the will of man can make a powerful empire out of nothing. Students of economic history in France and England have endeavored to retain a doctrine of natural law that should form the basis for a scientific study of both theory and history. The German historical school has looked askance at the theory of natural law and at times perchance exaggerated the empirical element in historical development, but on this particular issue the leader of the historical school is explicit. In his general treatise Schmoller says:

All these episodes show that the higher life of mankind is a conquest of nature by the mind. But they also show that man ever remains a parasite of earth, capable of great achievements only by adaptation, and by seeking out the most favorable places. Man does not emancipate himself from nature by his achievement of higher culture and technique, but becomes more closely bound to nature, ruling her through an understanding of her laws and nevertheless subject to these laws and to the limitations which they impose.⁴

Sombart's characterization of the resources of Germany, above, is of fundamental importance, for quantitative details are involved as well as scientific principles. The history of the iron and steel trade in the last half of the nineteenth century has been dominated

³ T. Veblen, *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, p. 174.

⁴ G. Schmoller, *Grundriss der Volkswirtschaft* (Leipzig, 1900), I, 138.

by the development of two great deposits of ore: the Lake Superior deposits in the United States, and the Lorraine deposits in Luxemburg, France, and Germany. The remarkable extent of these great deposits is indicated by the following table.

TABLE I.

*Proportions of Ore Production in the Lake Superior and Lorraine Fields to the Total Product in each Country.*⁵

Country	Year	Per cent. of total	Field
United States.....	1909	79.2	Lake Superior
Germany.....	1907	77.8	Lorraine
France.....	1908	88.0	Lorraine
Great Britain.....	1905	43.0	Cleveland

The figures for the Cleveland deposits of Great Britain have been included to indicate the reliance of that country upon a great number of deposits, no one of which occupies a commanding position. The influence of the Lake Superior and Lorraine deposits upon the production of pig iron may be studied in the following table.

TABLE II.

*Production of Pig Iron in 1911.*⁶

Country.	Metric tons (thousands).	Per cent. of total.
Germany (inc. Luxemburg)	15,574	24.31
France	4,470	7.00
United States	24,028	37.64
United Kingdom	9,700	15.23
Austria-Hungary	2,159	3.38
Russia	3,593	5.64
Italy	303	.47
Spain	409	.64
Belgium	2,106	3.30
Sweden	634	.99
Canada	832	1.30
Japan	64	.10
Totals	63,872	100.00

Germany and France produce thirty-one per cent. of the total product. The United States produces thirty-seven per cent. of the total. About eighty per cent. of these totals in the three countries is produced in the two great ore-fields, so that more than half (about fifty-four per cent.) of the total output of iron ore comes from these

⁵ *Iron Ore Resources of the World* (Inquiry of Eleventh International Geological Congress, 1910). I. 5; II. 624, 630, 672, 756.

⁶ *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1915), p. 36*, table 25.

two deposits. It can easily be shown that the change in the position of the iron industry of Great Britain since 1880, both relatively and absolutely, has been primarily an outcome of the opening up of these great deposits. The Lake Superior ores began to be utilized about 1880. The Lorraine ores were well known, but could not be utilized to any appreciable extent until the process of Thomas and Gilchrist made it possible to apply the Bessemer process to ores containing considerable percentages of phosphorus. The first Thomas and Gilchrist patents were taken out in 1878, and the process was perfected and made commercially available about 1881, so that both fields were brought into the market at practically the same time. The basic process had been devised with reference to the Cleveland ores, but from the standpoint of international competition it was harmful rather than advantageous to England.

The Lorraine ores are relatively poor in the technical sense, containing only thirty per cent. of metallic iron. At present, however, there are very few deposits of ore in Europe that contain much more than fifty per cent. of iron. In the United States the ore deposits are richer and the great extent of fifty per cent. ore in the Lake Superior region makes engineers in this country relatively indifferent to lower grade ores. They tend to think of the lower grade ores as a potential resource only. The Lorraine ores are thus "poor" in the absolute sense, and likely to be exhausted within a measurable period, but it is none the less true that this supply "is the basis of a tremendous modern development, both in Germany, in France, and in Belgium, overshadowing in importance and interest any other movement in the European iron industry".⁷

About half the resources now available in Lorraine lie within the boundaries of France. These resources were late in being developed, as they lie at considerable depth, whereas the ore-beds worked in Luxemburg and Germany outcrop and are handled by surface workings. It was long supposed that the deep-bedded ores of the basin of Briey (French) could not be profitably worked, but the energy of the French engineers has resulted since 1902 in a notable development in that basin, which in 1908 produced fifty-two per cent. of the total for French Lorraine. Except for this basin of Briey, the problem of utilizing the Lorraine ores was substantially similar to the problem faced in this country by those who undertook the exploitation of the ores of the Lake Superior region. In both cases the ores were far distant from any significant supply of fuel. This created difficulties that are real, and it would be ungracious as

⁷ C. W. H. Kirchoff, *Letters to the Iron Age* (New York, 1900), p. 11.

well as unjust to endeavor in any way to minimize the achievements of the men who brought these ores into practical commercial use. The mechanical facilities for transportation in each case required many innovations, and profitable reduction of the ores required many economies in production. At the same time, it is impossible to overlook the relation of the achievements to the physical quantities of ore available. There would seem to be legitimate grounds for presuming that the quantitative achievements, both in Germany and in the United States, reflect rather the character of the resources than either the merits or the defects of general state policy. Legislative and administrative policy has not been devoid of significance, but it would scarcely seem justifiable to seek a connection between the quantitative results and legislative policies. Policies have affected the incomes of producers and the prices paid by consumers. Tariffs and other forms of state interference may have hastened development, but these matters were not really involved in the issue suggested by Sombart and Veblen.

Veblen's thesis that the Germans are peculiarly apt at utilizing foreign inventions and ideas would seem to be illustrated by the fact that the basic process of steel manufacture invented by Thomas and Gilchrist has been more significantly exploited by Germany than by England. The invention, though used, in England has not resulted in any increase of the gross output of pig iron, whereas the production of Germany has increased nearly four-fold, from 4,937,000 metric tons in 1892 to 17,617,000 metric tons in 1912. It may be that such a growth is a reflection of peculiar capacity in the utilization of ideas, and yet it would seem simpler to explain the difference in results by reference to the character of the natural resources of the different countries. If the ore reserves of the Lorraine fields made available by this process were more than three times as great as the entire available reserves of Great Britain, it is well within reason to conclude that the introduction of such a process would have more significance in Germany than it could have in Great Britain, where the process was significant chiefly in the Cleveland district, which produces only about forty per cent. of the ore produced in Great Britain.

All attempts to estimate the ore reserves are subject to a variety of elements of error, and though great care was taken in the preparation of the reports and summaries on which the following table was based there must still be some qualification suggested. However, these figures represent the best effort that can be made, and, if not regarded as minutely accurate, are of real significance.

TABLE III.

Ore Reserves of the Principal European Countries.

Country	Ore, metric tons (thousands)	Per cent. of total Ore	Metallic Iron, metric tons (thousands)	Per cent. of total Iron
Germany.....	3,607	29.92	1,270	26.84
Luxemburg.....	270	2.24	90	1.90
France.....	3,300	27.43	1,140	24.10
(Total Lorraine).....			[1,850]	[39.10]
Great Britain.....	1,300	10.81	455	9.61
Spain.....	711	5.91	349	7.37
Sweden.....	1,158	9.62	740	15.64
Russia (Europe).....	864	7.18	387	8.18
Other countries omitted				
Total.....	12,031		4,732	

These figures would certainly explain the change in England's position as a producer of pig iron, and the transformations of her metal industries that have been an outgrowth of this relative diminution of pig iron production. The possibilities of securing ore and iron from Spain and Sweden are of course significant, but there is some loss of competitive power.

II.

A somewhat different phase of the tendency to emphasize purely human factors in German development appears in Naumann's recent book *Central Europe* (pp. 112-123, *passim*). "Something developed" in north and middle Germany, says Neumann,

which in the course of time was to outdistance in method and efficiency the already existing capitalistic civilizations of earlier growth; a homely skill in the popular ability to transform dreamers into workers by the aid of letters and memory exercises. Thus, there grew up unconsciously and involuntarily the basal form of the second period of capitalism: a mechanism of work based on trained and educated workers. The capitalist employer of the earlier period developed, as Sombart shows us, in Upper and Central Italy, France, London, and Amsterdam and only came thence, like some foreign imported skill, to the Central European regions beyond. This capitalist finds and creates the chief centre of his world in London. From his standpoint there, at the height of his power, he threatens the type of capitalism that will succeed him: the new, more impersonal group-form of the new working humanity which began as individualist. . . .

We have found a method of work in which now and for a long time to come no other European nation can imitate us, and which consequently the others do not regard as fair. It is this to which we have referred as the transition to the impersonal capitalism of the second stage, a process which with us has demanded about a century and a half of work and education. . . .

⁸ *Iron Ore Resources of the World* (Inquiry of the Eleventh International Geological Congress, 1910), I. xxi, xxv.

This new German type is incomprehensible to the individualist nations, to whom he appears partly as a relapse into past times of constraint, and partly as an artificial product of coercion that belies and overcomes humanity. . . . And thus there grows up from all sides a State or national socialism, there grows up the "systematized national economy". . . . The German is at last becoming heart and soul a political economic citizen. His ideal is and will be the organism and not free will, reason and not blind struggle for existence. This constitutes our freedom, our self-development. By its means we shall enjoy our golden age as the other conquering nations in other ages and with other abilities have done before us. Our epoch dawns when English capitalism has reached and overstepped its highest point, and we have been educated for this epoch by Frederick II., Kant, Scharnhorst, Siemens, Krupp, Bismarck, Bebel, Legien, Kirdorff, and Ballin.

It will be observed that Naumann's thesis is distinctly different from that of Veblen. It is admitted that there was some attempt to copy the capitalistic system of England, but this imitation was soon given up and a definitely original method of industrial and agrarian organization was built up on a German foundation that reaches back at least to the time of Frederick the Great. Naumann seeks the explanation of German progress in the forms of business organization, rather than in either temper and character or physical resources. This designation of German methods as a new kind of capitalism tends, however, to exaggerate the differences between forms of business organization in Germany and in other countries. It is not to be denied that there are differences, but they are differences of degree, not of kind. In state policy substantive differences are slight: there is still much of mercantilism in the policies of Great Britain and France, though these elements are not as frankly recognized as in Germany, nor as energetically defended. An apologetic attitude is apparent in non-German countries. We regard these survivals as a concession to the needs of practical politics, and some are perhaps beginning to believe that the earlier Liberal theories were guilty of some exaggeration. But Naumann's thesis does really turn on matters of general state policy; there is, indeed, an allusion to the social legislation in behalf of working men, but insurance legislation has ceased to be a distinctively German experiment.

The notion of there being a new kind of capitalism is very nearly, if not quite, original with Naumann. He refers to Sombart as if this notion were an integral part of Sombart's analysis of the growth of capitalism, but the reference is not justified by Sombart's major writings, or other works of his available to the present writer. This new kind of capitalism seems to be distinguished by its imperson-

ality, its size, or the presence of elements of co-operation. None of these features are peculiarly German. The precise forms assumed by big business differ somewhat in the various countries, but in all cases there is much of that impersonality which Naumann finds so significant, and, though the legal forms are different and the government's policy more favorable, the large corporations in Germany are not significantly bigger than in Great Britain and the United States. Co-operation certainly cannot be deemed a peculiarly Germanic development. The successes in co-operation have been in different fields in the various countries, but there have been successes in all countries. It is not yet clear that co-operation can more than supplement the other modes of commercial and productive organization: it is barely possible that it is a mode of organization that will supplant the existing order, but the number of those who cherish such a belief is steadily diminishing.

These statements of Naumann, like the somewhat different statements of Sombart and Veblen, would seem to be guilty of much rhetorical exaggeration. The views expressed are not in accord with the special writing on the subjects involved; even German writers do not defend such theses. The critical literature does not divide into such sharply defined schools of thought.

III.

The danger of seeking an explanation of economic conditions in the character of the physical resources and their relation to the technique of the period lies in the temptation to forget that the character of technique is no less important than the resources. Attribution of importance to physical resources is likely to be converted into rigid determinism; but economic history is without meaning unless explanations can be found for the great changes in the economic equilibrium, and no principles of interpretation can have any value that cannot afford a significant account of the changes that take place.

No physical features are of absolute importance. Their economic significance is wholly dependent upon the technique of the age: including in technique, processes of production, facilities for transportation and communication, and perhaps in some measure modes of economic and social organization. The changes in economic importance that occurred during the Middle Ages were largely due to changes in trade-routes. The profound changes that began in the eighteenth century were due more particularly to changes in processes of production and transportation. The changes

in methods of navigation which opened the oceans to extensive commerce towards the close of the fifteenth century, together with political changes in the Near East, resulted in the decay of Mediterranean commerce. The Italian towns ceased to prosper. Southern Germany was affected. Spain, Portugal, France, and England were favored by the change. The great export industry of the medieval and early modern period was the woolen industry. It is favored by an equable and humid climate, like that of northern England and the Flemish industrial district, now divided between France and Belgium. During this early period, too, the existence of an agricultural surplus was of prime importance. Cheap food is always an advantage, and at that time few districts could secure cheap food by importation. The principal industrial districts were thus the regions of great fertility which could produce a supply of food considerably beyond the requirements of the agricultural laborers. The very poor districts were also dependent upon some industrial work, but in such cases the industrial output was really a by-product produced during the months that were not devoted to agricultural labor. Industrial development was thus primarily determined or limited by the agricultural resources of the region. France and the Low Countries were therefore the most prosperous districts of Europe during the medieval period. The more fertile sections of England developed notable industries in the course of that period, and in Germany industrial prosperity likewise went hand in hand with agricultural wealth. On the whole, however, Germany was less prosperous than her neighbors.

An equilibrium became established, during the Middle Ages, on this basis, disturbed from time to time by some of the capricious developments of commerce in Spain and Portugal, but never entirely overthrown. Not until the movement of the Industrial Revolution in England had made signal progress was this general balance of economic and political factors entirely destroyed. The modifications of industrial and commercial technique completely altered every important aspect of the earlier economic equilibrium. The woolen industries were profoundly affected by the rapid development of the cotton industry. The phrase "Cotton is King", so frequently applied to our Southern agrarian economy, was no less true of the entire textile trade. This change upset completely all the established conditions in the textile districts of Europe. Improvements in transportation introduced the possibility of importing food on a large scale from great distances, so that the location of industrial districts was no longer primarily determined by agri-

rian conditions. Climate and power became the factors of primary significance. In a few instances this has involved no change. The industrial districts of Belgium and northern France are sufficiently favored by climate and provided with adequate fuel, so that the district still remains important. The rise of other districts has impaired the relative standing of this old textile region. The changes were of great significance to England, whose mineral resources and climate were well adapted to the new technique, so that a marked development of the textile industries was possible.

The transformation of the metal industries, however, has exerted a deeper influence upon the general balance of power and prosperity. Absence of statistics makes it impossible accurately to measure the relative importance of the different industrial groups before 1700, but it would seem safe to say that on the whole the metal group occupied a distinctly inferior position. Even in the mid-nineteenth century its position was relatively low, despite some growth under the stimulus of the earlier improvements in technique. The occupational enumerations for Great Britain and Prussia in 1851 and 1855 show clearly the comparative importance of the textile group. In Great Britain 35.7 per cent. of the persons engaged in industry were employed in the textile group; in Prussia, 34.4 per cent.

TABLE IV.

Occupational Groupings in England and Prussia, 1851 and 1855.⁹

Group	England, 1851		Prussia, 1855	
	Thousands of Persons	Per cent. of total	Thousands of Persons	Per cent. of total
Textiles and clothing	1,720	35.78	417	34.41
Food	378	7.86	81	6.68
Mines	355	7.38		
Leather	332	6.90	173	14.27
Metals	322	6.70	113	9.32
Clay, stone, etc. (building inc.)	287	5.97	113	9.32
Wood-working	166	3.45	191	15.77
Paper and printing	50	1.04		
Chemicals	30	.62		
All other occupations	1,168	24.29	124	10.23
Totals	4 808	100.00	1,212	100.00

It is quite probable that the rapid development of the cotton industry more than kept pace with the expansion of the metal industry, so that the proportions indicated in 1851 and 1855 are roughly

⁹ The figures for England are from the *Census* for 1851, II. c. The figures for Prussia are from Dieterici, *Statistik des Preussischen Staats* (Berlin, 1861), p. 400. The figures have been arranged, as nearly as may be, in the forms of classification followed at the close of the century.

indicative of the general situation prior to the change. At all events, it would seem highly improbable that the textile group should have constituted much more than thirty-five per cent. of the total industrial population at any time, and the general references of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would be consistent with that degree of preponderance over the other industries.¹⁰ The relatively high position of the leather and wood-working groups in Germany is striking. They employed 14 per cent. and 15 per cent. of the total number of persons, and this is in many respects characteristic of the relations among the different industries in the earlier period. Although the figures do not cover the whole territory of the present German Empire they include so many of the notable industrial districts that the general results must be fairly typical.

At the close of the century the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution are clearly apparent.

TABLE V.

*Occupational Groupings in the United Kingdom, 1907.*¹¹

Group	Cost of Materials (millions of pounds sterling)	Net Output	Per cent. of total Output	No. of Persons (thousands)	Per cent. of total Persons
Food, drink, and tobacco.....	197	89.5	12.51	463	6.64
Textiles and clothing.....	293	141.9	19.95	2,009	28.79
All metals.....	293	164.8	23.16	1,653	23.67
Timber.....	24	21.4	3.02	239	3.42
Leather, canvas, and India-rubber.....	26	8.6	1.22	84	1.20
Paper and printing.....	26	33.6	4.73	325	4.65
Chemicals.....	53	21.5	3.03	127	1.82
Clay, stone, and building.....	49	60.4	8.49	725	10.40
Mines and quarries.....	28	119.5	16.80	965	13.83
Miscellaneous.....	3	4.4	.63	46	.65
Public utilities.....	30	45.9	6.46	342	4.90
	1,028	712.1	100.00	6,984	100.00

In the United Kingdom, in Germany, and in the United States the metal industries have acquired substantially co-ordinate importance with the textile and clothing group. In the United States the metal groups lead the textiles by a considerable margin, especially in respect to the value of the product. In the United Kingdom and in Germany the textiles still lead by a narrow margin. The

¹⁰ Occupational groupings in France and in British India afford further evidence to support this conclusion.

¹¹ Census of Production, Final Figures, 1912-1913, in *Parl. Papers*, 1912-1913, LXI. 21. [Cd. 6320.]

TABLE VI.

*Occupational Groupings in Germany, 1907.*¹²

Group.	Thousands of Persons.	Per cent. of total.
Foods	1,239	11.14
Textiles and clothing	2,393	21.53
All metals	2,057	18.50
Lumber	864	7.76
Leather	206	1.84
Paper and printing	438	3.93
Chemicals	172	1.54
Stone, clay, and building	2,333	21.00
Mining	860	7.72
Cleaning	254	2.27
Gardening, breeding, and fishing	154	1.37
Art work, music, and theatre	157	1.40
	11,095	100.00

TABLE VII.

*Occupational Groupings in the United States, 1909.*¹³

Group	No. of Persons (thousands)	Per cent.	Cost of Materials (millions of dollars)	Value of Product (dollars)	Per cent. of total	Per cent. added by Manufacture
Foods	411	6.2	3,187	3,937	19.0	19.0
Textiles	1,437	21.7	1,741	3,054	14.8	43.0
All metals	1,779	27.0	3,213	5,399	26.1	
Lumber	907	13.7	714	1,582	7.7	54.8
Leather	309	4.7	669	992	4.8	32.5
Paper and printing ..	415	6.3	451	1,179	5.7	61.7
Liquors	77	1.2	186	674	3.3	72.4
Chemicals	237	3.6	867	1,430	6.9	39.4
Stone, clay, and glass	342	5.2	183	531	2.6	65.4
Tobacco	166	2.5	177	416	2.0	57.5
Miscellaneous	526	8.0	748	1,470	7.1	49.1
Totals	6,615	100.0	12,142	20,672	100.0	

leather industry in Germany has sunk to a low place in the general scale, likewise the wood-working group. The position of the stone and building trades in Germany seems to be very unusual, but this is due in part to differences in classification.

The position of the chemical industries is perhaps worthy of special attention because of the great emphasis laid upon the achievements of German science in this field. Only 1.5 per cent. of the persons employed in industry were in this group. Of course the numerical importance of the group is not an accurate indication of the importance of chemical knowledge to industry, but the small quantitative importance of the group should serve to emphasize the

¹² *Statistik des Deutschen Reichs*, Band 213.1 (1909), p. 28.

¹³ *Census*, 1910, vol. VIII., p. 53, table 7.

need of keeping carefully in mind the distinction between qualitative and quantitative problems.

The significance of the physical resources of the various European countries was profoundly altered by the Industrial Revolution. Agricultural resources ceased to be a determinant of industrial development; the textile industry thus became more exclusively dependent upon climate; deposits of coal acquired notable industrial significance; deposits of iron acquired more importance than ever before and a number of new features in the location and character of ore came to be of moment. Proximity to good coal was at first of fundamental significance; and the precise chemical composition of the ore was also vital at first. The rise of the metal industry to its new position of importance thus affected only a narrowly circumscribed group of ore beds at first, though increased facilities of transportation and the increased knowledge of metallurgy gradually widened the scope of commercially profitable exploitation.

These changes were, on the whole, definitely unfavorable to France, assuming the boundaries of 1871. Her textiles were somewhat less favorably situated and they had become less significant in the general industrial field. The development of metal industries was not possible on any great scale because of the lack of ores and coal. Germany was favorably affected, but the circumstances were such that she could not derive immediate benefit from the transformation of the general industrial field. The moderate agricultural resources ceased to be an obstacle to great industrial achievement. The widely scattered deposits of iron were variously affected. Many workings ceased to have any commercial value because of the composition of the ore. Other deposits became more important, and after 1880 the vast reserves of the Lorraine fields were made practically available. In general, the change in the basis of industrial wealth from agrarian to mineral resources opened up a future of great promise. The new situation was peculiarly favorable to England, and the influences of the change were felt somewhat sooner, partly because the new technique was developed primarily in England, partly because the resources of England were peculiarly adapted to utilization by the modes of production that were first brought into use. For a brief period of twenty or thirty years England enjoyed certain special advantages which gave her a unique position in international commerce and industry. The balance of power in Europe was thus doubly disturbed; first by this extraordinary pre-eminence of England, then again by the readjustment of the economic equilibrium brought about by the inevitable development of the great resources of Germany.

These changes were, in general, an outcome of the circumstances which dominated the development of the iron industry. All three countries, France, England, and Germany, had important textile industries, and while there are differences in climate they are scarcely of sufficient importance to give any country a decisive advantage. The newly acquired importance of the iron industry gave it peculiar significance, and the dependence of the industry upon ore reserves made it inevitable that there should be great readjustments in the international position of the various countries.

IV.

The lateness of the economic revival in Germany was not entirely due to the technical problems connected with the utilization of the Lorraine ores. The influence of the rise of the new iron industry was notable, affording a stimulus to the development of other industries, but the general revival was in no small measure an outcome of the revival of commerce under the influence of the relative freedom secured by the establishment of the Customs Union. In Germany, as in other European countries, the rise of the economic régime that we associate with the Industrial Revolution involved the destruction of much of the regulative impedimenta of the late medieval period. The reorganization of economic life was brought about by changes in technique, but the full effect of these changes could not be secured unless the Industrial Revolution were accompanied by an administrative revolution. There were extensive changes in constitutional organization and in the ideals of administration in France, in England, and in Germany; the reform movement differed widely in the various countries in its detail because the character of the obstructions varied, but in all three countries the movement was inspired by principles of liberalism.

The political reorganization of Germany has been accomplished primarily by Prussia, and there is some disposition to presume that military strength was the predominant influence in the rise of Prussia. The growth of Prussian military power was undoubtedly of importance, but it certainly was not the only factor in the displacement of Austria as leader, nor the only element of Prussian strength. The acquisition of leadership by Prussia was favored by the changes in international trade-routes. New circumstances placed Prussia in a position of marked strategic importance from the commercial point of view, and these elements of strength were brought into play by a steadfast adherence to liberal commercial policies that is perhaps too largely obscured by the short wars that brought

the general movement to a close. It is well to remember, however, that the new régime was pretty firmly established before the acquisition of Schleswig-Holstein and before Sadowa.

During the Middle Ages, the German states fell into two large groups: the states bordering the Baltic, and the southerly states whose commercial and industrial concerns were with Italy and the Mediterranean countries reached by way of Italy. Of these groups the southerly group was by far the more important, both in industry and in agriculture. The northern states were relatively poor, and the league formed by the free cities of the region was fully as important as any of the territorial states. The more prosperous portions of Germany were thus identified with southern interests, and under these circumstances were naturally dominated by the most powerful southern state, Austria. Brandenburg occupied an ambiguous position between the district dominated by the Hanse and the industrial districts whose general connections were with the South. While this division of Germany endured the position of the Electorate was hopelessly weak. The decline of the southerly trade-routes, that was an inevitable consequence of the general decline of Mediterranean commerce in the sixteenth century, opened up new possibilities. In the end, the rise of oceanic commerce was fairly certain to make the northerly connection essential to the industrial districts of the South. The ports of the Rhine and Hamburg would become the primary outlets for the commerce of the south German states. The new possibilities revealed themselves slowly. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the industrial states were without any clearly advantageous outlet. Commerce and industry were moribund. The devastation of the Thirty Years' War made an end of many of the older connections and there was not sufficient advantage in new connections to stimulate industry or commerce to new efforts. The stagnation was if anything more complete than in Italy.

These disturbances were of importance politically. The strength of Austria was undermined. The position of Brandenburg became strategically important in a small way, from the point of view of both commerce and politics. The old order had been destroyed, and among all the ambiguities of the time there were many opportunities for an astute politician. "Particularismus", however, was the order of the day, not only because it was the heritage of the Holy Roman Empire, but also because there were no bonds of common economic interest to afford a basis for any permanent combination of the several states. The uncertainties of this period are an evident reflec-

tion of the precise character of the various elements in the location of Berlin. The tendencies toward centralization of commerce in Germany emerge later than in France or England, and, even when they are revealed, there were elements of ambiguity that made the movement less spontaneous. For a long period the influence of the great change in trade-routes was for Germany purely negative: the old connections were destroyed and nothing took their place.

The reorganization of German commerce did not begin until the reform of the system of indirect taxes in Prussia opened the question of a general reorganization of the customs duties and gave signal importance to the domination of the northerly trade-route by Prussia. The accise system which had prevailed in most of the German states was a most serious obstacle to commercial development, and, combined with the particularism of the eighteenth century, doubtless retarded any considerable revival of trade. The destruction of this vicious system was one of the most important accomplishments of liberal statesmanship in Germany.

The accise duties were in a way similar to the octroi duties now levied in many European municipalities, but the resemblance is largely superficial. The duties were levied on goods consumed in the town, on goods brought into the town, and on goods passing through the town. They were practically the only indirect taxes levied by the state and were levied for the state rather than for municipal purposes. Both the duties on consumption and the duties on circulation established unfortunate barriers between town and country. They were a fairly complex protective system with the towns as the unit of administration. This system of taxation gave rigid definition to the divergence of interest between the landed gentry and the middle-class artisans and traders of the towns. Industry was confined to the towns, and freedom of choice of occupation between industry and agriculture was considerably curtailed. Trade between the towns was hampered by the restrictions in favor of local industries.

The reforms of Stein, the Tariff of 1818, and the Customs Union are bound together by many common purposes. The later reforms are an outgrowth of the Edict of 1807. The break-down of the barriers between town and country contemplated by the edict could be given full effect only by complete abolition of the accise system. The accise could be supplanted only by some system of customs duties levied at the borders of the state. Once a system of border customs was established the irregularities of the frontier would precipitate negotiation with the neighboring states and the enclaves.

All these consequences were appreciated at the outset. The general question of the customs frontier was discussed at the Congress of Vienna and the Prussian representatives at first hoped that definite results could be accomplished there. The jealous insistence on full sovereign rights by the moderate-sized states under the lead of Austria prevented the creation of a federal customs system. Once this hope was destroyed, Humboldt realized that the achievement of common institutions would come through negotiations with the individual states. "The policy of Prussia", he writes, "will consist in bringing her neighbors to accept to a certain extent her political and administrative system."¹⁴ The new policy was more completely revealed by the letter of Hardenberg to the merchants of Ried, June 3, 1818.

The difficulties arising from the scattered position of the Prussian states and from the length of their borders, the advantages that would accrue from a union of several German states in a common industrial and commercial system, have not escaped the attention of the government. These matters turn on obvious relations. The plan which has just been endowed with the force of law [the tariff of May 26, 1818] has been matured with specific reference to these problems. It is no less within the spirit of this plan to retaliate against foreign discriminations, than to reward a spirit of reciprocity and a neighborly disposition to unite for the common good.¹⁵

For historical purposes the implications with reference to the relation of the tariff to the Customs Union are more important than the suggestion of retaliatory duties in the general system. It is perhaps worthy of note that the letter is an attempt to defend the government in its adoption of such a measure of free trade. However, the duties on imports are less significant than the freedom of trade within the customs area. The primary advantage that Prussia could offer to the other states was this freedom of circulation within the bounds of the customs system.

The story of the negotiations among the various states during the decade 1820-1830 cannot be compressed without losing much of its significance,¹⁶ but it will perhaps be possible to call attention to the influence of Prussia's location in bringing these negotiations to a successful conclusion. The southern states were not at this period dangerously antagonistic to Prussia. For a variety of reasons they could be brought to co-operate. The chief obstacle lay in the hostility of Saxony, Electoral Hesse, and Hanover. These states soon

¹⁴ H. von Treitschke, "Die Anfänge des Deutschen Zollvereins", in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XXX. 409 ff. Citation in text is at p. 417.

¹⁵ Treitschke, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, especially pp. 498-508, 543-563.

began to draw together to form an organization which should compete with the Prussian Customs Union. It is worthy of note that the failure of this project was due to the situation of Prussia rather than to political or military preponderance. The Middle German Customs Union would have made it necessary for Saxony to use a relatively circuitous route in gaining access to the sea. Some preparations were made to work out the details of a trunk-line route which should remain entirely outside the Prussian customs frontier. With reference to such tactics Prussia enjoyed a superior position which she was able to turn to the complete discomfiture of the middle states. In March, 1829, a preliminary treaty was signed with Bavaria and Württemberg. By negotiations with some of the tiny Saxon states lying between Brandenburg and Württemberg Prussia succeeded in establishing a route to the south that would practically isolate Saxony. The southern states could send and receive goods without passing through the kingdom of Saxony. The trade of Saxony was also threatened by the establishment of a fair in Prussian territory designed to compete with the fair at Leipzig. These measures exerted a pressure upon Saxony that she could not resist, and in 1830 negotiations with Prussia were begun. The withdrawal of Saxony from the combination of middle states practically sealed the fate of that project. In August, 1831, Electoral Hesse came over to Prussia, linking up the Rhine Province with Brandenburg. This ensured the ultimate success of the Prussian Customs Union, which in its first form was embodied in the group of treaties that became effective January 1, 1834. In all these complications the Prussian ministers displayed much clearness of vision, and a firmness that contributed largely to their ultimate success, but these things could never have been accomplished if the position of Prussia had not contained elements of strength that forced the recalcitrant states to come to her and ask to be included in the Union.

Soon after the formation of this Customs Union the protectionists began an agitation for the abandonment of the general free trade policy.¹⁷ The strength of the movement was in the South, and, when it became obvious that no change of policy could be brought about unless the balance of power in the Union were altered, the admission of Austria suggested itself at once. The joint issue of protection and the admission of Austria nearly disrupted the Union, but in both of the most acute crises the protectionists were speedily brought to terms by a threat from Prussia to denounce the existing

¹⁷ This episode is most significantly treated by E. Worms, *L'Allemagne Économique* (Paris, 1874), pp. 147 ff.

treaties and return to the old policy of negotiation with individual states. On the last of these occasions (1862-1863), Prussia had signed a reciprocity treaty with France so liberal in its terms that Austria could not possibly accept it. The acceptance of this treaty by the members of the Customs Union was secured by pressure and the exclusion of Austria assured. The present empire was established before the treaties again came up for renewal.

The free-trade policy maintained by Prussia through this period was thus a significant factor in the exclusion of Austria from the Customs Union. The formation of that union was the outcome of Liberalism in commercial policy and the preservation of its character as a North German grouping of states was also due to the policy of free trade. There is no reason to suppose that there was any insincerity in this adherence to free trade; there were political advantages to be gained, to be sure, but it was the natural Prussian policy. The agrarian interest there, as in the southern part of the United States, was primarily concerned with the accessibility of foreign markets. This general disposition of Prussia was rendered doubly important politically by the preponderant influence of the Junkers as a class. By prejudice and conviction they were free-traders and remained true to the ideal until the competition of American wheat began to depress the revenues of the great estates. It was possible to introduce a protective tariff in 1878 because the agrarians were losing faith in the old principles.

The great reconstruction of the first half of the nineteenth century was dominated in Germany by liberal thought. The constitutional system was autocratic but the policies followed differed but slightly from the policies followed in other countries during similar periods of reconstruction. The destruction of the outworn framework of the Middle Ages has been the accomplishment of liberal ideals, and the foundation of the modern social system rests in all countries on this common foundation. Even in the hands of autocratic governments these principles have been a regenerative force.

ABBOTT PAYSON USHER.

DOCUMENTS

1. *The River Plate Voyages, 1798-1800*

ALTHOUGH the inauguration of the trade of the United States of America with China and the Far East is mentioned and discussed in almost all histories of the United States, that with the countries on the Rio de la Plata, with whom our commercial and political relations have been continuously important in equal degree, is scarcely ever mentioned by historians. A careful study and analysis of the beginnings of the trade of the United States of America with Buenos Aires and Montevideo reveals an interesting chapter in our South American relations, twenty-five years before Monroe gave expression to his famous Doctrine and twelve years before the South American wars of independence began.

The many restrictions which fettered the trade of Spain in the New World were slowly forced apart by the economic conditions resulting from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in Europe. The United States of America was then in almost exactly a similar position to that in which she was from August, 1914, to February, 1917, but whereas the merchant marine of the United States is to-day being re-created, a hundred and fifteen years ago eighty per cent. of the foreign trade of the United States was carried by ships made within her borders. The United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century had vessels enough to spare to supply many trade-routes throughout the world, and to avail themselves of every opportunity to use their shipping abroad. Thus Captain Samuel Day, of the United States frigate *John* of Philadelphia, which arrived at Montevideo in November, 1798, invokes the Spanish royal *cédula* of November 18, 1797, which allowed neutral vessels to be engaged in the carrying trade between the Spanish colonies, in his petition to the commandant-general and superintendent of arrivals in Montevideo, which is dated November 28, 1798, and reads as follows:¹

Señor Gobernador Juez de Arrivadas y Comandante General de Marina:—Don Samuel Day, Capitán de la Fregata Anglo-Americana nombrada el *Juan* de filadelfia propia de Don Juan Leamy,² un Comer-

¹ Archivo de la Aduana, Montevideo, 1798.

² John Leamy had an office at 69 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, in 1800 (see *Philadelphia Gazette*, July 28, 1800, and December 30, 1800). His name also appears in the *Philadelphia Directory* for 1809. He advertises vessels for freight or charter in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, November 27, 1798.

ciante en aquel Continente dónde procede, segun consta de los Documentos que prestó (suplicando se me devuelvan), ante V.S. con la veneracion debida me presento y Digo que hallándome en este puerto á Disposicion de V.S. prevalecido en la Real Cédula de 18 de noviembre de 1797 que permite la introducción y extracción de frutos de Colonia á Colonia, y conduciendo en dicha fragata porcion de tablazon y duelas de que carece este pais, según es notorio y consta á V.S. muy bien, para socorrer en alguna parte la necesidad, A V.S. pido y suplico con la sumision y respeto devido, se sirva permitirme el desembarco de esto cargamento y su venta que conduciese á esta Real Aduana para el arreglo de los derechos correspondientes á S.M. y demás, como asimismo sus productos extraerlo en frutos de este pais con destino á Filadelfia por cuenta de mi armador, á Donde debo regresar en cumplimiento con las órdenes que me tiene comunicado ó adonde mas considere me convenga, todo lo que resulta en beneficio del Real Erario, y por lo mismo no dudo aceda V.S. á mi solicitud por Equidad y Justicia que espero de la que tan saneamente V.S. distribuye. Montevideo, Noviembre 28 de 1798.

A higher official, José Prevost de Oliver, whom students of the history of South American literature will remember as the author of much mediocre poetry, granted the permission above requested on November 29, 1798, and the *John* sailed from Montevideo for Philadelphia on March 14, 1799.

I can find no trace of the arrival of any other United States vessel at Montevideo before the *John*. She was one of the three vessels which are mentioned as lying in Montevideo harbor on March 2, 1799, when the English missionary vessel *Duff* arrived there,³ and as being "the first traders to that port".⁴

In this connection the following quotation from the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* for July 11, 1799, is of interest as showing the relative importance at that time of the Spanish-American trade to the United States:

By letters received at Philadelphia from Cadiz it appears that his Catholic Majesty, having taken into consideration the injuries which the Spanish commerce has sustained, and the advantages derived to his enemies by the illicit intercourse carried on with the Spanish colonies in South America, has ordered by a public edict, dated the 9th of April last, that the Spanish ports in South America be shut against all neutrals as well as the subjects of belligerent nations.

Two days later the same paper prints the edict of April 9, 1799, above referred to, in full, and comments on it, saying: "The intelligence it conveys is important to the commercial interests of this country."

³ The story of the *Duff* was advertised in the *Philadelphia Gazette* for May 15, 1800.

⁴ See *Philadelphia True American*, October 14, 1799.

The next United States vessel to arrive at Montevideo of which I can find any record was the bark *Alert* of Boston, Captain Robert Gray, which was carried into Montevideo by a French privateer called *La Républicaine* on December 14, 1798. So far as is known, this was the southernmost capture of any United States vessel during the naval war of the United States with France. The name of Gray's captor is spelt in four different ways—"Le Bozce", "de Bouce", "Le Borec", and "Laborec", his given name being Pedro Maria in Spanish (Pierre-Marie in French). His attorney at Montevideo addressed the following petition to the authorities there, apparently about the middle of December, 1798:

Excmo Sor

Don Manuel Vasquez apoderado General de Don Pedro Maria Le Bozce ante la notoria justificación de V.E. dice que el 14 del corriente fondeó en este Puerto el Bergantin Americano nombrado *La Alerta* con carga de viveres, y algunos efectos, apresado por el corsario *La Republicana*, al mando del citado mi parte: y el 13 de dicho la Zumaca Portuguesa nombrada *San Antonio y Animas*, con carga de Azucar, lo que participó á V.E. para que se digne concederme su superior permiso para la venta de estos dos buques, y sus cargamentos. Por tanto á V.E. se suplica de sirva probar como llebo pedido, Excmo. Sr.,

MANUEL VAZQUEZ.

Robert Gray's petition to the *juez de arrivadas y comandante general de marina* of Montevideo, José de Bustamante, is interesting, when we bear in mind that on June 15, 1798, United States merchant vessels were authorized to arm and defend themselves against the attacks of French vessels, and on July 8 of that year were given permission to make prize of all such French armed vessels as they might meet. The petition reads as follows:

Señor Gobernador:

Don Roberto Gray capitan del Bergantin norteamericano nombrado *Alert* ante V.S. segun mejor proceda parezco y digo:—Que por el presente espera se me ha devuelto un escrito que presenté á V.S. en que le daba razon de las circunstancias de mi aprezamiento y conducción á este Puerto por la Fragata corsaria Francesa nombrada *la Republicana* existente en él, y de los fundamentos que tenia para decir por nulidad de dicho Acto, y el de la venta de mi Bajel y cargamento executado aquí por dicho corsario Francés no debio apresarme, porque los Estados Unidos de America estan en paz con su Nacion, en que yo no le hize insulto alguno, en que el estar armado mi Bergantin y contener su patente la expresion de poder hostilizar á los buques franceses en caso de ser acometido por ellos, no es una razon y deba autorizar su hecho, sino una precaucion defensiva á que ha dado notoria causa la Republica Francesa, defraudando al comercio maritimo de mi Nacion mas de diez millones de pesos por medio de semejantes depredaciones, y en que la venta del expresado mi Buque y cargamento no debio permitirse

licitamente en esto Dominio sin haber procedido antes con audiencia mia la declaracion de buena presa, V.S. se sirvió proveer por auto del once del corriente, que no correspondiendo á este Gobierno el conocimiento del Juicio que promovia, se me devolviese dicho escrito, para que usase de mi derecho donde y como mejor me conviene. Y como para ejecutarlo asi necesito de la constancia que tambien pedia en el citado escrito, relativa á que con citacion contraria se me diese testimonio de todo lo obrado en enclaramiento de la legitimidad de mi apresamiento y venta de mi Buque y carga executado en este Puerto por el corsaro Luis de Bouce,

A V.S. pido y suplico que habiendome por presentado, y por contrahido este escrito á la unica y directa solicitud de dicha constancia y testimonio, se sirva V.S. proveer y mandar se me dió que en caso de no haber procedido para la expresada venta, formalidad de inventario, ni declaracion judicial alguna, se me dé certificacion en terminos claros y precisos, y de la orden ó disposicion en que pudo fundarse este Gobierno para permitir a Le Bosc semejante venta, sin la precedencia de tales requisitos, por ser de justicia que pide jurando en derecho necesario, etcetera.

Otro si digo: Que por tener urgente necesidad de restituirme a mi Pais en primera ocacion, he otorgado Poder General á Don Francisco Antonio Maciel de este comercio y vecindario, en cuya atencion declaro ante V.S. que desde ahora, presente yo o ausente, puedan entenderse y notificarsele á Maciel como si fuese en mi Persona todas las Providencias y resultas de este negocio pues asi procede de Justicia que imploro ut supra.

Otro si digo: Que por convenir á mi derecho me quedo con dos tantos legalizados de este escrito en Justicia que pido ut supra.

ROBERT GRAY.

Bustamante's comment on the foregoing is noteworthy:—

Hagale entender á esta parte, que no habiendo pedido por la suya se recibiese informacion concerniente á sus ideas, no hay de que darse testimonio sobre lo cual usará su derecho, pidiendo la actuacion de las Ynformaciones que le convenga producir por lo que respecta al certificado que pide de la orden ó disposicion en que pudo fundarse este Gobierno para permitir al ciudadano Le Bosc la venta de su Buque y carga:—despachesele por el escribano de esta subdelegacion con citacion de la parte de Laborec, glosando en él lo que conste por su oficina.

BUSTAMANTE. Dr. Aguiar.

Proveyó y firmó el decreto que antecede el Señor Gobernador militar y político de esta Plaza, Juez de Arribadas de este Puerto, y subdelegado de Rentas y Real Hacienda en Montevideo á diez y nueve de Febrero de 1799.

There are no further papers in this file⁵ nor have I been able to discover any others in the Montevideo archives bearing on the fate of the *Alert*. Captain Robert Gray again sailed from Boston

⁵ *Inventário e Índice General* (Montevideo, 1898—for full title see list toward end of article), vol. II., p. 153, no. 71, f. 10, año 1798. [But see editorial note appended to article. Ed.]

on November 21, 1800, in command of the United States schooner *James*, for Rio de Janeiro, whence she sailed on March 7, 1801,⁶ arriving at Buenos Aires April 18, 1801, with stone ballast and some iron.

That other vessels met with the same fate as the *Alert* in the River Plate at this time may be inferred from the following extracts from the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser* for July 18 and August 9, 1799, respectively:

On July 5, 1799, the ship *John*, Captain Day, of Philadelphia, four months out from the River Plate for Philadelphia, was spoken by the *Alexander*, Captain Dodge, from Canton to Boston. Captain Day says he left there two French frigates and three American ships, and that two American had been carried in there since the capture of the brig ———, Captain Gray of Salem. . . .

The following is an extract from the Journal of Mr. Waddell, mate of the ship *Diana*, Captain Bunker, which arrived at Baltimore, August 9, 1799:—On March 28 (1799) there arrived at Maldonado the brig *Sally*, Captain Haskell, belonging to Boston, bound to Botany Bay, she had sprung her foremast and main boom and put in to repair. Mr. David Spear of Boston and Captain Haskell came to Montevideo, but were coolly received and ordered down to their vessel in 24 hours. But, by the intercession of the Governor's Secretary, the time was prolonged to 48 hours. They wished to make sale of their cargo here, but not being acquainted with the proper method of doing that business, were obliged to return, and, after repairing, to leave the River.

Nine United States vessels are known to have been at Montevideo, and at least one at Buenos Aires, during the year 1799; and in that same year we hear of twelve whaling ships from Nantucket and four from New Bedford being off the coast of Chile, three being detained "at St. Mary's, in Chile, which is in Lat. 37 S., near the city of Conception, and about 70 leagues from St. Jago", while at least one vessel arrived at New Bedford from a whaling cruise from "the Brazils".⁷ Those at Montevideo were: the ship *Angenoria*, Captain Chale or Chase, of Newport, Rhode Island, in September of that year;⁸ the ship *Diana*, Captain Bunker, of Baltimore, on April 2;⁹ the ship *Two Friends*, of New York, Captain Shaler, which arrived at Montevideo from Bordeaux on May 20, 1799, and was still there in September;¹⁰ the ship *Fugitive*, Captain Lancelot Davison,

⁶ *Telógrafo Marítimo* (Buenos Aires, 1914 edition, pp. 84-85).

⁷ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser*, July 5 and September 9, 1799. The *Isla de Santa Maria* is meant.

⁸ *Philadelphia True American*, November 15, 1799; *Inventário e Índice Geral*, vol. I., p. 307, no. 122. f. 22.

⁹ *Philadelphia True American*, May 30, 1799.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, November 15, 1799; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1799.

of Philadelphia, also in September;¹¹ the ship *Liberty*, Captain Andrew Miller, of Philadelphia, which sailed from Montevideo for Philadelphia in June, 1799;¹² the brig *Maria*, Captain William Henry, from New York, which arrived at New York from Montevideo on November 12, 1799;¹³ the ship *Murdock*, which arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from "River La Plata" in November, 1799;¹⁴ the brig *Pennsylvania*, Captain Francis Knox, of Philadelphia, which was at Montevideo in the latter part of 1799 and finally returned to Philadelphia on July 15, 1800;¹⁵ the brig *Rose*, Captain John Meany, of Philadelphia, which arrived at Philadelphia on May 29, 1799, "in 57 days from the Isle of Lobos near the Falkland Islands, and sometime before from the Rio de la Plata".¹⁶ The one known to have been at Buenos Aires during this year was the frigate *Palmyra*, which was admitted to Spanish registry at that city on November 26, 1799, by a decree issued on that date by the viceroy of the Rio de la Plata, the Marquis of Avilés. She was renamed *Nuestra Señora de Belen* and was sold to Pedro Duval for 16,000 pesos. On January 4, 1800, she was despatched by him from Buenos Aires for "friendly foreign ports".¹⁷

The permission for the *Liberty* to leave Montevideo and the accompanying accounts of her cargo are of particular interest, since they relate to the first shipments, of which we have record, of freight from Buenos Aires on a United States vessel, being shipments of tallow from Manuel de Sarratea of Buenos Aires, afterward prominent in the movement for Argentine independence, to parties in Havana—shipments lightered over from Buenos Aires to Montevideo and there put on board the *Liberty*.¹⁸

¹¹ Philadelphia *True American*, November 15, 1799; *Inventário é Indice General*, vol. I., p. 484, no. 126, año 1799.

¹² Philadelphia *True American*, May 26 and September 30, 1799; *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1799. The *Philadelphía Gazette* for August 29, 1798, mentions Captain Andrew Miller as being in command of the Philadelphia ship *Mary* in the West Indies in July, 1798.

¹³ Philadelphia *True American*, November 15, 1799; *Inventário é Indice General*, vol. II., p. 319, no. 123, f. 12, año 1799.

¹⁴ Philadelphia *True American*, November 11, 1799.

¹⁵ Philadelphia *Gazette*, May 12 and July 15, 1800; *Inventário é Indice General*, vol. II., p. 581, no. 116, f. 9, año 1799.

¹⁶ Philadelphia *True American*, May 30, 1799; *Inventário é Indice General*, vol. III., page 14, no. 58, f. 9, año 1799. She is apparently referred to as being at Montevideo on March 13, 1799, in the file in the Archivo de Aduana de Montevideo for 1799 regarding the *Liberty*, Captain Andrew Miller.

¹⁷ See Document no. 30, for the year 1800, Archivo Nacional, Buenos Aires.

¹⁸ See file of papers in Archivo de la Aduana, Montevideo, entitled "Frangata Anglo-Americana nombrada *La Libertad*, Su Maestre Don Andres Miller, 1799." The signatures are almost illegible.

Real Aduana de MONTEVIDEO, Año de 1799.

Don José Prego de Oliver, Administrador y Tesorero de la Real Aduana de esta Ciudad, y Alcabalar [?] Partido

Por lo que toca á Reales Almojarifazgos, Alcabalas, y Ramo Municipal de Guerra:—Salgan de esta Ciudad y llevense abordo de la fragata Anglo-Americana nombrada *La Libertad*, su Maestre D. Andres Miller, que se halla junta y anclada en este Puerto, y proxima á dar la vela, para el de la Havana: los frutos y efectos que, despues de haversele pasado la correspondiente visita de fondeo, se han permitido embarcar en ella con arreglo á Reales órdenes é Instrucción en la forma siguiente, en virtud de permiso especial del Exmo. Sr. Virey de estas Provincias comunicado al Sr. Governador subdelegado de Real Hacienda de esta Plaza, queda traslado á esta oficina en estos terminos:

El Excelentísimo Señor Virey de estas Provincias y Superintendente General de la Real Hacienda en ella, con fecha del cuatro del corriente, me dice lo siguiente:—Presentado Don Manuel de Sarratea del Comercio de esta Capital en solicitud de que se conceda permiso para despachar á la Habana con carga de sebo, carnes y astas la fragata *Libertad*, y [las bergantinas *Rosa* y *Diligente* que de (?)] los Estados Unidos de America se hallan en ese puerto:—he resuelto por decreto de esta fecha lo siguiente:

“Aunque las reales órdenes que permiten á los buques neutrales el hacer expediciones á puertos de America previene su preciso retorno á los de la Peninsula: como el viaje que intentan hacer á la Habana la fragata *Libertad*, y las bergantines *Rosa* y *Diligente* deve resultar á esta Provincia el beneficio de la extracción de sus frutos interrumpida por la guerra, y de proveer á la necesidad que de ellos tiene la expresada isla, pudiendo retornar desde allí á España sin contravenir esencialmente á lo mandado por su Majestad: vengo en conceder el permiso que solicita para cargar de sebos, carnes y hastas, previa las formalidades establecidas en la Instrucción de Resguardos, los referidos tres buques, con destino á la citada isla de la Havana, apanzandose antes que han de dirigir su viaje allí precisamente con lo que extraigan, y de [?] documentos que lo acredite, á cuyo fin se librárá con inserción de este Decreto el Sr. Governador de Montevideo la correspondiente orden, de la cual se pondrá copia por cabeza á los registros que se formen en aquella Real Aduana; tomándose razón en la de esta Capital:—Lo que traslado á Usted para su inteligencia y cumplimiento, debiendo otorgarle en esa oficina, y á satisfaccion de Usted las fianzas que se previenen por su Excelencia. Dios Guarde á Usted muchos años. Montevideo y Marzo trece de mil sietec’tos noventa y nueve. JOSÉ DE BUSTAMANTE Y GUERRA. Sr. José Prego de Oliver.”

1. D. Manuel de Ortega embarcó: en nombre de Dn. Manuel de Sarratea, y por cuenta y riesgo de este á consignación en la Havana de D. José Ramon Mantelo y Otero, residente en aquella Plaza, mil ciento y diez marquetas que contienen mil quinientos ochenta y un quintales de sebo derretido, y Dos mil y quarenta y dos lios [?] de carne salada, con peso de dos mil quintales—Ambas cosas libres de derechos en virtud de Real Orden.

2. Sarratea embarcó en los mismos terminos que la partida antecedente cincuenta marquetas de sebo, con peso de noventa y cinco quin-

tales y una arroba, que en mayor partida vinieron de Buenos Aires con guía número 703 de aquella Real Aduana: cuyo fruto es libre de derecho en virtud de la Real Ordenanza.

3. El mismo Sarratea embarcó en los propios terminos que la partida antecedente noventa y seis marquetas con peso de ciento setenta y cuatro quintales de sebo derretido, igualmente venido de Buenos Aires, con guía número 754 de aquella Real Aduana en mayor partida, y como va otro es libre de derechos.

4. El expresado Sarratea embarcó en los mismos terminos que las anteriores partidas doscientos marquetas de sebo derretido con peso de trescientos quintales, libre de derechos, y venido de Buenos Aires con guía número 999 de la Real Aduana.

5. El citado Sarratea embarcó en los citados terminos Trescientos marquetas de sebo derretido con peso de quatrocientos y cincuenta quintales, que vinieron á este puerto en mayor partida con guía número 1031 á la Real Aduana de Bs. Ayres, y es libre de derechos.

Cuyos frutos son los mismos que conduce esta fragata, y no adeudan derechos algunos á su Magestad; de que certificamos, y firmamos en Montevideo á diez dias del mes de junio de mil siete cientos noventa y nueve.

JOSEF PREGO DE OLIVER. JOSE SIMON DE SIERRA [?]

Y el expresado cargador Sarratea ha otorgado fianza por la que se obliga á presentar en esta Administración en el preciso termino de diez y ocho meses primeros siguientes Documentos que acredite haver desembarcado, y entregado en el puerto de la Havana, precisamente como se manda por el acto del Superior Gobierno.

[*Remainder in large part illegible:*] de estas Provincias invento [?] por cabeza de esta registro, todos los frutos y efectos que con [?] y [?] efecto á [?] á derecho con su Magestad sobre el cargo que justamente se le deberá firmar [?], en cuya comprobación lo firmo su Merced, de que doy fee en este papel comun que se via [?] por privilegio en Montevideo fecha [al retro?]

OLIVER.

URAUQUI,
Escribano de S.M.

The following references to United States citizens and ships may be found in the *Inventário é Índice General Alfabético de los Expedientes que forman el Archivo de la Escribanía del Gobierno y Hacienda desde el año 1752 á 1898* (Montevideo, published by the Uruguayan government, 1898, and sold by A. Monteverde and Co., Calle 25 de Mayo 263, Montevideo). The references are here arranged in the order of their occurrence in the volumes of that inventory:

I. 307. No. 122, f. 22. Año 1799. Don Samuel Chace, Fragata *Agenina*.

I. 355. No. 110. Año 1841. Don Juan H. Coe. Decreto del Superior Gobierno en su favor.

I. 483. Nos. 34 and 35, f. 2. Año 1798. Don Samuel Day, *San Juan* de Filadelfia.

- I. 484. No. 126, f. 17. Año 1799. Don Lancelot Davison, *Fragata Fugitivo*.
- II. 16. No. 135, f. 4. Año 1807. *Fragata Swift* de Newport.
 No. 145, f. 6. *Fragata General Davis*.
 No. 166, f. 5. *Fragata Betsey*.
- II. 153. No. 71, f. 10. Año 1798. Don Roberto Gray, *Bergantin Alert*.
- II. 319. No. 123, f. 12. Año 1799. Don Guillermo Henry, *Fragata Maria*.
- II. 320. No. 83, f. 6. Año 1800. Don Bernardo Huggins, *Bergantin Molly*.
- II. 581. No. 116, f. 9. Año 1799. Don Francisco Knox, *Bergantin Pennsylvania*.
- III. 14. No. 58, f. 9. Año 1799. Don Juan Meany, *Bergantin Rosa*.
- III. 423. No. 75, f. 4. Don Tomas Pearce, *Goleta Galante*.
- IV. 190. No. 87, f. 4. Año 1800. Don N. Smith, *Fragata Small*.
- IV. 367. No. 136, f. 3. Año 1802. Don Jorge Tompson, *Fragata Aurora*.

The following references to vessels are all that can be found in the Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires, for 1800 and 1801:

1. No. 16. 1800. *Prosperity* (*Nuestra Señora del Rosario*), despatched May 24, 1800.
2. No. 22. 1800. *Mercurio*, despatched to Peninsula, March 17, 1800. (Note that the *Resolute* became the *San Francisco Solano* and was despatched May 19, 1800.)
3. No. 30. 1800. *January* (*Nuestra Señora de Belen*), despatched January 4, 1800, by D. Pedro Duval.
4. No. 7. 1801. *Angelina*, despatched by Don Pedro Duval, February 25, 1801.
5. No. 17. 1801. *Palmyra*, despatched April 11, 1801.
6. No. 23. 1801. *Charlotte*, arrived at Ensenada de Barragan, January 8, 1801; despatched May 20, 1801, by Pedro Duval and Manuel Baudrix.
7. No. 29. 1801. *Superior* (*San Roque*), despatched August 8, 1801.
8. No. 24. 1802. *New American*, despatched May 28, 1802.
9. For documents connected with the stay in Buenos Aires of the *Minerva*, Captain Hall, of Boston, see Archivo General de la Nación, legajo 22, expediente 286, comerciales, and legajo 23, expedientes 289 and 295. The latter (295) is very important. The *Minerva* was consigned to Tomas Antonio Romero and to Manuel Aguirre.
10. The arrival of the *Aurora*, Captain Thompson, of Philadelphia, is in legajo 24, expediente 18.

CHARLES LYON CHANDLER.

[NOTE. The Robert Gray who appears as the master of the *Alert* was unquestionably the Captain Robert Gray, of the *Columbia*, who achieved fame by discovery of the Columbia River in 1792. Many papers concerning the case of the *Alert* are in the files of the

United States Court of Claims at Washington, either under case no. 15 in the files relating to the French Spoliation Claims or in the volume relating to *Alert's* and other vessels in A in the series lettered "Disallowed Claims on Spain, Convention 1819". The chief facts are contained in the instructions received by the captain from the group of Salem men who owned the *Alert*, in a petition and power of attorney from Gray, February 9 and 11, 1799 (Spanish originals, signed by Gray, and translations), and in depositions of William Fairfield, the mate, taken in 1822, and of Christopher Kilby, mariner, taken in 1824, when Daniel Webster was counsel for the claimants. The *Alert* was a brigantine of 123 tons, built at Salem in 1798. The cost of vessel and cargo was \$20,356.15. She sailed from Salem on September 10, 1798, under instructions to proceed directly to the northwest coast of America, then, after a season or two spent in trading, to Canton, China, then home. The cargo, as stated from memory by Gray in his petition to the governor of Montevideo (but the detailed inventories are also preserved),

consisted of five thousand yards of blue broadcloth, five thousand yards of common Brittannias, four thousand small looking glasses, a considerable quantity of ivory combs (the number I do not now recollect), a large quantity of fish hooks of various sizes, a considerable number of iron pots, seventeen barrels of Powder, six thousand gun flints, sixty muskets, twenty eight pairs of Pistols, a hundred pounds of thread of all colours, thirty suits of clothing, consisting of jackets and trowsers. four hundred pounds of leaden balls, thirty pairs of shoes, a hundred and forty (Fresadas),¹⁹ a great number of iron knives and forks, together with many other articles . . . the whole amounting to the sum of eighteen thousand hard dollars.²⁰

The capture was made on November 17, about five hundred miles east of Rio de Janeiro. The captor, *La Républicaine*, is declared to have been, not a public vessel of the French Republic, but a privateer whose commission had expired, with a crew made up of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Englishmen, and negroes. Captain Gray and all his crew, except the mate and a boy, were taken on board the privateer, and came into Montevideo late in January or early in February, 1799. Meanwhile the *Alert*, brought in by a prize crew, had been taken into possession by the Spanish officials at Montevideo, discharged of her cargo, hove out and coppered, and fitted out under Spanish colors, with ten or twelve guns

¹⁹ Blankets.

²⁰ Doubtless liberal additions to the original cost were made for interest, freight, and insurance. A deposition by Peter C. Brooks, of Boston, puts the contemporary rate of insurance on voyages to the destinations named and back at thirty-five per cent.

and a large Spanish crew, for the Pacific Ocean, for which she sailed about January 11. The decree of the Spanish governor and admiralty judge was to the effect that he had no jurisdiction. No doubt the history of several other of the vessels mentioned by Mr. Chandler could be followed out in Washington archives. ED.]

2. *The Confederacy and the Declaration of Paris.*

FOR the following documents from the papers of the late William Henry Trescot, chiefly memoranda in his own handwriting, nearly contemporary with the events which he describes, the readers of the *Review* are indebted to his son, Mr. Edward A. Trescot, of Pendleton, South Carolina, who contributes the following prefatory note:

Mr. Trescot died in May, 1898. Among his papers were found the following. As the negotiations to which they refer are a part of the history of that period, I do not believe that their publication would be contrary to any wish or desire on his part. Furthermore, by their publication in the *American Historical Review* they will be preserved in a more permanent form and be accessible to any one who may feel interested in the subject.

Mr. Trescot was appointed Assistant Secretary of State by President Buchanan June 8, 1860. Because of the absence and illness of Gen. Lewis Cass the Secretary, he was made Secretary under warrant by the President, June 20, and served as such until the return of Gen. Cass late in the fall.

Mr. Trescot was a South Carolinian and as his state was on the eve of secession, he felt it his duty to resign and did so on December 10, 1860. By the early part of 1861 he had returned to his home in Charleston, so that, when Mr. Bunch and Mons. Belligny, the British and French consuls respectively at Charleston, urged upon him on July 19, 1861, that he induce the Confederate States government to adhere to certain articles of the Declaration of Paris, Mr. Trescot was, and had been for nearly eight months, a private citizen.

Prior to Mr. Trescot's appointment as Assistant Secretary of State, he was secretary of legation at London. After the close of the Civil War, during which he had served on the staff of Gen. R. S. Ripley, he returned to Washington and as the executive agent of the state succeeded in bringing about a better understanding between the state and federal governments as to the enforcement of the Reconstruction laws and not only secured the release of much of the state's property but that of many individuals, which had been seized by the federal authorities. He subsequently served the United States in a varied series of diplomatic appointments.

Mr. Trescot's papers on the subject include also copies of Lord John Russell's instructions of May 17 (18), 1861, to Lord Lyons at Washington, of the latter's instructions of July 5 to Robert Bunch, and of Bunch's dispatch of August 16 to Lord Lyons, but these have been several times printed, and are not here repeated.

Foot-note references on pages 75 and 76 of the *Case of the United States* in the Geneva Arbitration to "MS. document in the Department of State" warrant the inference that a memorandum by Mr. Trescot, on the same transactions as those described in the following papers, exists in the archives of that department, but, with a reference so little specific, it cannot at present be found.

I. MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. BUNCH, H. B. M. CONSUL, AND MONS. BELLIGNY, THE CONSUL OF THE EMPEROR OF FRANCE, AND MR. TRESCOT.¹

On Friday the 19th July 1861, Mr. Bunch called upon me and after enquiring what were my relations with the Administration and being informed that while I could not say that I had any relations with it in a public sense, my personal relations with its head were of the most friendly description and that I had enjoyed opportunities of very full consultation with Mr. Davis during the existence of the old Government, said, Mons. B. and myself have received today despatches from our respective Governments identical in language and of the most delicate and important character. We are instructed to put ourselves in connection with the Government at Richmond but to do so through an intermediary. I cannot explain more fully except in the presence of my colleague but we have after consultation determined to ask you to meet us in order that we may submit these instructions to you and will ask you if you can do so to become the channel of communication between us and the Government at Richmond. Mr. Bunch expressed his conviction of the very great significance and importance of this step and indicated that the general purpose of the Instructions was to obtain the adhesion of the Confederate Government to the 2 and 3 articles of the Declaration of the Paris Conference. At 8 o'clock that evening I met Mr. Bunch, Mr. Belligny and Mons. St. André, the intended successor of Mr. Belligny.²

Mr. Bunch read me Lord John Russels Despatch of 17th May,³ Lord

¹ See J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I. 564-565; also F. Bancroft, *Life of Seward*, II. 197-198, based partly on conversation with Mr. Trescot. Robert Bunch was British consul at Charleston from 1853 to 1863. See M. L. Bonham, jr., *The British Consuls in the Confederacy* (New York, 1911), pp. 20-47, 51-60, 112-121; and Moore, *International Arbitrations*, II. 1426. M. de Belligny Ste. Croix was French consul at Charleston from 1856 to 1861. In these texts, abbreviations for "Confederate" and "Government" have been expanded.

² M. Durant de St. André subsequently acted as consul without exequatur from either the Confederate or the United States government. Bonham, pp. 219, 221.

³ Printed, with the date May 18, in *Correspondence relating to the Overtures addressed to the Contending Parties in the United States, with a View to their Adhesion to the Principles of Maritime Law, as laid down by the Congress of Paris* [Cd. 2911], pp. 4-6 (*Sessional Papers*, 1862, LXII. 540-542), in *British and Foreign State Papers*, LV. 550-554, and in *U. S. Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1861, I. 131-133. See also Lord Newton's *Lord Lyons*, I. 44, letter of Lyons to Russell, June 10, 1861.

Lyons official letter of the 5th July,⁴ and a long private letter of Lord Lyons on the same subject, adding "and now you know all that I know myself". Mr. Belligny handed me the Instructions of Mons. Thouvenel and M. Merciers⁵ letter saying at the same time, they are transcripts indeed translations of those just read by Mr. Bunch, which I assured him was enough without his reading them to me.

It was clear that the two Governments wished an official act of adhesion, to obtain which the two Consuls were authorised "to negotiate" informally, but they were not to go to Richmond and the negotiation was to be carried on by an intermediary. I observed that admitting the importance of the communication and supposing a disposition to accede to it, were they prepared to receive an official act which should be based upon their request, thus giving to the Confederate Government the advantage before the world of such an implied recognition as this would afford. To this they objected. They wished "a spontaneous" declaration on the part of the Confederate Government. I replied, I do not see how you can ask this. The Conference of Paris laid down certain principles to which it asked the adhesion of "*the powers*" of the world and in Ld. J. R. despatch you distinctly *ask* the U. S. to accede. Now can the Confederate Government, with self respect, before you recognise, volunteer an adhesion and thus intrude among nations which refuse them recognition? Might not such "an official act" be repudiated by such states (Russia, Prussia, etc.) who are not parties to this application? It seems to me but common justice that if "the official act" is granted the Confederate Government shall by its language vindicate itself from any such charge as I have indicated.

They replied, that to make *this* request the declared basis of the Act would be to proclaim *this* negotiation, and the intense jealousy of the U. S. was such that this would be followed by the revocation of their exequaturs and, unless disavowed by their Governments, by the dismissal of Lord Lyons and Mons. Mercier from Washington. That this was just what *they* wished to avoid and that while they—the Consuls—were free to say that they could only look upon this step as the initiative towards a recognition, yet the object of their Governments being to reach that recognition gradually so as not to give good ground for a breach, this indirect way was absolutely necessary. That this was an unparalleled step in advance toward a belligerent not yet recognised and it was, they thought, of immense importance to conciliate these powers in view of this advance, without too much strictness as to form, etc. etc.

I said, I admit, if this *advance* were to be made public, we might afford to go far to meet it, but the *secrecy* which you make the essential of your negotiation, deprives the Confederate Government of the very advantage which you urge upon them as a reason for acceptance. Such a negotiation would be recognition and the Confederate Government might be willing to make such a concession therefor, but you do not

⁴ Printed in *Correspondence, etc.*, p. 13 (*Sessional Papers*, 1862, LXII. 549). in *British and Foreign State Papers*, LV. 564-565, in Mountague Bernard, *Neutrality of Great Britain*, pp. 181-182, and in *Correspondence concerning Claims against Great Britain*, I. 123-124.

⁵ Thouvenel, French minister of foreign affairs, 1860-1862; Mercier, French minister to the United States, 1860-1863.

mean it as recognition altho you *believe* it will lead to it. They said frankly they could make no pledges as to any consequences to result, altho they believed, indeed had no doubt that the consequences would be most agreeable and beneficial to the Confederate Government.

After discussing this matter at some length I said, You cannot expect that the Confederate Government should not derive all the benefit it can from this move consistent with good faith to you. All that you can fairly ask is that "the official act" you desire shall not commit your Governments nor compromise you. Suppose therefore that the act should recite that Whereas the powers of Europe have publicly recognised the Confederate States in the character of Belligerents and whereas this Government has reason to know that it would be acceptable to the said powers, that as Belligerents we should adhere to the Articles of the Treaty of Paris, etc., etc., therefore, satisfied that a more formal recognition shall be the result of better knowledge, etc., we in deference to these wishes, etc., do adhere, etc., etc.,—would that satisfy you? Mr. Bunch replied, Certainly I think so. Nobody has a right to say that you received your knowledge through us. It might very well be supposed that you received it through your Commissioners in Europe. All we have a right to ask is that you shall not give publicity to this negotiation—that we nor our Governments should be upon the record. As to the truth, all interested to know will soon find out, but as long as on your part there is no avowal of it, you will have kept faith with us. And in this Mr. B. seemed to acquiesce. Another point was also discussed. The Consuls having asked for "the official act", that act was not to be submitted to them for approval, unless the Government so desired. Their request being granted the mode was to be left to the President. I next asked, Suppose the Confederate Government do not take the view which we have been examining hitherto—suppose they think that such an *advance* as you have made is not of itself sufficient to warrant such a concession, but that the concession is large enough to justify the demand of an equivalent—are you authorised to negotiate on such a basis? They said, No. Any reply made to their request they would certainly receive and transmit, but they did not consider themselves as negotiators on any extended scale. Their Governments had done a very unusual thing in making such a request and having asked they would simply convey the answer. I said I thought their instructions implied more than that, and that the request of the Government, however unusual, *once made* drew with it certain consequences, but that of course they were the only interpreters of their own authority. (In my opinion any such proposition would be humiliating [?] to the Ministers at Washington.)

There was then a good deal of general conversation as to the policy of the Confederate Government's accepting frankly and cheerfully the proposition, to which of course I listened with attention but I did not think it judicious to express any opinion.

I then said, This you mean as a strictly confidential communication. I must therefore before conveying your proposition to the President inform him that my communication is confidential. Suppose he says he cannot receive any such confidence—that he will not consent to hear any proposition which he cannot communicate, whether after hearing it he may be willing to treat it as confidential or not. On this head your

instructions must be positive. After discussion they decided if the President refuses to receive it confidentially—you must not make it. Of course confidentially does not exclude his responsible advisers. I next asked, Suppose him willing to receive it, what evidence do you give me to satisfy him, first, that I am authorised to speak for you, secondly, that you are authorised to speak for your Governments. This led to a good deal of discussion but I finally said it was impossible simply for me to act as a volunteer in this matter, that the President might very well believe that I spoke for them, and what they said, but that he must have some proof of their authority to speak at all. That so grave a communication could not be received on the personal character of anybody, however respectable, and in their cases especially, as they had, so far as the President was concerned, no official character to give presumption to their representations. It was therefore agreed that I should take on Lord J. R.'s Instructions and Lord Lyons letter.

In conclusion I said I understood this whole matter thus—

I am to inform the President that I am the bearer of an important communication from you which is to be made to him confidentially. If he is willing to receive it confidentially I will submit it. If not I will not make it.

Having submitted it I am no longer responsible. It is in the *discretion of the President*, not mine.

The proposition I am not understood as approving or disapproving and am perfectly free to advise its rejection or its acceptance as I think right.

II. [MEMORANDUM CONTINUED.]

I left Charleston on Saturday the ⁶ with Lord J. R's despatch, Lord Lyons letter and a Mem. of the conversation between the Consuls and myself. I reached Richmond on Monday and found that the President had gone to Manassas⁷ and was not expected [to] return for some days. After some reflection I called upon Mr. Hunter⁸ and consulted him as to the propriety of waiting the P.'s return or going on to him. Mr. H. thought the matter so important that he advised me to go on at once and for that purpose procured a Permit from Gen. Lee. I left for Manassas the next day but at Gordonsville met the down train with the wounded on its way to Richmond. Finding that the President was on board I returned and the next day communicated to him the object of my visit and the papers connected therewith, stating the character of my conversation as noted in the Memorandum. A cabinet meeting was called and after a decision was reached, the subject was referred to Mr. Hunter, who had just been appointed Secretary of State in place of Mr. Toombs—for conference or rather communication with me. The substance of the several communications with Mr.

⁶ Saturday, July 20, 1861.

⁷ Mr. Davis went to Manassas on Sunday, July 21, the day of the battle, and returned on Tuesday, July 23. Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I. 348, 359, 361.

⁸ Robert M. T. Hunter was at this time a delegate from Virginia in the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. On July 24 he was nominated, and on July 25 confirmed, as Secretary of State, in place of Robert Toombs. *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I. 282.

Hunter I reduced to the shape of a Mem. to serve for my instruction. And upon learning from him, that the Resolutions adopted by the President had been referred to the Comm. of Foreign Affairs,⁹ I returned home. These resolutions when passed and approved were sent me in copy from the State Dep. and given to Mr. Bunch and Mons. Belligny with such explanation as was in conformity with the Mem. of Instructions.¹⁰

There was a slight delay in the passage of the resolutions as the President desired a change in the form and phraseology of the first set—a change which was a very great improvement, but it was not of consequence enough to be talked about.¹¹

The Mem. of Instruction does not contain one branch of the subject, viz.—the desire that the C. S. should acknowledge their responsibility for the acts of their Privateers should they violate the limits of International law. I was instructed not to refer to this subject unless specially asked by the Consuls and then simply to furnish them with copies of the Act and Instructions regarding Privateers, say that these were within the principles of recognised law and that the C. S. could give no other assurance than their acts and character that the obligations of International law would be discharged.

W. H. T.

August 17th, 1861.

III.¹²

The informal communication from the Consuls of England and France has been received by the Confederate Government. The President regrets that a communication of such grave importance should be made in so irregular a manner, as the necessity for such a communication is in itself the strongest evidence of the propriety of instituting between the Powers of Europe and the Confederate States, regular and established regulations [relations]. For it is clear that if the existence of the new Government creates new and important interests, their adjustment in an amicable spirit and for mutual benefit is of far too great importance to be entrusted to secret and unrecognised agents. In any such negotiation the obligations assumed have an unequal character and want that essential of official responsibility which gives force to the ordinary action of Governments. The President is therefore very unwilling to encourage a mode of proceeding which is not only wanting in that respect to which he feels the Government of the Confederate States

⁹ Introduced in Congress by Hunter on July 30, referred that day to the committee named, reported August 2, passed August 8; vote reconsidered August 9, and a substitute, also introduced by Hunter, passed August 13. *Ibid.*, I. 294, 310, 326, 331, 341.

¹⁰ A letter from Mr. Trescot to Mr. Hunter, dated August 3, after his return to Charleston, and describing the verbal report he had made to the two consuls, is printed in Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II. 54–56.

¹¹ See note 13, *post*.

¹² This paper is endorsed: "Summary in shape of Instructions of Conversation with Mr Hunter. Read to Mr H. W. H. T. No. 4." "No. 1" in Mr. Trescot's series is no. I., above; "No. 2" is our II.; "No. 3" is a copy of Lord Lyons's dispatch to Bunch, July 5, enclosing that of Russell to Lyons, May 17(18).

to be fully entitled but which is in his opinion calculated rather to embarrass than to assist the final adjustment of important questions. But while impressed with this conviction the President will not refuse to receive as information a communication of such a nature as that submitted to him and to respond to it in so far as its subject matter commends itself to his judgment and requires only on his part the exercise of a discretion perfectly free and governed entirely by his sense of the interest and dignity of his own Government.

And the President feels also that even supposing the character of this communication to be such as to justify a disregard of those formalities which guard the correspondence between Nations whose existence is fully recognised, yet he cannot but think that those representatives of the Confederate States at present in Europe with the authority of the Government but as yet unrecognised by the European Powers, would have been the most natural channels through which it should have been made, as the communication through them in their present character would not have further committed the Governments of England and France to any greater extent than the mode which has been selected in this instance.

With regard to the Proposition itself, the President does not feel called upon to declare his adhesion to the Articles of the Treaty of Paris by any official act which shall recognise a public instrument to which his Government was not a party and to which he has not been invited to accede in the only way which would justify his acceptance, viz., as a recognised Government.

But the President does feel not merely a willingness but an anxiety that the position assumed by the Confederate States, in claiming an independent existence, should not be misunderstood, and has not the slightest hesitation in declaring in the plainest manner, the determination of his Government to adhere with scrupulous fidelity to those laws which regulate the international intercourse of the world and determine their relations of peace and war. Believing that the principles laid down in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Articles of the Conference of Paris are founded in Justice and well calculated to confine the painful consequences of a state of war within the narrowest limits, the President will cheerfully make known by such an official act as is in conformity with the requirement of the Constitution, that the Confederate States accept these principles as the rules of their conduct, and this without reference to the Declaration of Paris but upon the conviction that they are now the recognised law of that family of nations into which the Confederate States claim to enter on a footing of perfect equality.

In so far conforming to the wishes of the Governments of England and France the President expresses the hope that the same anxiety manifested by these Governments for the adhesion of the Confederate States to the 2 and 3 Articles of the Declaration, will be exhibited in watching the exact fulfillment of the condition of the 4th Article in the war at present existing between the U. S. and the C. S. For the three principles are but parts of one system and that system is only valuable as they are all put in force and carefully observed, and the Governments of England and France will not in his opinion be carrying out the spirit of the communication which they have just made if they continue to submit to the open and continued violation of this principle which has

marked the conduct of the U. S. from the declaration of the existing blockade until the present moment.

The President also thinks that in face of the willingness of the C. S. to accept the principle of Free ships, free goods—a principle which in its practical working must confer great advantages upon the mercantile marine of England and France, he has a right to expect that the neutrality of these powers will not be allowed by an apparent impartiality to interfere with the acts of legitimate hostility which the C. S. are entitled to use as belligerents, and he cannot but think that the refusal to allow the C. S. to use the ports of these countries for the purpose of carrying in and condemning prizes is, with apparent impartiality, an act which discriminates largely and unjustly against the interests of the C. S.

In conclusion the President feels that the Confederate States have assumed a position strictly in conformity with those principles of Constitutional right recognised in the great instrument which was once the common guardian of the two nations now at war, that in all the proceedings which have marked the progress of this controversy, his Government has maintained unshaken the supremacy of law and order and have administered without disturbance the great functions which support the social, industrial and political life of a nation, that in the unrighteous invasion to which they have been subjected, the Govt. has not only held its own but has achieved such victory as places the reduction of the country without the pale of possibility.

Feeling this, he can wait with patience and confidence the time when the nations of the world will recognise the truth and do full justice both to the motives and the acts of his Government.

But knowing that the interests of Europe are deeply concerned in the progress and result of the conflict he can only hope that an intelligent examination of these interests will convince the statesmen to whose charge they are committed, that it is best for all the nations of Europe to recognise at the earliest moment the fact which has established itself without their recognition—that the Confederate States are and of right ought to be a free and independent nation—and thus to put the vast industrial, commercial and moral interests which are concerned, under the charge and guardianship of recognised and recognizable national representatives.

This Memorandum was read by me to Mr. Hunter that it might be considered as an Instruction as to the nature of the conversation which I should hold with the Consuls on my return. It was slightly modified in a further conversation by the determination to refer to the Declaration of Paris in the Preamble of the resolutions as containing the principles declared in a brief form and as evidence of *their* being the accepted modern law of nations.

W. H. T.

IV. NEWSPAPER CLIPPING,¹³

Our Special Despatches from Richmond: From our own Correspondent.

RICHMOND, August 8th.—The following important resolution was adopted to-day by the Congress of the Confederate States:

¹³ This is from the *Charleston Mercury* of August 9. It preserves the form in which the resolution was originally passed (see note 9), but which is not

A Resolution Touching Points of Maritime Law, Decided by the Congress of Paris of 1856.

Whereas, it has been found that the uncertainty of maritime law, in time of War, has given rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious misunderstandings, and even conflicts; and whereas, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Sardinia and Russia, at the Congress of Paris, of 1856, established an uniform doctrine on this subject, to which they invited the adherence of the nations of the world, which is as follows:

1. That privateering is and remains abolished;
2. That the neutral flag covers the enemy's goods, with the exception of goods contraband of war;
3. That neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under the enemy's flag; and
4. That blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy,

And whereas, it is desirable that the Confederate States of America shall assume a definite position on so important a point, now, therefore,

Be it Resolved, That the Congress of the Confederate States of America accept the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th clauses of the above cited declaration, and decline to assent to the 1st clause thereof.

V. TELEGRAM.

RICHMOND, [August] 10, 1861.

William Henry Trescot
Charleston, S. C.

Resolutions passed but sent back to Congress on account of Preamble. The principles will be affirmed in some shape. When passed I will send them to you.

R. M. T. HUNTER.

VI. LETTER.¹⁴

Confederate States of America.
Department of State.

RICHMOND, August 14th, 1861.

My dear Trescot:

Mr. Hunter requests me to send you the enclosed. He has received printed in the *Journal*. The resolutions as finally passed (*Journal*, I. 341) differ from the above document chiefly in transferring the articles of the Declaration of Paris from the preamble to the body of the resolutions, and in making more explicit the Confederate declaration as to privateering. It will be remembered that the sessions of the Provisional Congress were secret. The *Richmond Examiner* of August 12 says that the resolutions, then under discussion, were drafted by Hunter; on August 14, presenting their text in the form in which they passed, it alludes to an incorrect version—doubtless the above—recently published in a South Carolina paper. Lord Lyons sends Russell both versions, the earlier, from some newspaper copying from the *Mercury*, in a despatch of August 23, the later in one of August 30. *Correspondence*, etc., pp. 23-25 (*Sessional Papers*, 1862, LXII. 559-561); *Brit. and For. St. Papers*, LV. 580-582.

¹⁴ This is endorsed: "Letter from Asst. Sec. of State enclosing two copies of Resolutions as passed and approved. W. H. T. No. 5."

your letters and will reply to them in person when he can find a moment's leisure from public business. Practically the resolutions and preamble are the same as those published by the *Examiner*, and will, I hope, be productive of all the advantages which you predict.

Most truly yours

WM. M. BROWNE.

VII. TELEGRAM.

RICHMOND, [August] 14, 1861.

Wm. H. Trescot

Charleston, S. C.

First proposition maintains right privateering as established by practice and recognized by law [of] nations. Second, neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband war. Third, neutral goods except contraband under enemy's flag not liable to seizure. Fourth, blockades to be binding must be effective.

WILLIAM M. BROWNE

Asst. Sec. of State

VIII. TELEGRAM.

RICHMOND, [August] 14, 1861.

William Henry Trescot

Charleston, S. C.

Congress has passed and President approved resolutions. First, that Confederate States maintain right of Privateering as established by practice and recognized by law of Nations. Second, neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband war. Third, seizure under enemy's flag. Fourth, blockade be binding must be effective.

WM. M. BROWNE,

Asst. Sec. State

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Culture and Ethnology. By ROBERT H. LOWIE, Associate Curator, Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History. (New York: Douglas C. MacMurtrie. 1917. Pp. 189. \$1.25.)

IN this attractively published volume Dr. Lowie discusses a number of topics of most timely interest. In three successive chapters the author surveys the relations of culture to psychology, to race, and to environment. Then follows a summarizing discussion of "the determinants of culture". The last chapter, which comprises almost one-half of the booklet, is devoted to a subject of a very different order, terms of relationship. As the author indicates in his preface, the treatment is here more technical. While no fault can be found with the author's desire to bring before the public "a concrete illustration of ethnological method", the reviewer cannot but regard as a mistake the inclusion in the book of that last section. The result is a distinct break in the unity of the work. For Dr. Lowie's essay is an avowed "attempt at popularization" and, as such, it must be pronounced a marked success. It takes us back from such recent attempts of a similar nature as Marett's frivolous albeit meritorious *Anthropology* to the popular works of Huxley, that supreme adept at presenting the truth to the layman in a manner scientific but not technical, and in entertaining but simple language. Such also is the effect of Dr. Lowie's interesting pages. It must also be noted that the theoretical conclusions reached in the course of the first four chapters are throughout expounded at the hand of numerous, generally well chosen, and at times striking concrete illustrations.

The relations of culture to psychology resolve themselves for the author into two fundamental propositions: while culture in its essence belongs to the psychological level, the science of psychology cannot offer valid explanations of culture, for the formulations of that science are too general and, so to say, do not reach the cultural level. On the other hand, the accurate knowledge of the processes of the mind supplied by general psychology may prove of use to the science of culture, whenever the situation involves a marked intrusion of the peculiarities of the individual mind. Thus "the 'capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' constitute a distinct aspect of reality that must be the field of a distinct science autonomous with reference to psychology" (p. 26).

In the section on culture and race it is shown that culture cannot be adequately explained by race, for the same race varies greatly in culture within relatively brief periods of time, while some of the so-called inferior races have repeatedly made valuable contributions to culture. However—and here Dr. Lowie notes an important factor—considering that such marked differences in cultural output may be associated with the same race at different periods in history, a very slight difference in racial aptitude may be expected to result in tremendous cultural consequences (p. 45).

The author's conclusions with reference to the relation of culture to physical environment are conveniently summarized in the statement: "Environment cannot explain culture because the identical environment is consistent with distinct cultures; because cultural traits persist from inertia in an unfavorable environment; because they do not develop where they would be of distinct advantage to a people; and because they may even disappear where one would least expect it on geographical principles" (p. 62).

If psychology, race, environment are powerless to explain culture, it must seek its explanation in itself. Thus culture appears as a closed system of causes and effects. In this connection the problems of diffusion, of the adoption and assimilation of culture through historic contact, are obviously of the greatest importance, and to their elucidation Dr. Lowie devotes a large part of the chapter on the determinants of culture. Here we are also told that whereas cultural events cannot, of course, be regarded as lying outside all law and regularity, the appearance of a specific cultural trait at a given place and time often "seems to have been caused by an accidental complex of conditions rather than in accordance with some fixed principle" (p. 82).

The last important generalization arrived at is that "culture, even when uninfluenced by foreign contact, progresses by leaps and bounds"; in fact "discontinuity is a necessary feature of cultural progress", for "it does not matter whether . . . the underlying *causes* of the phenomena proceed with perfect continuity. Somewhere in the observed cultural *effects* there is the momentous innovation that leads to a definite break with the past" (p. 80).

While the more obvious and elementary principles are thus seen to have been stated by Dr. Lowie with great clearness and vigor, the reviewer fails to find in the author's study any evidence of a deeper insight into the problems of culture-interpretation which alone can lead to a proper formulation of the less obvious issues involved. While no adequate discussion of the topic can be given here, Dr. Lowie's main error seems to lie in a one-sided and somewhat naïve conception of the relations of culture to psychology on the one hand, and to history on the other. Clearly, a culture may be conceived as a process, that is, a succession of events, but also as a relatively contemporaneous complex,

comprising a large number of objective and psychological factors. A great deal of what Dr. Lowie says about the character and determination of cultural traits applies to culture as a process, but does not apply to culture as a complex of a relatively uniform temporal level. But it is precisely culture in this latter aspect which is always considered by those who try to reach an adequate interpretation or "understanding" of culture, whether primitive or modern, and this task, of course, necessarily involves a careful examination of historical, but also of individual and of socio-psychological factors. Again, the great theoretical difficulties arising out of the coexistence of certain deterministic tendencies in culture with factors of an accidental character have been passed over in silence by our author. Considering that no proper weighing of the classical evolutionary theories of cultural development as contrasted with recent more strictly historical tendencies seems possible without some insight into the nature of these relations, some consideration was due them even in so elementary a treatise.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

A History of Architecture. By FISKE KIMBALL, M.Arch., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Architecture, University of Michigan, and GEORGE HAROLD EDGELL, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University. [Harper's Fine Arts Series.] (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1918. Pp. xxiii, 621. \$3.50.)

WITHIN a few more than a brief six hundred pages, including a copious and valuable index, the authors have indeed given to us a complete history of all the architecture of the world, from the Pyramids to the Woolworth Building, bound in a single octavo volume, not too heavy to hold in the hand.

It is complete, in the sense that it leaves hardly a corner of the globe unmentioned, although in such narrow compass, many things may be only mentioned, not elaborated; yet space is found to at least allude to some buildings rarely mentioned in histories of architecture, such as the work of the Central American and Peruvian civilizations, and in such outlying regions as Java and Cambodia. Especially brilliant is the full, novel, and absorbing treatment of the early Christian period in the West, and the parallel Byzantine period in the East.

To accomplish this feat, succinctness was necessary; and of this the authors have shown themselves past masters. Over and over again the result of profound and prolonged research is summed up in two or three lines of text.

Such a book is naturally not suited nor intended for beginners. It presupposes a reader already tolerably familiar with the subject. For such an one, it is filled with new and interesting information, or with pregnant hints that such information exists, and indications of where it may be obtained, touching the latest researches and conclusions.

Note, for instance, on page 12 the brief allusion to the early Semitic invasion of Egypt; and, a few lines further along, another to the Thinite period; both full of suggestiveness for further inquiry. It is strictly a *compendium*—a weighing together—and careful comparison of all the building that has ever been done.

The terseness and clarity in which our authors excel is notable in almost each word; while here and there are phrases which sum up a volume. Thus on page 57, "Beyond the borders even of Hellenistic Greece, Parthia imitated her clumsily and Rome became her most faithful pupil", or at the very opening of the chapter on Greek architecture, "The Greek architects devoted themselves above all to the problems of the column and lintel, creating forms which no later Western people has ever wholly forgotten". Could more be expressed in a dozen words? Especially neat is the comparison, on page 217, of the word Romanesque as applied to architecture, with the word Romance, as applied to language, covering and clearing up a controversy with a single illuminating word. Thus again, the comparison of the regular row of smaller arches on top of the Pont du Gard with the triglyphs of a Doric temple fairly sparkles with the light thrown by each example upon the other.

Following each chapter is a most useful chronological tabulation of the buildings embraced in the period under discussion, together with an invaluable bibliographical memorandum of works that specialize upon it.

Especially pleasant it is to read a book wherein the religious and patriotic prejudices, heretofore so frequent, are discarded, and the subject is discussed with scientific precision and freedom from emotional bias. To read it is like travelling by day through regions before traversed only at night.

JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON.

Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. Par STÉPHANE GSELL, Professeur au Collège de France. Tome II., *L'État Carthaginois*; Tome III., *Histoire Militaire de Carthage*. (Paris: Hachette et Compagnie. 1918. Pp. 475, 424. 10 fr. each.)

THE first half of volume II. of this great work deals with the topography of Carthage and with her possessions in Africa. Excavations made on the site of Carthage bring out the fact that the city goes back at least to the seventh century before our era. For many of the dependent villages and cities in Africa, also, a careful study by the author and by other French scholars of archaeological remains and of the literary sources has made it possible to write a brief historical sketch. The strong predilection of the Carthaginians for the sea is shown by the fact that there were no towns in the interior with Phoenician names, but that Carthaginian colonies are found on the coast along the Mediterranean all the way from the modern Ras Bergaouad to Tangier and on the Atlantic side as far south as fateful Agadir.

In discussing the government of Carthage Professor Gsell describes one important feature of her constitution, without remarking on its significance, which deserves a word in passing. When a Carthaginian magistrate completed his term of office, his conduct and policy were reviewed by the *centumviri*. Consequently he would be likely to hesitate, not only in taking any arbitrary action, but even in assuming responsibility at critical moments. A standing tribunal for this purpose was almost, if not quite, unique in antiquity.

The part of this volume which will interest the reader most is probably that which outlines the political history of Carthage from the middle of the fourth century before our era to the destruction of the city. It is the first adequate account which we have had of party movements in Carthage during this period, and makes it necessary for us to revise materially the conclusions which we have based largely on a study of Roman historians. The colonial system of Carthage is admirably set forth. One important point, however, in this connection does not seem to the reviewer to be explained satisfactorily. Why did Hadrumetum, Utica, Emporia, and Gades break away from Carthage, and why did her colonies in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia accept the alien rule of Rome so readily? Was the government of Carthage harsh, or is their defection to be explained solely by the hatred engendered by her selfish mercantile policy, which prevented her colonies from trading with the Romans and the Greeks?

Gsell's treatment of the military history of Carthage in volume III. reminds us at once of de Sanctis's very recent volumes on the Punic Wars, but the two writers attack their subjects from different points of approach and are concerned with different phases of the wars. For Gsell the central point of interest is the part which Carthage played during the period. In de Sanctis we are looking at the struggle from the vantage-point of Rome. In Gsell's volume, for instance, the story of Hannibal's European campaigns occupies only twenty pages, while in de Sanctis it runs through 315. On the other hand the Italian author gives only forty-nine pages to the military movements in Africa during the Second Punic War, whereas Gsell devotes ninety-five pages to the same subject. Another essential point of difference between the two works is that Gsell interests himself less than de Sanctis does with the criticism of the literary sources and the technical analysis of battles and campaigns, and is more concerned in writing a continuous narrative of the wars under discussion. Upon the vital point of the situation which gave rise to the Second Punic War, as set forth by Gsell on pages 135-138 of volume III., the reviewer is in hearty accord. The underlying cause of this war has been misunderstood by almost all writers on the subject. The war did not grow out of a desire on the part of Rome for the rich province of Spain, but it developed out of a local situation which was aggravated by Rome's disregard of the convention of 226 B.C. and by the hatred which the Barcids felt for Rome.

The forward movement of the story of Carthage, as Gsell tells it in these two volumes, and the lucidity of his style make the book a delight to the reader. At the same time all the information which may be had from the study of ethnology, archaeology, topography, literature, and the inscriptions is brought to bear on the subject. The high standard of scholarship and the clarity which the author attained in his first volume, on primitive times and on the founding of the Empire of Carthage, have been maintained in these two instalments, and when they have been supplemented by the three volumes which he has in preparation, to bring the narrative down to the Byzantine period, they will give us a survey of the ancient history of Northern Africa which should be the standard work on the subject for many years.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Les Origines de l'Ancienne France. Par JACQUES FLACH. Volume IV. *Les Nationalités Régionales. Leurs Rapports avec la Couronne de France.* (Paris: Librairie de Société du Recueil Sirey, Léon Tenin, Directeur. 1917. Pp. xi, 655. 15 fr.)

I SHOULD like to ask that my review of the third volume of M. Flach's work in volume IX. of this *Review*, pages 777-782 (July, 1904), written in the days of less restricted space, be considered a part of the present notice. The place of volume IV. in the author's whole plan is there indicated and the general characteristics of his method and the originality of his ideas sufficiently pointed out.

Volume IV. is the second part of book IV., *The Renaissance of the State*, and has for its subtitle *Le Principat*. It is entirely occupied in discussing the relation between the great baronial states, Flanders, Normandy, etc., and the kingdom of France in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Its special thesis is that there was no feudal bond between the king and the great barons, no homage and no investiture; the oath was that of allegiance and the *Handreichung* a form of agreement merely; the hold which the king retained over the great baron was only that from the general idea of sovereignty; practically the barons were peers of the king, entered into treaties with him as equal partners, made war on him with no breaking of a special bond, and based their power on their own distinct ethnic community, as he did his on that of the Duchy of France. It was Philip Augustus who introduced the feudal tie and made the great barons vassals of the king. In the author's words (pp. 29-30): "As the *regnum Francorum* fell apart, maritime Flanders became a nucleus around which there formed a state distinct from Francia but which remained attached to it by a traditional bond. If the Carolingian count Baldwin was the vassal of his father-in-law Charles the Bald, it is not less certain in my opinion that under his successors this vassalage became an ethnic dependence. Flanders ceased to be a benefice in becoming a state. It is only by a reverse movement that she will

become two centuries later a great fief of the crown." It is hardly necessary to say that this theory is in direct opposition to the reigning explanation of the facts, so ably presented by M. Ferdinand Lot in his *Fidèles ou Vassaux*, and the difficulty of establishing it will be at once appreciated.

Two cardinal difficulties receive little attention from the author. If the feudal bond existed at the end of the ninth century between the Carolingian king and the regional dukes and counts, how did this connection disappear in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, to be renewed in the reign of Philip Augustus, so late in the history of the formation of the feudal system? If the feudal bond existed in its most characteristic features between the regional great baron and his vassals in his county or duchy, why should it not exist between the great baron and the king, and why should not terms, implying a technical significance, have the same meaning when applied to one relationship as to the other? A specific instance of the author's interpretation of terms may illustrate at once the second question and the author's method of treating his evidence, of which it is too characteristic. On page 137 in note 1, he cites the passage: *Willelmus princeps Nordmannorum eidem regi se committit*, having just before denied in the text that the duke of Normandy did homage to the king, and on page 159 he says: "Far from having found the least proof that the duke of Normandy did homage to the king"; but on page 145 he says that the same chronicler, Flodoard, "tells us expressly that a part of the Norman barons did homage, some to the king, Louis d'Outremer, others to Hugh the Great", but the only proof he gives is this passage quoted in the note: *Quidem principes ipsius [Willelmi] se regi committunt, quidem vero Hugoni duci*. Identically the same expression is proof of homage in one case and not the least proof in the other. The volume is full of interest and suggestion to students of the period, though hardly the equal in these respects to those that have preceded it.

G. B. ADAMS.

The Beginnings of Modern Europe (1250-1450). By EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Harvard University. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 550. \$1.80.)

THIRTY years ago Professor Emerton wrote his *Introduction to the Middle Ages (375-814)*, which has furnished many generations of pupils in high schools and colleges a pleasant introduction to medieval history. In 1894 this was followed by his *Mediaeval Europe (814-1300)*. The present volume continues the series by bringing the general history of Europe down to about 1450. On many pages the date 1450 is exceeded so far that 1500 would have served as well as 1450 on the title-page. In format, print, and binding, the new volume is identical with the *Mediaeval Europe*, but whereas that and the *Introduction* were supplied with

bibliographical aids for students and teachers, this new volume has no such useful accessories and seems to be addressed to the general reader as much as to students and teachers. It would seem that the author, who in his *Introduction* began to write for youths of fifteen, has, in his successive books, kept in mind those same youths of 1888 who have now advanced to middle life.

Professor Emerton has rendered an extremely valuable service in writing this book, and in writing it so well. Amid a host of special books, the general history of this period has been sadly neglected. Thus far we have had nothing except the third volume of the *Histoire Générale*, edited by E. Lavissee and A. Rambaud, J. Loserth, *Geschichte des späteren Mittelalters* (1197-1492), and R. Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages* (1273-1494), of which Eleanor C. Lodge, *The End of the Middle Age* (1273-1453), is practically an abridgment. Very few have the ability and persistence necessary to read the French or the German, and for some reason or other American students do not relish Lodge's book. The simple truth of the matter is that the general history of this period has hitherto been read very little in this country. Professor Emerton has now supplied a long-felt want and his book will be welcomed in many places.

Everybody admits that the period from 1250 to 1450 is an extremely difficult one on account of its complexity. The present author has simplified matters by avoiding irrelevant details, and by grouping all his material in but ten chapters with such interesting headings as the Principle of the Modern State, the Rise of a Middle Class, the Age of the Despots in Italy. Much, at times too much, has been sacrificed to simplicity and coherence. Thus the Black Death, with its strong human appeal and with its far-reaching social and economic results, is scarcely mentioned; Spain is left out entirely; and the important history of eastern Europe, culminating in the fall of Constantinople in 1453, is not treated adequately.

The most striking feature of the book is its title. The author evidently persists in restricting the term medieval to the period from about A.D. 800 to about A.D. 1300. We have little quarrel with that. It is idle to insist upon a correct definition of such a peculiar word as medieval which has never had any definite meaning. Some bold textbook writers have even gone so far as to eliminate it altogether by extending ancient history to 800 A.D. and beginning modern history at that same date. Mere words and definitions aside, the important point is that Professor Emerton still holds firmly to the orthodox belief, popularized especially by Burckhardt, Voigt, and Symonds, that the so-called modern spirit originated in the individualism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which is usually called the Renaissance, and that the medieval, period had little or nothing to do with the shaping of modern life. Readers of chapter IX., the Renaissance in Italy, are likely to get the impression that the stirring life of the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

turies was as meaningless for modern times as the back-woods life of western Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. Professor Emerton unfortunately does not acquaint his readers with the fact that a reaction has set in against Burckhardt and that to-day the opinion is fairly widespread that in the shaping of modern life the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had as much if not more influence than the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

L. J. PAETOW.

Wessel Gansfort: Life and Writings. By EDWARD WAITE MILLER, D.D., sometime Professor of Church History in Auburn Theological Seminary. *Principal Works*, translated by JARED WATERBURY SCUDDER, M.A., Professor of the Latin Language in the Albany Academy. In two volumes. [Papers of the American Society of Church History, special volume numbers I. and II.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1917. Pp. xvi, 333; v, 369. \$4.00.)

THIS biography of John Wessel fills an important gap in church history. It is especially useful, as there is very little about Wessel in the English language except a few chapters in Ullmann's *Reformers before the Reformation* and a few brief references in the general church histories. Moreover, Ullmann's style is heavy, but this work has the American fashion of going directly and clearly to the heart of the subject. The first volume is taken up with a careful and comprehensive sketch of Wessel's life, which is followed by brief notices of his letters and main works and finally by a translation of his letters. The second volume contains a translation of his two main works, "The Sacrament of the Eucharist" and "The Farrago", to which is added a translation of the main sources of his life by Hardenberg and Geldenhaur. Brief critical notes on variations in the text and an index of persons and topics close the volume. The volumes contain a number of illustrations, as a portrait of Wessel Gansfort, the Gansfort coat-of-arms and views of Groningen, together with some of the title pages of his works. The translation is carefully done and is especially valuable because hitherto none of his works were accessible in English.

The special significance of Wessel over against the other "Reformers before the Reformation" might have been considered more fully, although the author makes incidental references to Wycliffe, Huss, and Savonarola. But doubtless he found enough material directly connected with Wessel's life not to go far afield. The work, however, demonstrates the fact that Wessel was the mystic among the Pre-Reformers, and, if the conclusions of the author be accepted, he was a sort of Protestant Thomas a Kempis.

The relation of Wessel to the Reformers is more fully treated. The problem of his theological position—whether he was a Protestant or

not—is quite fully considered. The author controverts quite strongly the position of Catholic writers who deny that Wessel was a Protestant. Thus he states that Wessel's theses on indulgences quite outdistance those of Luther in 1517. He seems to be right in this contention, although it is evident that Wessel is clearer on some doctrines than on others—clearer on justification by faith than on the Lord's Supper. He emphasizes the symbolical character of the Lord's Supper, though at one place (II. 57, *ad fin.*) he speaks of the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. But we need not be surprised at this. The Reformers before the Reformation came out of the grave of medievalism like Lazarus, with the grave-clothes on. Huss doctrinally was behind Wessel, for he held to transubstantiation. Some doubts have even been suggested about Wycliffe on this point. The wonder is not that these Pre-Reformers did not come out more clearly toward Protestantism, but that they came as far as they did.

The influence of Wessel on the Reformers is clearly shown. Luther rejected Wessel's view of the Eucharist and sent Wessel's work to Oecolampadius, who sent it to Zwingli, who accepted it. Wessel thus prepared the way for the ultimate division between the Lutherans and Reformed in the Reformation. We commend the work heartily for its thoroughness and freshness.

JAMES I. GOOD.

Chartes du Chapitre de Sainte-Waudru de Mons. Recueillies et publiées par LÉOPOLD DEVILLERS. Publication terminée par ERNEST MATTHIEU. Tome quatrième. [Académie Royale de Belgique: Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels: Kiessling et Compagnie. Pp. 839.)

THE voluminous collection of the charters and documents pertaining to the Chapter of St. Waudru in Mons, Hainaut, in Belgium, begun by Léopold Devillers in 1899, has been brought to a close by Ernest Matthieu, although he proposes to add a supplement of further data found elsewhere. This fourth volume contains charters from January 9, 1531, to the suppression of the chapter at the end of the eighteenth century. As in the earlier volumes, the major part of the documents are simply analyzed and their contents noted—a useful measure as there are 3083 pieces in all. A few, pertaining to the reign of the archdukes and approved by them in 1617, appear in full.

The canonesses were among the Belgians who keenly resented the attempts of Joseph II. to introduce innovations of his own choice into Church as well as State. They submitted to the changes for a brief period only and then returned to the old order.

There are stories to be picked out of the records, had anyone the patience to be a gleaner over the field for the pure amusement of finding bits of human nature. The chapter did not confine itself to spiritual

duties. The administrators were very keen in regard to all financial privileges. For instance, they were entitled to two-thirds of a tithe on the proceeds of a verjuice factory in their neighborhood, and they were very jealous of any infringement, so that Barbe Samine, widow of Jean d'Audenarde, was forcibly reminded that she had no right to the product of her own sour grapes without paying toll.

The citizens of Mons were not invariably at peace with the ladies. The prayer bells were too constant to suit the taste of the burghers, and the ringing was, at last, regulated by the civil courts—a compromise that probably did not suit either party, the one still finding the noise too frequent, and the other the calls too few.

It is evident that many of the residents in the chapter were there for other reasons than vocational. Charles V. enacted a regulation about absences without leave—a regulation that suggests that freedom of action had been indulged in by the sisters. This was not unnatural if they were there purely as a provision for their future. The reception of Catherine d'Ongnies, aged three years and nine months, shows what the method was in noble families with many daughters to settle in life according to their station.

In addition to such bits of social gossip, the records have, of course, a real merit in furnishing forth many details about agriculture, household arts, and manufacture. In all these the chapter had an interest as its industrial operations were fairly extensive.

R. P.

The Political History of Poland. By EDWARD H. LEWINSKI-CORWIN, Ph.D. (New York: The Polish Book Importing Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 628. \$3.00.)

IN this work, the author traces the long and complicated, but interesting, history of Poland from the time when the Poles first entered their present home until the declaration of Polish independence by Germany and Austria in 1916. Four chapters are devoted to the early period up to the union with Lithuania in the fourteenth century, five to the Polish medieval empire, three to its downfall, one to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, four to the period after the Congress of Vienna, and the last to the Polish Question and the Great War.

The author points out in the preface that he has endeavored to give "an accurate account of the political and social evolution of Poland, based especially and largely on Polish sources of information", and has tried to "steer clear of extremes". In the main, he has succeeded admirably and has presented a very able and lucid account of the history of that country.

The work wisely refrains from venturing a judgment on the famous Piast controversy, or from explaining the high state of the development of paganism among the Slavs who lived to the west of the Poles. The

early influence of Czech culture upon the beginning of Polish civilization is slighted for some reason or other. However, the lucid way in which the author connects the results of the Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century with the infiltrations of German settlers and the *Drang nach Osten*, must be commended (pp. 35-41). On the other hand, it seems that the union of Lithuania and territories occupied by other nations has not been sufficiently emphasized in respect to the basic influence it had on the course of Polish history. Undoubtedly, it was the creation of a barrier before the pressure of the German *Drang nach Osten*, but it meant also the establishment of one of those cosmopolitan medieval empires, few of which survived modern times. Moreover, it meant a shift in the base of the Polish state from the banks of the Warthe, Oder, and Netze, to the Vistula and beyond. The Poles yielded in the west, which was basically Polish, to gain in the lands beyond the Vistula, which were Lithuanian and Little Russian. In other words, the national phases of Polish history have been more emphasized than the imperial. In such an admirable and well-balanced survey as this, the imperial aspects should have found a larger part, the more so because of the numerous lessons they have to teach the present age. But these are merely suggestions.

The treatment of Polish history after the partitions is comprehensive, and the final chapter on the Great War is as clear and concise as it is impartial. On the whole, the author tries to be fair and tolerant to the Ruthenes (Little Russians) of Galicia to whom he will not give freedom on the creation of the new Polish state. It is difficult, however, to believe with him that the Polish-Ruthenian controversy is based almost wholly on economic grounds or that Polish gerrymandering is mere politics (p. 542), when it gives the Poles some seventy-eight out of the one hundred and six seats in the Austrian parliament and about seven-eighths of the members of the Galician diet in a province where fifty-eight per cent. are Poles. Nor is it easy to accept his statement that the demand for a Ruthenian university is "utterly unreasonable" (p. 545).

The author is on the whole careful about spelling geographical names, although there are cases where, as with Czernihow (instead of Chernigov, p. 260), the Anglo-Saxon reader may be a bit puzzled.

Within the limits set down by the author the work is undoubtedly the best of its kind in the English language.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne. By HENRY MELVILL GWATKIN, D.D. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. viii, 416. \$5.00.)

THE late Professor Gwatkin differed from both the traditional German and the traditional English type of professor of ecclesiastical history. Unlike the former, he did little to investigate new and difficult

problems in history, but seemed contented with presenting well-worn themes based upon well-known material. Unlike the latter, he was essentially a teacher and really did know how to impart knowledge. In spite of his early work on the Arians, he seems to have cared little for investigation of sources or new historical combinations. He was a teacher and when he wrote he still had in mind the student rather than the scholar. The present volume is a well-written history of the Church of England alongside of a good deal of secular history, and it touches the Church only on its more external side. The title appears to have been due to the fact that the two sides of the history are brought together. But the title is very misleading. The book nowhere gives, for any period before Henry VIII., a sufficient statement of the actual relations of the Church and the State. What was the position of the Church in the feudal organization of the nation? In what way was there a Church of England? How did the Church stand to the Papacy and how did it stand to the Crown? What were the rights and liberties of the Church as against the Crown? There is no hint that such questions are recognized as coming under the title of the volume. At times in the history of England the ecclesiastical events bulk large in the general history of the nation. Such were the events that constituted the English Reformation. Here the author is at his best, though his judgments seem unusual at this date. If the book represents Professor Gwatkin's lectures on ecclesiastical history, as the preface implies, it is overloaded with its title. It might well be that the author from practical experience found it necessary to treat large portions of secular history and left much to be supplied in the class room. But the cardinal defect of the book as a presentation of English church history is that for the most part it might have been written about a church in an inaccessible island so far as there is any illustration of the Church and State in England by similar institutions elsewhere. The author's treatment of the well-known statement of Eadmer as to William's policy toward the Church is an instance. Much light is thrown upon that statement when the whole passage is cited whereby the policy is shown to have been that pursued by William in Normandy. The whole question of the *Placet* then comes up. Was it peculiar to England and Normandy? If so, for how long, and why? The statutes of *Mortmain*, of *Praemunire*, of *Circumspecte agatis*, are all to be interpreted by legal institutions on the Continent and thus the true meaning and importance of these statutes in England brought out. But of this never a word. The conventional mode of treatment does not call for such. To sum up the general impression, for the book deserves to be judged primarily in that way, it may be said that it is merely one more of the one-volume histories of the English Church, that it presents from a slightly different standpoint the same material as others have given, but with an occasional touch of new interest in the Reformation period. One would have been glad to have had from the author a treatment

of some one phase of history, some limited period investigated from new sources. There are literally thousands of topics in the history of the English Church, especially in the medieval period, that need investigation. That history, in spite of the attempts to write it as a whole, is for the historian still practically virgin soil.

J. C. AYER, JR.

Chatham's Colonial Policy: a Study in the Fiscal and Economic Implications of the Colonial Policy of the Elder Pitt. By KATE HOTBLACK, B.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London: George Routledge and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 219. \$2.50.)

THE volume is the result of prolonged studies in British colonial policies, the publication of which has been unfortunately delayed on account of the war. Besides the usual printed books of sources the author has drawn upon the enormous quantity of manuscript material to be found in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and the private collection of the Woburn manuscripts. The result of Miss Hotblack's research has been thrown into the form of a series of monographs on phases of Pitt's policy, treating the various dependencies of the British empire separately. The chapter on Africa is particularly good, and is the first attempt to give an adequate account of Pitt's object in the expeditions against that continent.

The chapters on Canada and the one on the West Indies will be found of particular interest to American readers, although the reader will find little that is new. The author finds the origin of Pitt's interest in Canada in the proposals of the Duke of Bedford for the conquest of that territory during the war of the Austrian Succession. It was apparently at this time that Pitt laid down the great fundamental principle of his colonial policy as it touched the struggle against Britain's formidable rival in maritime and commercial power, which must be overthrown by the conquest of Canada. Miss Hotblack's treatment of the treaty of peace affecting Canada would have been more satisfactory had she grasped the significance of the situation in the west. Her belief that France was ready to cede the Mississippi trade is hardly supported by the documents in the French archives nor even by more accessible material in printed form.

In the discussion of India, Miss Hotblack like other students finds the obscurity that so frequently clouds the opinions of Pitt, the politician, however clearly expressed may be those of the statesman. The East India Company was a political power which had to be touched lightly by aspiring politicians. Her conclusion is contained in the following words: "But when all that is known of Pitt's dealings with India is told, the great problem remains: what were Chatham's matured views of that Empire which, of all the glorious possessions acquired dur-

ing his administration, lay nearest his heart? What were his plans for the future of a dominion which he declared was to be preferred even to America?" The only discussion of the English colonies in America is to be found in a chapter on the Stamp Act, the credit for the form of which Miss Hotblack gives to "a certain obscure Mr. McCulloh", who was the chief adviser of Mr. Grenville. Grenville is, as so often, made the scapegoat for the plan of taxation of America that was forced upon him by the decision of the former ministry concerning the imperial policy to be pursued in America.

The book closes with a series of letters written by Pitt in 1758 and 1759 which have never before been published. The reviewer notices an unfortunate repetition of a sentence on page 3. On the whole the book contains a most satisfactory picture of the policies pursued by Pitt throughout the empire, and will be found indispensable to all students of Pitt and to those who desire to understand the implications in the financial measures of the British ministry concerning the dependencies of the empire.

C. W. ALVORD.

The Town Labourer, 1760-1832: the New Civilisation. By J. L. HAMMOND and BARBARA HAMMOND. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xi, 346. \$3.50.)

THIS essay under the joint authorship of Mr. and Mrs. Hammond is an admirable example of the way in which historical data may be used to substantiate a mental diagnosis. Its basis is a study of factory employment in England during the first seventy years of the factory system; a study at once clear and dispassionate, and which, considering its brevity, is probably the best that so far has been written. But the book was projected really for a different and much more original purpose. It is a commonplace of the period that steps taken by the factory operative to raise his standard of living encountered from the upper and middle classes a concerted suppression. This suppression did not spring altogether from the instinct of employers to adjust wages to their own advantage. It arose in large part, as this work implies, from a perfectly honest difficulty the upper classes experienced, in reconciling the self-assertion of the laborer with the accepted and traditional foundations of social order. Thus the question of the laborer's well-being widens out from one of wages pure and simple to one involving the thinking habits of, roughly speaking, the rich and the poor, in their reciprocal relations during the first two generations of the factory age. To describe and to determine what these thinking habits were, to lay bare their characteristic activity, to give a mental diagnosis of the utter disjunction between rich and poor within the social fabric, is to bring the study of the Industrial Revolution within the scope of an entirely new criticism; one which must deepen the meaning of the period as the forming point of nineteenth-century judgment upon class issues.

The argument of the book leads to a dilemma, which, faced by the upper classes, inhibited their remedial thinking. As a group they found both their reason and their emotion bewildered at the human wretchedness of the period. They accepted in a fatalistic spirit the laborer's impoverishment; they stared at his destitution through a complete paralysis of constructive thought; they deferred to eminent speculative authority for an inhuman law of wages. Yet any move on the laborer's part to secure an adequate standard of comfort provoked spontaneously an activity of repression on the part of the upper classes, in striking contrast to their passive acquiescence in the evil they could not themselves prevent. Thus "thoughtful people" were led to take refuge behind a "complacent pessimism": a vicious legacy to be passed on to the nineteenth century, obscuring the century's earlier judgment of its own inherited social cleavage. It is impossible to trace this argument, and the circumstantial data upon which it is built, from its beginning to its conclusion in the two chapters on the Mind of the Rich and the Mind of the Poor, without feeling that the authors have created an unexpected interest in the field they have investigated; an interest for which the method and technique of the present school of social reconstruction in England is largely responsible.

On the subject of the assertiveness of the laborer and its repression, the book offers material that has not been used before. This is found in the Home Office Papers, which are a revelation as to the machinery of justice in the factory towns. The Home Secretary, as has always been known, was anxious, from fear of the industrial Jacobin, to break up laborers' associations; but the local town magistrates, drawn from the employers and the parsons, seem to have used the combination laws as a handle for petty tyrannies, venting a malicious spite upon the laborer, the one from a class, the other from a denominational sectarianism. More noticeable still than actual coercion through the law was the moral repression through the teaching of upper and middle-class evangelicalism, which inculcated submission and made self-assertiveness one of the major iniquities. The connection, however indirect, between the prevailing evangelicalism and the retention of a low wage is one of the most original suggestions of this study. It is a distinct contribution to the integration of religious faith with the psychology of classes and types, and also with the psychology of political judgment.

The total effect of the work, with its vivid and confident analysis of mental habits, is to make the period of the Industrial Revolution much more intimately the background of the nineteenth century. It is delightfully written; and, for anyone interested in what passes under the current phrase of constructive political thought, it somehow happens to strike a most inspiring note.

C. E. FRYER.

Le Rhin Français pendant la Révolution et l'Empire. Par P. H. SAGNAC, Professeur à l'Université de Lille. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1917. Pp. 391. 7 fr.)

THIS book is the outgrowth of a course of lectures given by M. Sagnac at the University of Bordeaux in 1915-1916. It concerns the history of the country on the left bank of the Rhine, a region extending from Alsace-Lorraine north to the borders of Holland, and including a population at the time of 1,600,000. This country was overrun by the French in the Revolution and held by them until 1814 when it was ceded to certain German states, to Bavaria, Hesse, and particularly to Prussia, which created out of its share the so-called Rhine Province. M. Sagnac does not attempt to tell again in detail how France by her arms and her diplomacy conquered this territory, a tale rendered sufficiently familiar by the writings of a number of French and German historians, Sorel, Sybel, Guyot, Chuquet, Rambaud. He essays a different task: "How did the French occupy and how did they organize this country? What sentiments did they find among the conquered people? What aids, and what obstacles did they encounter; what changes did their own plans undergo at first and how was it that in the end they brought about the union with France? To what degree did they succeed in assimilating it? What, in brief, was the result of this *rencontre de l'esprit germanique et de l'esprit français sur le sol rhénan*?" These are very complex and delicate questions which no historian has examined as a whole and which have never been made the theme of an individual work."

It is this field of history, as thus defined, that M. Sagnac treats in an altogether admirable volume of less than four hundred pages. The original material essential to his study, and which he has used, falls into three categories: documents of French origin, German documents favorable, as a whole, to the French, and German documents hostile to France. These are indicated, appraised, and utilized.

In 1789 this left bank of the Rhine was split up into 97 different states and was dotted with historic cities whose fame was most disproportionate to their size. Cologne had only 38,000 inhabitants, Mainz only 21,000, Coblenz 10,000, Treves and Bonn 8,000, Worms 5,000, Speyer 3,700, cities which had sadly fallen from their high estate of the period of the Renaissance but in which the proud memories of the past were still an active and vital force. M. Sagnac gives a preliminary description of these petty states and of their governments, their economic and social life and institutions, their intellectual and moral status. Then follows an account of the progress of French arms from 1792 to the Treaty of Basel, of the discussion as to whether France should retain her conquests or not, the victory of the partizans of the "natural boundaries" led by Reubell, the Alsatian, over those who, like

Carnot, would, in the interest of a durable peace, be content with only Belgium. The idea of making a buffer state, advocated by Hoche, was rejected. The organization in every sphere of life given to the country when finally annexed outright, and the character, methods, aims, successes, failures of the Napoleonic régime from 1802 to 1814 are treated in a masterly and impressive manner. This book is a work of fine scholarship, extraordinarily rich in content, distinguished by penetrating analysis, by a nice discrimination in the selection of material, and by restraint and clarity of judgment. It would be impossible to summarize this volume, and it would be difficult to over-praise it. It is a fresh, substantial, and extremely interesting contribution to the literature of the period.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Life and Letters of Thomas Hodgkin, Fellow of University College, D.C.L. Oxford and Durham, D.Litt. Dublin. By LOUISE CREIGHTON. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1917. Pp. xiii, 445. \$4.50.)

MRS. CREIGHTON'S qualifications for writing a life of Thomas Hodgkin will be admitted by all who have followed the progress of historical studies in England during the generation now just passing from the stage. The efficient companion of her husband, the late Bishop of London, throughout his career as writer of history, editor of useful manuals, and organizer of historical instruction, she was a central figure in the extraordinary literary activities of that creative epoch. Through this participation in Creighton's work she came into relations of friendship with his friend Hodgkin and was thus marked out as the natural person to undertake an appreciation of his personality and his work.

There could hardly have been two ways of entrance upon the career of the historian more different than those of Creighton and Hodgkin. Creighton's was the academic approach, following the conventional lines of public school training, a university course, and then a life of clerical preparation and practice. His face was set steadily on the road of ecclesiastical preferment toward the highest goal. Yet when in the year 1875 he first made acquaintance with Hodgkin, then, in his forty-fourth year, occupied with the first plans for his great work on *Italy and her Invaders*, he was quick to perceive a kindred spirit. Hodgkin, excluded from the great universities by his Quaker birth and now involved in all the detail of a banker's profession in the purely commercial atmosphere of Newcastle, was as complete an amateur in historical study as ever touched a pen. Yet between the two began a continuous give and take of learning and enthusiasm profitable to both and lasting as long as Creighton lived.

Mrs. Creighton touches upon one aspect of this diversity of attitude in her introduction, warning her readers that in regard to the deepest

preoccupation of Dr. Hodgkin's life, his Quaker religious faith, she necessarily writes as an outsider. This being understood, we are impressed with her sympathetic comprehension of this whole side of her subject's character. She presents him as an historical student possessed by a profound conviction of the constant working of a divine purpose in human life. As he felt his own life to be the following of a divine guidance, so he was always seeing in the life of nations, especially in the persons of great leaders, a drama of moral development. Readers of his books will recognize the consequences of this dramatic attitude and will recall the storm of just criticism which it called forth. Mrs. Creighton passes lightly over this aspect of Hodgkin's historical work, but shows convincingly how the early amateurishness of his method gave place gradually to the more professional quality.

The method of the book is mainly chronological. After a brief sketch of Hodgkin's early life, the beginnings of legal study, and the struggle with ill-health, it goes on to his decision to become a banker and his settlement at Newcastle. The narrative is held to the narrowest limits consistent with clearness, and the personal flavor is supplied by copious selections from the letters which were the writer's most natural medium of self-expression. Later the topical method is used more freely, with groups of letters to illustrate the several topics.

Whatever we may think of Hodgkin's merits as an historian, there can hardly be two opinions as to his extraordinary quality as a man. Of him, if of any one, it could be said that everything human interested him, and he wished to have a hand in the shaping of every interest with which he came into contact. His energy was unbounded and his industry tireless. He was one of those rare persons who can utilize a quarter of an hour, a perilous gift, from the evil consequences of which he was not altogether exempt. His nature was essentially expansive, meeting men half-way, full of buoyant humor with corresponding moments of depression. He enjoyed everything—work, play, travel, talk, music, everything but the theatre, against which his Quaker training had given him an unconquerable prejudice.

The magnitude of his literary output is shown in a bibliographical appendix chronologically arranged and containing no less than two hundred and six publications. All members of the historian's craft will welcome this revealing portrait of one of the most picturesque figures among their fellow-workers.

E. EMERTON.

The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914, from the Accession of Bismarck to the Outbreak of the Great War. By LUCIUS HUDSON HOLT, Ph.D., Lieutenant-Colonel, United States Army, Professor of English and History in the United States Military Academy, and ALEXANDER WHEELER CHILTON, Captain of Infantry, U. S. A., Assistant Professor of History in the United

States Military Academy. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 611. \$2.60.)

THE conception of this book is admirable. Its distinguishing features are concentration of attention on international relations, elaboration of the proposition that in that field the chief interest for the period "revolves about the political ambitions and methods of the Prusso-German state", and emphasis upon Bismarck as the controlling personality of the time. Internal affairs are described for the great states alone and for them only so far as is necessary to make clear the course of international affairs.

The division into periods lends emphasis to the authors' analysis of the subject. Four periods are sharply distinguished: (1) the attainment of German hegemony in Europe, 1862-1875; (2) its maintenance in Europe, 1875-1890; (3) the formation of a defence against it, 1890-1911; (4) the conflict of the alliances, 1911-1914. To the reviewer it would seem more accurate and more in harmony with the general conception of the authors if the boundary between the third and fourth periods had been placed at the formation of the Triple Entente in 1907. Skillful subdivision of the space allotted to each of the periods gives the book an exceptionally good organization. The style is simple, lucid, and cogent. While better suited for the general reader than for the student, the book will serve fairly well as a textbook for college classes.

The passages dealing with military operations were written by Captain Chilton. They are among the best features of the book. From his accounts the civilian reader may easily comprehend how the campaigns were fought. There is a noticeable absence of the superfluous data commonly found in such descriptions. In a few instances the names of commanders and the composition of armies are included where nothing is thereby added to the reader's understanding of the course of events. The maps for the elucidation of the campaigns are admirably adapted to their purpose. It is to be hoped that other military experts who have occasion to write for civilian readers will take Captain Chilton's work as a model.

Two serious defects greatly detract from the value of the book. To the reviewer it seems certain that the general impression which it produces does not conduce to a just verdict upon the whole course of international relations between 1862 and 1914 and that its delineation of Bismarck is seriously at fault. Although it is highly desirable that historians dealing with that period should be wholly fair to Germany, it is equally important that they should deal justly with the countries which were seriously affected by German policy. The authors do not strike this difficult balance. While the attitude and action of Germany are frequently condemned, especially toward the close of the period, it is a fair characterization of the book taken as a whole to say that the authors in their anxiety to be fair to Germany frequently lean over back-

ward and produce an impression more favorable to her than is deserved. This feature is accentuated by the fact that the tone is in some places rather anti-British, somewhat anti-French, and decidedly anti-Serb.

The delineation of Bismarck shows some slight trace of war influences in the emphasis upon his unscrupulousness and his hostility to democratic ideas. But the portrayal as a whole is essentially the conventional picture of ante-bellum days. Bismarck is represented as a hero, entitled to admiration and gratitude. Why should not historians, along with the rest of the world, correct their ideas by the light which the war reveals? Historians should have learned that in many points their old conceptions of men and events need serious revision. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of Bismarck.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The German Terror in France: an Historical Record. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: George H. Doran Company. 1917. Pp. xv, 212. \$1.00.)

THE present work, as the author indicates, is to be considered a continuation of his earlier *German Terror in Belgium*. The chapters are numbered consecutively through the two volumes and the same plan and method of treatment is adopted in each. "The narrative has been arranged so as to follow separately the tracks of the different German Armies, or groups of Armies, which traversed different sectors of French and Belgian territory. Within each sector the chronological order has been followed." Together the two volumes cover the acts of violence committed upon the persons and property of civilians in the invaded regions of Belgium, France, and Luxemburg during the first three months of the war.

The book presents no new evidence and contains even less discussion than the preceding work on Belgium. The author's purpose, however, is not to convince but to describe. "With the documents now published on both sides it is at last possible to present a clear narrative of what actually happened. The co-ordination of this mass of evidence, which has gradually accumulated since the first days of the invasion, is the principal purpose for which the book has been written." Taken literally, this statement and the author's execution of his announced task are probably open to question. Complete historical evidence is as yet scarcely available on either side. Of German sources the author has apparently used only the appendixes to the German *White Book* and such extracts from diaries as have been published in English, French, or Belgian official reports. The pamphlets, newspapers, and periodicals, which were doubtless available, have not been drawn upon, although they afford much excellent evidence. Furthermore, the German *White Book* itself has not at all times been used with the thoroughness which the task might demand, *e. g.*, page 73, "At Biesmes they killed eight

civilians". In the German *White Book*, appendix 34, which is the sole authority adduced for this statement, the testimony of the *Kolonnenkommandeur* refers to "etwa 12 bewaffneten Zivilisten . . . erschossen". The further statement of this same witness that on the next day at "Lanesse und Somzee . . . wurden eine Anzahl Zivilisten erschossen und mehrere Häuser verbrannt" is entirely overlooked. The author's use of the English, French, and Belgian sources is likewise open to criticism. Much material of a purely circumstantial nature, or the statements of single witnesses, included in the official reports as matters of record, the author has deemed fit to include in "an ordered and documented narrative of the attested facts".

Perhaps, however, it is fairer not to insist upon too literal an interpretation of the author's claims. He recognizes that "the ultimate inquiry and verdict, if it is to have finality, must proceed either from a mixed commission of representatives of all the States concerned, or from a neutral commission". Meanwhile, using only official documents and a few others which command universal attention, and supporting every charge by a specific citation, he has drawn up a list of indictments which must be considered when the final reckoning takes place. As a whole, the two volumes together may be regarded as the most complete catalogue of the crimes charged against Germany on the western front during the first three months of the war which has thus far appeared in English. Although there is some material which must be classed as doubtful, the amount of fully "attested fact" from which no one will dissent on grounds of historical evidence is larger than the German authorities can ever hope satisfactorily to explain.

A. C. KREY.

The War and the Bagdad Railway: the Story of Asia Minor and its Relation to the Present Conflict. By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1917. Pp. 160. \$1.50.)

DR. JASTROW believes that the Bagdad Railway project was "the largest single contributing factor in bringing on the war". Most readers will argue for the equality or pre-eminence of some other factor, such as the Alsace-Lorraine question, the character of the Emperor William II., the desire of Austria to dominate Serbia, the building of a great German navy, the woes of Macedonia, or the desire of Germany to dominate the world. It is similarly not possible to agree with the "main thesis" of the book, that "the control of the historic highway stretching from Constantinople to Bagdad has at all times involved the domination of the Near East". To object that Bagdad has existed for less than twelve centuries would be quibbling, but Dr. Jastrow, in order to strengthen his case, enlarges his terminals and broadens his highway,

until Constantinople means the whole of Asia Minor, and Bagdad all Babylonia to the Persian Gulf. Even so the "historic highway" has been under one control, apart from times of war, only by five powers during three widely separated periods, which amount all together to less than a thousand years; and in only one instance did the conquest of the "highway" begin the process of the domination of the Near East. To be more specific, the Persians conquered Babylonia and Asia Minor, and then added Egypt. Alexander took Asia Minor and then Egypt before obtaining Babylonia. Rome, contrary to Dr. Jastrow's impression (pp. 58, 59), never held Babylonia except for two or three years at the close of Trajan's reign. In medieval times, the Seljuk Turks, the Mongols, and for a short time, Timur, held nearly all the road, but this did not enable them to take Egypt or southeastern Europe. The Ottoman Turks took Egypt before they took Bagdad, and lost Egypt before they lost Bagdad.

The fact is that Dr. Jastrow has been led to overstate his generalizations by projecting backward the fact that in the last two years the idea of Mittel-Europa has become clear to all the world, with its plan of continuous control from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf, in which the Bagdad Railway plays an essential part. Historical precedent does not indicate that the completion of the Bagdad Railway, even if wholly in German and Turkish hands (which, after their treatment of the Armenians and Syrians, God forbid!), would "involve the domination of the Near East". Egypt, if strongly held, could and can remain under other control.

The affirmation that "the possession of Asia Minor is also the key to India" (p. 55), will hardly bear examination, for unless it be prophetic, it is based only upon the advance of Alexander the Great (the statement on page 73 that Selim I. conquered Persia and Hindustan being of course an error). It is strange to see again the old mistake that the Ottoman Turks raised "an impassable barrier to the East" by the capture of Constantinople, and so forced Columbus to sail to the west (pp. 9, 74), especially since the present reviewer called Dr. Jastrow's attention to the matter in the *Nation* for Oct. 12, 1916, page 345: Asia Minor contained only one of several routes between West and East, and Constantinople controlled another; the southern routes were as freely open after 1453 as before; the goods of the East were never lacking in the West; contemporary evidence connecting the voyage of Columbus in any way with the fall of Constantinople has yet to be produced.

Apart from such erroneous generalizations, Dr. Jastrow's book is a valuable contribution toward the recognition of the imperative importance of a satisfactory settlement of the Near East. Having traced in broad outline the historical development of the region, he concludes with urging warmly a settlement not by force nor by partition, but by a *co-operation* of the great nations of the world with the peoples of the region.

A. H. LYBYER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American Indian: an Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World. By CLARK WISSLER, Curator of Anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City. (New York: Douglas C. McMurtrie. 1917. Pp. xiii, 435. \$3.00.)

THERE has existed, for some time, a peculiar division of labor between English anthropologists and their American colleagues. Whereas the former seem to have monopolized the field of speculation and theory, the latter have to their credit a set of model monographic investigations of individual tribes as well as some valuable contributions to methodology. Of late, however, developments on both shores of the Atlantic tend to put an end to this not wholly satisfactory division in method of work. English students are turning their attention to first-hand studies of uncivilized communities, and have already achieved some notable results in that direction; while in America, the interest in the wider and deeper problems of ethnology, until recently submerged in the flood of concrete and detailed studies, has come to the surface again, and with it a crop of experiments in ethnological analysis and synthesis. Among the latter Dr. Wissler's *The American Indian* easily ranks highest. It is, moreover, the first attempt on the part of a special student to represent in a succinct synthesis the results of ethnographic work in an entire continent, for Dr. Wissler has not been deterred by the relative paucity of South American data from including that district in his survey.

The first thirteen chapters of the book (pp. 7-203) comprise a systematic review of the different aspects of aboriginal culture from the point of view of their distribution in the New World. The author thus examines the food areas, the domestication of animals, methods of transportation, the textile arts, the ceramic arts, decorative designs, architecture, work in stone and metals, special inventions, the fine arts, social groupings, social regulations, ritual observances, and mythology. It will be readily recognized of what value this study in distribution of cultural traits will prove to the layman as well as to the specialist. Special attention must also be drawn to the distributional maps, particularly those on agriculture (p. 24), basketry (p. 53), weaving (p. 57), types of costume (p. 62), pottery (p. 68), and clans and gentes (p. 156).

The next six chapters (pp. 204-341) are different in character. First the fifteen culture areas (ten for North America and five for the Southern continent) are briefly characterized. This is followed by a similar classification based on archaeological material, yielding eighteen and six areas, for North and South America respectively. One chapter each is given to chronology of cultures, linguistic classification, and somatic classification. Chapter XIX. is of great theoretical interest.

Here the author attempts a "correlation of classifications". While the comparison of the classifications based on historic and archaeological data is open to objections, which cannot be entered into in this review, the results are certainly interesting (see map on p. 330). The author also arrives at the conclusion that the negative stand often taken toward the relations of culture, linguistics, and somatology, is not wholly justifiable, in so far as certain significant correlations may be observed between classifications based on the three sets of data. The last two chapters contain suggestive remarks on the association of culture traits, the historical conception of culture, and New World origins.

Dr. Wissler's book does not make easy reading; but as a work of reference, as an authoritative summary of New World civilization, and, finally, as a first attempt at ethnological synthesis on a large scale, it must be pronounced a notable contribution to the literature of ethnology. It is to be hoped that the sociologist and the historian will claim from the anthropologist their share in its use.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

A Social History of the American Family, from Colonial Times to the Present. By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN, Ph.D. Volumes I. and II. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1917, 1918. Pp. 348, 390. \$5.00 each.)

WE have here two or three volumes, which, the author says (preface), form "an attempt to develop an understanding of the forces that have been operative in the evolution of family institutions in the United States". There are twenty chapters in volume I.: two devoted to old-world origins, the next five to New England, four to the middle, and eight to the southern colonies, and a final chapter on the French colonies in the West. The main topics taken up in each group are Courtship and Marriage, Position of Women, Family Life, Status of Children, and various pathological aspects of sex and marriage. The author defends what he fears some may consider "undue attention" to "pathological abnormalities", on the ground that "American history with which most readers are familiar has been written by litterateurs or historians with little perspective save that which inheres in loyalty to the established order, in the attenuated atmosphere of the middle class, or in the desire to glorify the past". Volume II., in fourteen chapters, covering the period through the Civil War, continues the narrative and treats much the same topics, but includes chapters on the West, the New Industrial Order, the South under the slavery régime, and the Civil War.

An important, indeed one of the principal, portions of this subject had previously been treated by Professor George E. Howard in his *History of Matrimonial Institutions, chiefly in England and the United States*, emphasizing the legislative aspects of marriage and divorce, but also devoting much space to other topics. His treatment is more

scientific than Mr. Calhoun's and is based on a wider knowledge of the original sources. The work under review is more popular in character. Much use has been made of travellers' accounts of the status of the family and the opinions of some contemporary observers. Indeed a large portion of these volumes consists of extracts from such sources with more or less comment on the same. These are used uncritically and the same is true of the author's use of secondary sources, such as local histories, often giving the opinions of an author writing a century more or less after the period in question. The work abounds in broad generalizations for which the evidence is extremely meagre.

The general method used is that of citing numerous individual cases and opinions supposed to be typical of the colony or state in question and the period discussed, as well as representative of the various classes composing the society described. In the first volume little account is taken of the evolution of the family, and its condition in 1650 and 1776, as set forth by our author, was essentially the same. He gives but slight attention to forces or their modifications due to the passage of time, the change in political, economic, or social conditions, race elements, environment, the distribution of population, and the change in the occupations of various groups and classes. These are obviously matters to which one must pay attention if one is to understand the "forces that have been operative in the evolution of family institutions in the United States". In volume II., however, there is considerable improvement in this respect. Attention is given especially to the frontier, democratic tendencies, industrialism, increase of wealth, religious and educational forces, and the slavery system, in their influence on marriage, family life, childhood, and women; in the last instance with respect to their "social subordination" and subsequent "emergence".

Although the author has not produced the work one might expect from his preface, nevertheless he has brought together much interesting material and many opinions on various phases of family life in the colonial and national period. His book is undoubtedly the most complete treatise on the subject yet produced. He leaves his reader with a gloomy impression of the standards of morals of the American family, perhaps due in part to his evident interest in and emphasis upon "pathological abnormalities". It must be remembered, however, that most travellers were often looking for just such evidence. The good that is in men and women has, unfortunately, difficulty in getting well recorded in the historical documents most used. Perhaps the study of more varied sources would induce the author to modify his conclusions; for example, such as Dr. C. L. Powell uses in his *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653*, an excellent background for the book under review. Other sources, such as the newspaper press, court records, and family history, have been used by the author to only a slight extent. Considering also Mr. Calhoun's general estimate of American historians (preface), the fact that all evidence is good grist for his mill, from the

traveller's chance observations and impressions to neighborhood gossip, hearsay, and tradition; that many of his alleged facts are unsupported by direct evidence from any authorities—all this makes one feel that the picture he gives is overdrawn, incomplete, and, from a scientific standpoint, rests on an insecure foundation.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

History of American Journalism. By JAMES MELVIN LEE, Director of the Department of Journalism in New York University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. x, 462. \$3.50.)

UNTIL yesterday the best book on this subject was S. N. D. North's essay, published in 1884 as one of the by-products of the census of 1880. That essay presented a fairly continuous story down to about 1835, and then the narrative was soon lost in statistics and chapters on the mechanical side of newspaper publication.

Professor Lee's book, which begins with the records of the Roman Senate in 449 B.C. and ends with Creel's Committee on Public Information in 1917, will now replace Mr. North's volume as a history of growth, though it will not entirely supersede the latter as an authority for reference.

Statistical information of historical importance is better arranged in Mr. North's work and is more complete. It is unfortunate that Professor Lee did not follow his predecessor's example in arranging lists of names and dates in compact tables, separate from the text. The policy, which he has adopted, of strewing statistics thickly over thin surfaces of story, does not always produce readable paragraphs, and throws a heavy burden of responsibility upon the index. This burden the index is inadequate to support. The student will turn to it in vain for scores of names mentioned in the story, and for some that ought to be mentioned but are not.

Professor Lee ascribes to the *World* the honor of reviving in 1884 the cartoon as a political weapon. A dozen years earlier, Thomas Nast had made Tweed and *Harper's Weekly* famous at the same time, but Professor Lee's index alludes neither to the *Weekly* nor to its distinguished editor, George William Curtis, nor to Nast himself, although the careful reader will discover that both the journal and the great cartoonist are merely mentioned on page 329.

It is inevitable that the New York city newspapers should loom large in a work of this kind. Nevertheless the historical student will be disappointed if he turns to this volume for an explanation of the fact that, for years in the first half of the last century, Albany newspapers were more influential in New York state politics than the metropolitan journals.

Perhaps too, in view of the pretentious title that Professor Lee chose,

it would have been profitable for him to consider the fact that the most comprehensively developed institutional American newspaper is not to be found in New York or Chicago, but in Buenos Aires.

To the various fields of special journalism Professor Lee has given less attention than did Mr. North. He chronicles the efforts to issue a daily newspaper with a religious motive but makes no study of denominational or religious journalism. Neither does he consider the literary and critical weeklies, or professional and occupational journals, or the Socialist press, or sporting and juvenile periodicals.

The great field of journalism representing the later immigrant races in America is left untouched. Professor Lee has not overlooked the early French papers at New Orleans, but there is no evidence that he has consulted such works as Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Américaine*, or even Garland Penn's curious book on *The Afro-American Press*.

This volume is evidently the outgrowth of the author's work with his class. It is hoped that he will reshape it to meet a larger need, and to represent more adequately the vast subject. With such an expansion and with a real index it would become for a long time a final authority. A few errors, mostly typographical, are noted:

Page ix, Lathan; page x, Palsits for Paltsits; page 131, inauguration for administration; page 169, Selba for Seba (Smith); page 301, Neosh; page 348, S. N. B. North for S. N. D. North. Professor Lee gives the date of the first issue of the *Kentucke Gazette* at Lexington as April 11, 1787. The Filson Club celebrated the centennial of that event in 1887 on August 11.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1688-1748. By CHARLES P. KEITH. In two volumes. (Philadelphia: Author. 1917. Pp. ix, 456; 457-981. \$5.00.)

"A COMPREHENSIVE chronicle of the most neglected period is attempted to be supplied in these volumes." Thus, in the preface, the author describes the nature and purpose of his labors. There is no doubt that the colonial era falling within the decades from the Revolution of 1688 to the opening of the final Anglo-French conflict for supremacy has been seriously slighted in written history. But the importance of these years is being realized, and their content gradually made known, by an increasing number of scholars working and producing in this field. The author is also convinced that much of the history of colonial Pennsylvania has been marred by a display of partizanship or predilection, involving chiefly the Quakers and the Penn family. The purposes to reveal a neglected period and to substitute truth for bias,

even at the expense of saying "some things which will displease", are good and sufficient grounds for the appearance of any historical work.

Passing to the character and content of the volumes, the author has fairly described them as a "comprehensive chronicle . . . detailing what took place in each year". He has been in truth more the tireless digger and chronicler of facts, and less their interpreter. Dates, names, events, data of all kinds, confusing in variety and multiplicity, are accumulated by the thousands; apparently few were allowed to escape. In twenty-seven chapters covering nearly a thousand large octavo pages are detailed, in all their anatomical features, such topics as boundaries and boundary disputes, the land system, the Indians, the financial, political, and family affairs of the Penns, the creeds and organizations of the various sectarians, Quakers, Germans, Scotsmen, paper money, religious relations, political controversy, wars, English control, and so forth. History is more than the setting forth of the raw material in convenient classification year by year. There is the greater task of evaluation and interpretation, sifting the wheat from the chaff in the mass, and showing the bearing and meaning of the essential evidence. The author does at times interpret, and does it well, as in his estimation of the life and character of William Penn (I. 156-164) and in his treatment of the Keithian controversy (I., ch. 8), but there is all too little of this. Greater stress upon the morphology of history and less upon anatomy would have enhanced the value of these volumes.

Because of this, the work lacks life, progress, movement. A series of chapters dealing with separate subjects in a chronological order presents a convenient mode of classifying detail, but obviously detached divisions of this sort break the continuity of historical evolution. The work destroys, rather than comprehends, the principle of growth inherent in the life of the colony. The style is devoid of literary quality; it is harsh and awkward. The combination of confused language and wealth of detail makes the volumes not easy to read and understand.

There are no foot-notes. It was found to be "impracticable to cite authorities for every statement"; but no reasons are given. The reader is referred in general to the *Colonial Records*, the *Votes of the Assembly*, the *Archives*, the *Penn-Logan Correspondence*, and other standard sources. Authority is vouchsafed for statements which "may cause surprise", and scattered through the body of the work are references to the sources, and to some fifty special works on counties, churches, Indians, ethnic groups, and persons.

There is a slight overbalancing in the apportionment of space. The sixty per cent. of the total space devoted to the period prior to about 1715 skimps the longer period of greater social value. No attempt has been made by the reviewer to verify all the facts, but it is not correct to say (II. 698) that Sir William Keith was the first person known to have proposed a parliamentary stamp tax upon America. The matter of English colonial control is not ignored, but its significance is not fully

appreciated. The statement that the policy of England was to subordinate the colonies to her interests (I. 275), reveals the outworn view of the Anglo-colonial relations and fails to take into account the many compensating advantages the colonies enjoyed.

W. T. ROOT.

Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917. By RAYNER WICKERSHAM KELSEY, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History in Haverford College. (Philadelphia: Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 304 Arch Street. 1917. Pp. xi, 291. \$1.50.)

DOUBTLESS many American Friends have a fair knowledge of what their church has done for the Indians on both religious and industrial lines, and of the wide territorial spread of their missionary activities; but the public at large seems to have a notion that few Friends except William Penn have played a very large part in the campaign against native barbarism in our frontier country. It is obviously one purpose of Mr. Kelsey's book to dispel this vague error by a review of the whole period between the era of George Fox and that of the famous Smiley brothers. The compilation of a detailed historical record covering more than 250 years, and its presentation within an equal number of printed pages, could have been no trifling task; but what will mark this work, more than its compass, is its scrupulous care in dealing with subjects which many minor historians slur over or mention from a prejudiced point of view. The author's tribute, for instance, to the "early Catholic missionaries . . . [the French fathers in the North and the Spanish in the South] who enacted deeds as heroic as are recorded anywhere in the annals of the Christian church" ranks for fairness alongside of his account of the first negotiations with the Indians for lands in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the practice of giving rum to the red men in part payment. There was practically no sentiment among even the best of whites then against the moderate use of intoxicants, and as lately as 1701 we find William Penn himself distributing alcoholic liquor to the Indians at a conference, not in large quantities, but as a beverage to be consumed on the spot.

We are treated to some other surprises, as in the statement that many Friends in public life, influenced by the restless spirit which prevailed after the governor and council of Pennsylvania had followed Braddock's defeat by declaring war upon the Indians and offering bounties for scalps, came to feel that defensive warfare was justifiable in this instance. Again, Mr. Kelsey refers to the way many young Friends armed themselves and joined the provisional militia raised in Philadelphia to ward off a threatened raid by frontiersmen hostile to their principles; and these representatives of a religious body that objected to violent resistance even to violent assault, would take refuge from the

wintry cold within their meeting-house, stacking their weapons in the gallery.

In spite of such occasional lapses, in those days, from their definite general policy, the Friends made so uncommonly good a record that General Grant, when about to enter the presidency, chose them to launch his new plan for dealing with the Indian problem. He invited them not only to map out a system, but to select a list of members of their society whom they regarded as properly equipped in knowledge and morals for service as Indian agents, and he reinforced this request with a promise that their efforts for the improvement of the Indians should receive from him, as president, "all the encouragement and protection which the laws of the United States will warrant him in giving". The other religious sects were afterward invited into the same field, but the Friends not only led in the movement but enjoyed its fruits throughout the Grant administration—a fact which made especially conspicuous the antipathy manifested toward them by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed by Mr. Hayes, a president notably identified with religious and peace-promoting interests of various sorts.

FRANCIS E. LEUPP.

Life and Times of David Humphreys, Soldier, Statesman, Poet.

By FRANK LANDON HUMPHREYS. In two volumes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1917. Pp. xii, 451; vi, 506. \$7.50.)

IN the preface of this work I find a sentence which it would have been cruel of me to invent for the purpose of applying to this work, but which it will be only poetic justice to use as a weapon against its creator. "The biographies of many men of the Revolutionary period who ranked but insignificantly in their day have been produced and some of these present an amplitude of detail that is as wonderful as it is amusing." It is true, as the biographer asserts with admirable iteration, that Colonel Humphreys was a brave, charming, and cultivated man. He was a reliable officer, and an efficient representative of the United States in Portugal and Spain. He even made verses and raised merino sheep and manufactured cloth, but if every man who has acted these parts with no greater distinction than our hero were to have a printed biography, the products of publishing houses would lie in the book-markets as "thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa". Much stress is laid upon the fact that Colonel Humphreys was "the beloved of Washington", but alas! those who study history and biography have long ago discovered that great men often love very commonplace men. Try as I would, while reading these two great volumes, some 925 pages, I could not find in the hero "an ideal leader for a nation in its beginnings". The drab hue of the commonplace colors all the performances of his career.

It seems ungracious to speak depreciatingly of a book so honestly and laboriously done, but had it been more modest both in tone and volume it would not so loudly have invited criticism. The first volume especially sins in the matter of length. We have there a heavy, unimaginative history, long drawn out, of the American Revolution, based on poor secondary sources, and through which runs only a neat rivulet of the life of the man about whom the book is presumably written. It seems unwise to tell at great length with no effort at freshness of treatment the history of a period in which a worthy man lived, when this man in no wise affected the trend of that series of human events, and in a very large part of the story he does not even appear. Indeed, the only excuse, frequently, seems to be that the hero must have been alive during these events. It will not do in scholarly and accurate history or biography to confess that no contemporary records exist as to what part an historical personage took in an event, but that naturally the hero "would have" done or said this or that thing. Chapters III.-V. abound with this sort of reconstruction of Colonel Humphreys's past.

The second volume is of very much more worth, chiefly because many letters and despatches from Colonel Humphreys, while he was on his secret mission and later while he was minister to Spain and Portugal, are printed in full. His conduct in these several missions is very creditable, and the picture that he gives of political life in those lands is entertaining, and often worthy of consideration by students of these countries during the troubled years, 1790-1800. While Jefferson, as secretary of foreign affairs, was dilly-dallying for months about the ransom of some Americans seized by the Dey of Algiers, affecting indifference in order to keep down the price of the ransom, Colonel Humphreys was acting the part of a man and showing a fine sense for the honor and dignity of America. More emphasis on these things and less on the poetic flights of "the beloved of Washington" would have gone much farther to rehabilitate the fame of the author's worthy ancestor. The biographer admits that "Poets of the Elizabethan day wrote differently from those in the times of Chaucer, and the Addisonian Poets wrote again differently from the contemporaries of Shakespeare. Humphreys followed the fashion of his day." Admitting this, even the translator of the *Widow of Malabar* and the author of that touching poem on *The National Industry of the United States* could escape immortality if his biographer would be modest. Colonel Humphreys may deserve more of the author's panegyric than the reviewer is willing to admit, but is it not curious that the latter could have spent seventeen years in the study of the American Revolution, and yet never before have had his attention called to the fame of Colonel Humphreys?

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The President's Control of Foreign Relations. By EDWARD S. CORWIN, Ph.D., Professor of Politics, Princeton University. (Princeton: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1917. Pp. vi, 216. \$1.50.)

OF the present volume about five-sevenths are composed of extracts, chiefly from public documents, while the remaining two-sevenths contain narrations by the author and his own reflections, the narrative element largely predominating. His main objects, as stated in his preface, were (1) to "cull from a rather voluminous 'literature' the best material pertinent to the subject", and (2) "to state succinctly the results that seem to spring from the discussions canvassed and from actual practice". Perhaps it was in the nature of things that the first object could be more readily attained than the second, since not only is the "literature" of the subject largely controversial, but practice has likewise reflected differences of opinion and of disposition. In such circumstances the statement of results, if it is to assume a definite form, requires much weighing of evidence and much mature reflection.

We are told that "actual necessities" have "more and more centred the initiative in directing our foreign policy in the hands of the President"; but we are assured that "this is far from saying that the President is even yet an autocrat in this field", and that, so long as he must discharge his functions "ordinarily" through the agencies provided by Congress, may expend public money only for the purposes which Congress may prescribe, and is subject to the constitutional obligation to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, it is "difficult to see how he can become an autocrat, save at extraordinary moments and when backed by the overwhelming approval of American public opinion". On the other hand, from the fact that the President is the "organ" of diplomatic intercourse the inference is drawn (1) that the power is "presumptively his alone", and (2) that his "discretion" in the exercise of it "is not legally subject to any other organ of government".

With this exposition of his powers and opportunities a chief executive, even though inclined to have his own way, might be fairly content. But presidential prerogative and presidential action have not been so uniformly vindicated as the reader of the present volume (pp. 40-45) might suppose. In the case of the Greater Republic of Central America, the executive action was persistently frustrated by the refusal of Congress to change the appropriations for diplomatic representation in that quarter. Besides, in contrast with what happened in the case of the Panama Congress, the fact may be noticed that the Congressional resolution authorizing the calling of the first International American Conference prescribed the subjects which it was to consider. Moreover the report of the Senate committee by no means "vindicated" (p. 64) President Cleveland's action in undertaking to give Commissioner Blount "paramount authority" over the American minister at Honolulu: the

report, as the passage quoted from it shows, tacitly confessed the fault, evasively representing that Blount was despatched by the President to Hawaii merely as his "personal representative" to seek "further information". On the other hand, while it is uncertainly stated (p. 82) that "recognition" belongs to the President alone or to the President in conjunction with the Senate, the attempt to force on President McKinley the recognition of the "Republic of Cuba", far from having "finally prevailed" (p. 80), finally failed. Huerta did not claim recognition as "the *de facto* government of Mexico" (p. 83), but as constitutional president. To speak of arguments relating to extradition as being "much in point", where the question is one of compacts "not demanding enforcement by the courts" (p. 125), tends to mislead. Still more so does the statement that the "power of Congress to declare war" appears "in actual exercise" to have been "the power to recognize an existing state of war", and that "the President alone may also exercise this power, at least in the case of invasion or of insurrection" (p. 141). A diminution of the power of Congress, or an enlargement of that of the President, is not to be inferred from verbal jockeying for diplomatic advantage in the international game. The supposition, for instance, conveyed by some of the documents of 1898, that Spain, in accepting as an "evident declaration of war" the joint resolution under which the President was despatching the army and navy to expel her from Cuba, began a war the existence of which it was then left to the Congress of the United States only to "recognize", possibly should amuse, but certainly should not confuse, the student of law or of diplomacy.

How far an author may be expected to correct erroneous statements of fact in passages which he quotes from judicial opinion, may be a delicate question. The version of the *Kosztka* case, quoted (p. 142) from the opinion of the Supreme Court in the case of *Neagle*, is inaccurate and misleading. Nor does the author's statement (p. 143) of the ground of the demand in the *Greytown* case strictly accord with the record. The statement (p. 156) that the President's power to use force "defensively" is "practically" limited by "the powers of Congress and public opinion", though put forward as a conclusion, does not advance us far. The subject is, however, scarcely capable of precise definition.

In connection with the claim expounded by Colonel Roosevelt in his *Autobiography*, that it was not only the right but the duty of the President "to do anything that the needs of the Nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the Constitution or by the laws", the author quotes at great length a discussion in the Senate between Messrs. Bacon and Spooner of the subject of treaty-making; but the ground covered by this debate is by no means so extensive as that covered by the claim. A conception of presidential power so fundamental would seem to justify direct analysis and comment.

J. B. MOORE.

Illinois in 1818. By SOLON JUSTUS BUCK. [Illinois Centennial Publications, published by authority of the Illinois Centennial Commission, introductory volume.] (Chicago: McClurg. 1918. Pp. xxvi, 362. \$2.00.)

ONE of the duties imposed upon the Illinois Centennial Commission which was created by legislative action in January, 1916, was that of compiling and publishing a commemorative history of the state. As first conceived the Centennial History was to be issued in five volumes, covering the history of Illinois from the coming of the first Europeans to the present time. Later it was thought advisable to add to the work already planned a preliminary volume giving a view of the state at the time of its admission. The preliminary volume—*Illinois in 1818*—by Dr. S. J. Buck has recently come from the press. The editorial note which appears in this volume sets forth the scope and character of the work. Naturally the chief aim of the editors is to produce an accurate history written in a scientific spirit, supplemented by such foot-notes and bibliographical matter as will be of service to students, but at the same time assurances are given that an earnest attempt will be made to give the volumes "sufficient human interest and literary quality to interest the intelligent general reader".

No satisfactory history of Illinois exists at present. That the commission should have undertaken the task of supplying this want is therefore exceedingly gratifying, not only to those persons interested in the development of the state purely as a matter of local pride, but to the more serious students of American history as well—particularly to those who devote themselves primarily to the study of the West. Illinois, on account of its geographical position, may well be called the keystone state of the Mississippi Valley, and as such offers a wonderful opportunity for the study of the problems of state-building in the West. The Ohio River, its southern boundary, was for years the main highway of the hunter-pioneers who first occupied the wooded districts of southern Illinois and established there the political and social ideals of Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. The head of Lake Michigan, the western terminus of the great waterway connecting New England with the West, touches the northeastern corner of the state. Through this gateway thousands of home-seekers came from the East to settle upon the prairies, and to work out the first experiments of the American pioneers in the occupation of the vast, fertile, treeless stretches, which, in the course of time, were to become the agricultural storehouse of the nation. Here the New Englanders and New Yorkers developed a social, political, and economic organization which differed radically from that which flourished in the woodlands of the southern part of the state. In short, the northern and southern streams of population, bearing with them opposing political and social ideals, flowed westward to meet, then to struggle for supremacy, and finally to fuse in Illinois. The story of this

development forms by no means the least important part of the history of the state.

To grasp the significance of the progress made in a hundred years of statehood a survey of conditions as they existed a century ago is essential. Thus the task which the author sets for himself is "to portray the social, economic, and political life of Illinois at the close of the territorial period, and, in addition, to tell the story of the transition from colonial dependence to the full dignity of a state in the union". The first chapters deal with the Indians and the fur-trade, the public lands, and the extent of settlement within the state in 1818. Each chapter forms a carefully organized summary of practically all the available information on the subject under consideration. Three chapters deal with the pioneers, their economic situation, and social condition. These will appeal to the student of American pioneer life, for he will find in them that which is of much more than mere local importance, an interesting and accurate portrayal of conditions as they were in every frontier community of the hard-wood districts of the West.

The last half of the book is devoted to a discussion of territorial politics, the birth and development of the movement which finally resulted in the admission of Illinois, the constitutional convention and its work, and finally the establishment of the state government, the first elections, and the organization of the first state legislative body. Had the author done no more than this his contribution would have been a solid one, for the contemporaneous accounts usually reflect the bitter prejudices which the struggle over the extension of slavery injected into the politics of the territory.

The bibliography, although not a long one, includes practically every item of sufficient importance to be of service to the student of the period. Foot-notes do not overburden the pages but there are enough to guide any investigator. The index is good and numerous illustrations together with some really useful maps add to the value of the volume. So far, at least, the promise of the editors has been fulfilled.

WILLIAM V. POOLEY.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by WORTHINGTON C. FORD. Volume VII., 1820-1823. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1917. Pp. xxi, 516. \$3.50.)

INTEREST in Adams's *Writings* increases as we enter the twenties, a critical period in his public career. The value of this collection, it may be said again, consists less in its bringing to light documents of new and startling import than in supplying gaps in the already voluminous record of John Quincy Adams as a public servant. Even his *Memoirs*—the most complete personal record of any American statesman—sometimes contain Adams's reflections and cogitations rather than the precise outcome of his mental processes. In the volume before us, for example,

are six letters to General Vivés, the new Spanish minister. Three of these have been printed in *American State Papers*. The *Memoirs* give a running account of the controversy over the ratification of the Spanish treaty. On May 18, 1820, Adams records that he drafted a note which, with the omission of a paragraph that the President thought too strong, was sent to Vivés. Adams describes only the general tenor of the note. It is printed for the first time in this collection. In itself this document is of no great importance, but as a link in the chain of events, it fills an important place. The real service rendered by the editor, in short, can be appreciated only by the reader who has the *Memoirs* at his elbow.

This seventh volume touches on a great variety of subjects, ranging from the arbitration of the claims of slave-owners for property carried away by British officers in the late war, and the interchange of proposals for the suppression of the African slave-trade, to the petty controversy of Adams with Jonathan Russell, and the jockeying of candidates for position in the presidential race of 1824.

The thoroughgoing quality of Adams's work as Secretary of State stands out in his instructions to Henry Middleton for the mission to Russia. It is hardly too much to say that no other contemporary American statesman could have written with so wide a vision of European affairs. Adams spent nearly a month drafting this set of detailed instructions. In some illuminating foot-notes, the editor recalls certain less admirable qualities which were only too likely to defeat the ends of diplomacy. Adams's colleagues in the cabinet were often obliged, as Crawford put it, to "soften the asperities" of the official notes of the State Department. The contentious tone of some of Adams's letters seems to be that of a man intent on scoring a dialectic victory over an opponent. In one of his moments of introspection, he wrote to Mrs. Adams: "I am certainly not intentionally repulsive in my manners and deportment, and in my public station I never made myself inaccessible to any human being. But I have no powers of fascination." But at this moment he was writing of himself as a possible candidate for the Presidency.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun. By WILLIAM M. MEIGS. In two volumes. (New York: Neale Publishing Company. 1917. Pp. 456, 478. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH Calhoun has been the most discussed of all Southerners since Thomas Jefferson and his career and conduct have most profoundly influenced the life of the growing nation, we have not till now a definitive biography. There have been excellent brief sketches like Gaillard Hunt's work or even von Holst's thoroughgoing condemnation, but no detailed and matured account of all the episodes and changes in a very changeful career.

Calhoun was not careful like many of the earlier and more English of our statesmen to preserve the materials for a biography of himself. His *Works*, edited by Richard K. Crallé and published in 1853-1855, the brief autobiography published anonymously as the *Life of John C. Calhoun* in 1843, and the *Writings of John C. Calhoun*, edited by J. F. Jameson and published by the American Historical Association in 1899, compose the principal sources upon which any biography must depend. But the *Works of Calhoun* consists of only the longer and more formal speeches and public letters; the autobiography gives few or none of those details that generally enter into that sort of narrative; and the Jameson edition of the *Writings* offers only a small part of the letters to and from Calhoun that must once have been in existence.

Mr. Meigs has made faithful use of this material; he has drawn upon the Congressional debates and the other official documents that shed light upon his subject. He has made extended and careful use of the newspaper and pamphlet material both in Columbia and in Charleston. Nor have other newspapers and periodicals of the time been overlooked. From the standpoint of thoroughness of research no recent American biography surpasses or, I believe, equals this one. The opinions and views of other students who offer conflicting estimates have been duly and fairly weighed and assessed.

The early period of Calhoun's life is treated with fullness and a good deal that is new has been brought to light. That oft-raised question whether statesmen get their ideals from their early environment or whether books and teachers determine later conduct is fairly answered in favor of the former in Calhoun's case. It was clearly the nationalism of Jefferson and the frontier, and not the teachings of Dr. Dwight or the Litchfield law school, that found expression in the democratic imperialist of 1811.

The difficult years of 1824 to 1832 Meigs treats with a wealth of detail unapproached by other students of Calhoun. The author is fully conscious of the distressing situation, the conflict of sectional purposes and personal ambition which underlay every move of those years. He shows that the summersault of Calhoun was fully matched by that of Webster. Calhoun expressed the gravity of the issue when he wrote in 1831 that all the great interests of the country were being brought into conflict. Perhaps some readers will be just a little disappointed, where so much that is good is offered, that the relations and understandings of Calhoun and Jackson in 1828-1829 are not made more explicit. It is not so much the personal here in question as it is the pact of South and West which must have premised the overthrow of Adams and Clay.

Of the later sad and disappointing years enough is said. There is no disposition to veil the political moves and intrigues into which ambition led the ardent old man. It is not all merely one long struggle for office, high office and prestige, but a long and painful fight for the

formation of a Southern *bloc*, with Virginia at its head, with which the writer has to deal. That the scheme was defeated by the dogged hostility of one obscure newspaper editor, Thomas Ritchie, only tends to show that "economic determinism" does not after all determine. Clay also regarded Ritchie as his nemesis, for it was the persistent refusal of Virginia to support him that did so much damage to the cause of the Kentuckian.

Mr. Meigs has done a good work. He has set forth the life of his hero—I think hero is not too strong a word—in a way which will render unnecessary another life of Calhoun for many years. It is however a biography and not a history. If it had been a history certain criticisms of the interpretation of the facts and forces of the time would be in order—the problem of slavery which Meigs tends to defend, the meaning of nationalism which he does not seem wholly to grasp. But, as I have said, the biographer has not usurped the place of the historian and for that as for this book we ought to be grateful.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War. In five volumes. (Privately printed. [Mrs. Jessie Ames Marshall, 397 South Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.] 1917. Pp. vii, 669; 629; 632; 625; 748. \$20.00.)

THE life of General Butler bristled with controversy. This compilation "by the members of the family" must naturally, therefore, meet the suspicion that it is doctored. The rules of editing stated in the preface have a satisfactory completeness, setting forth that all, except formal, letters have been given, and entire, except for excisions to avoid repetition. It seems probable, moreover, that these rules actually guided the editors. It is, indeed, apparent from what is printed, that not all Butler's letters are included (V. 10, etc.). This does not, however, necessarily mean suppression. General Butler used a letter-book, from which probably most of the letters are taken, but he did not use it for all his correspondence. In some such cases, as in his correspondence with his wife, the letters are given from the originals, but many series of such originals may be lacking. One receives the impression that the editors give all that was available to them.

So pat, however, is the evidence at times, that one is tempted to believe that what they had was a *dossier* prepared by Butler himself. *In toto* this could not have been the case, for material, like the Denison letters to Chase, is here included which could not have been accessible to Butler. Nevertheless in particular instances we doubtless have here the material he prepared for his own exculpation, or rather, enter into his spirit, for the confusion of his enemies. Butler at interesting moments, also, used the personal interview (V. 134), and his enemies have

always given him credit for too much shrewdness to be caught with incriminating evidence; no one will, therefore, accept this collection as proving anything by the absence of proof. No one, however, can read these letters without realizing that impulsiveness was as ingrained as shrewdness, and historical science must indeed be futile, if three thousand pages of evidence, covering five years only, can leave the fundamentals of character uncertain.

The editing is not quite as careful as it seems to be honest. Butler wrote, as he says, "*currente calamo*", and many slips require explanation; but few explanations are given, and these are improperly enclosed in parentheses, instead of brackets (V. 697, etc.). Many errors of transcription also occur (II. 326, 552, etc.), one, the omission of quotation-marks (I. 251, 302), being important. Captions, also, are sometimes inaccurate (IV. 541, etc.); but these errors altogether are not numerous enough to justify such a term as slipshod. Rather they show an absence of professional zeal for perfection, which is also exhibited by the failure to complete the collection by easily accessible material. It is not indeed the purpose to include speeches, but public letters and even official documents which could easily be recovered are not given (IV. 513, V. 316).

Another burden that the editors thrust upon the user, is that of determining the uniqueness of the material. Not everything relating to Butler in the *Official Records of the Civil War* is here reprinted. Of that which is, some is credited to it, some given without reference. Doubtless the editors merely followed the indications on the material in their hands. In the same way they credit certain material to some other printing, as the Denison letters to Chase, and some of those of Lincoln; but many letters of Lincoln which have been printed in various editions of his writings are given without credit. Possibly no credit is given where the original is in the Butler collection; but the result is confusing. Much of the Butler material included was printed at the time; some of it was written for publication; and an indication of the place of first appearance would have been valuable. While a great deal of the material is thus not unique, the mass of what is new is such as to rival in importance any collection for the period, except the Lincoln material and Welles's *Diary*.

The scheme of editing deserves high praise. Every volume is indexed, which is a habit unfortunately growing rare. The proof-reading of the indexes, however, is not perfect, and there is no collective index, as there should have been. Every item carries a caption, which renders use very easy. The unique feature which deserves especial remark is the character of the collection. It includes not only Butler's letters, but letters to him, and some about him, official documents, and even pertinent newspaper clippings. These are arranged chronologically, with a few exceptions, where chronology would too widely separate related pieces. The result is that each episode is seen passing through the minds of Butler himself, of business and political friends, rivals,

administrative officials, and the public, and the whole is thrown upon a background of almost daily correspondence with his wife. Often a dramatic effect is produced which reminds one of Browning's *The Ring and the Book*; so artistic as to seem the result of art, but in reality merely the art of time, which the historian of today so often ignores. No collection relating to an American public man gives so interestingly a picture of an individual career. The time-limitation, April 22, 1860—March 31, 1868, will disappoint those interested in the later period, but it was certainly better to publish more fully for five years, than to spread out at the expense of completeness.

The interest of the collection is, of course, suggested by Butler's career, but is greater than the average memory of that career suggests. The letters of the summer of 1864 constitute probably the best mass of material existing on the dissatisfaction with Lincoln. Those of the spring of 1865 give more intimate matter on the relations of the extreme radicals with Johnson, than any other one collection. The letters of Frank Blair and of Salmon P. Chase are of general national importance. The collection also gives unusual material for the study of administration during war time: few problems escaped Butler's attention.

Naturally, there is a disproportionate amount of a controversial character, for Butler breathed verbal pugnacity. Much of the material here is old, but sufficient new is added, to require attention, and the combination of it all gives a somewhat changed perspective. No one will venture in the future to accuse Butler of stolen spoons. No one can maintain that his chief purpose was gain, nor will any but the most suspicious continue to hold that he engaged in surreptitious financial undertakings at the expense of the government. The "wisest and best" will have to admit that in his controversy with Governor Andrew he was mainly right, and Mr. Rhodes must revise his general estimate. As a co-operator, however, the very number of the controversies makes him stand self-condemned. While really extraordinary abilities are everywhere apparent, a character sound within its limits, and graced by many virtues, one feels throughout that one is not dealing with a gentleman. If a real Butler controversy remains, it will be as to whether Lincoln might have got more service out of him, or whether turbulence, vanity, and lack of depth condemned him for higher uses.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

American State Trials: a Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which have taken place in the United States from the Beginning of our Government to the Present Day. With Notes and Annotations by JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D., Editor. Volumes VIII. and IX. (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Company. 1917-1918. Pp. xxix, 913; xxvii, 917. \$5.00 each.)

THE last two volumes of this interesting and valuable series will be a welcome addition to any library. The greater part of volume VIII. is

occupied by the trials of the conspirators for the assassination of President Lincoln and of the German, Henry Wirz, for his brutality as superintendent of Andersonville prison. Both of these trials were before military commissions. Volume IX. contains the trial of John H. Surratt, those which resulted in the conviction of several members of the Ku-Klux-Klan, and the trials of the five bakers of St. Louis. The bibliography of the trials of the conspirators against Lincoln omits that published by T. B. Peterson and Brothers (Philadelphia, 1865), a reprint of the reports of the correspondents of the Philadelphia *Daily Inquirer*. From that of the trial of John H. Surratt is omitted the official report published by the Government Printing Office, in two volumes, in 1867.

The appendix to the Ku-Klux-Klan trials, giving the proceedings upon the attempt to disbar the counsel for one of the accused who had escaped, will be welcomed by every reader. The editor has not mentioned the fact that, after the Surratt jury had disagreed, Judge Fisher disbarred the prisoner's senior counsel, a man over sixty-five, for a threat of personal violence made out of court, pending the trial, by reason of discourteous conduct of the trial judge; nor the decisions of the Supreme Court setting aside the disbarment and dismissing the suit brought by the lawyer against the judge because of these proceedings. These are reported in two leading cases, *ex parte Bradley*, 7 Wallace 364, and *Bradley v. Fisher*, 13 Wallace 335.

There is a more serious fault, however, in both volumes, which it is to be hoped that the editor and publisher will not repeat. Should they do so, the value and reputation of the series will be greatly injured and so hurt the sales. Although *verbatim* reports of the proceedings in all these trials except two of little importance are easily available by those who take the trouble to search the public libraries throughout the country, nothing is here published except the speeches of counsel, the charges of the court, and meagre abstracts of the testimony. Many of the rulings upon points of evidence and practice are omitted. These omissions render the books of little value to the student of the art of advocacy, who seeks instruction in cross-examination, in what is equally difficult but rarely explained, direct examination, and in the by-play and altercation of counsel—things that are of far more importance than the speeches at the conclusion of the case, since in almost every instance the jurors have made up their minds before the closing arguments have begun. The speeches themselves cannot be fairly criticized; for without a knowledge of all the incidents of the trial no one can know the reasons for the failure to use certain arguments nor the force and appropriateness of the allusions. The student of language and of customs thus loses many invaluable illustrations which can be found in the words and descriptions of witnesses. The reports are thus made of little value to the historian, who is given the editor's deductions instead of the original documents. All who have had experience in appellate courts know that, when testimony is changed from question and answer

into narrative, it is impossible to form a sound judgment as to the veracity of the witnesses. Suggestions in leading questions, evasions of direct answers, alike disappear. A witness who has been entirely discredited in court may thus upon the printed page be made to seem truthful and conscientious. The fairness of the trial cannot be determined unless the remarks and rulings of the court throughout the case are spread upon the record. These often influence a jury much more than his concluding charge. It is because the records are printed *verbatim* that the English and Scottish *State Trials* are of such great value to the student and to the historian. It is to be hoped that in the *American State Trials* such omissions will not be repeated.

ROGER FOSTER.

The Life and Letters of John Fiske. By JOHN SPENCER CLARK.

In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1917. Pp. xvi, 533; xi, 523. \$7.50.)

A LIFE of John Fiske has long been awaited by historians. When he died in 1901 he was the most successful American historian; but his fame has diminished with the years, partly through the natural corrosion of time and partly through the shifting of the standard of historical excellence. For Fiske's sake it would have been well if his biography had appeared earlier. It would also have been well if the task of writing it had been entrusted to a man better versed in history than Mr. Clark seems to be. It is a small and superficial view of Fiske's historical work that the author gives, evidently because he is chiefly interested in the philosophical and religious aspects of his subject. About these aspects he says much, not always convincingly, but always with warm admiration for the man who was his friend while living and remains his ideal after death. He lets us see that he considers the attempt to reconcile religion and science the most valuable of Fiske's efforts. The note of criticism is never present. He does not try to estimate the value of Fiske's historical work. He is content to tell a simple story, from which, in spite of much diffuseness in some parts and unexpected contraction in others, we nevertheless are able to make the following observations:

1. Fiske's personality stands out clearly. He was a precocious boy, the hope of his family and the delight of his teachers. As boy and man he was a fluent and persistent talker, full of enthusiasm for the interest of the moment, and his utterances were apt to be full of self-confidence and over-emphasis. He ever displayed faith in himself. At fifteen he wrote: "I cannot learn too much, nor take too high a niche in the Temple of Fame" (I. 76). Years later in describing his lectures in London he quoted Spencer as saying: "It was the most glorious lecture I ever listened to in my life" (II. 141); and again: "Huxley says they are the very best lectures he has ever heard at the Royal

Institution" (II. 179). That the lectures were excellent we cannot doubt, but their author showed little self-restraint in describing their effects.

Fiske's personality also shows in his letters to his wife. They were good letters, full of deep sentiment and revealing a fine appreciation for the beauty of nature. For his family he had great affection and absence from them caused him real pain. In 1883 he was in London, expecting to remain several months working in the British Museum, but he was so homesick that he returned to Cambridge before his time, although every facility for accomplishing his purposes was given him at the Museum. The best thing in Mr. Clark's book is the long extracts from these letters. The reader is left with the impression that a published collection of all the writer's letters would be a distinct contribution to our literature.

2. Fiske's biography is an interesting revelation of the post-Darwinian movement in the United States. He sought to show that evolution did not imply the non-existence of God. The ridicule of the orthodox was heaped upon him at first, but as the more liberal clergy came to understand the subject better he was recognized as the hope of liberal theology. Before he died he was treated as an asset by the orthodox party. Mr. Clark dwells on this phase of Fiske's activity, seeming to consider it the most important thing that the Cambridge evolutionist and historian did in his busy life. Darwin and Spencer gave little heed to the religious significance of their work, being content to present their views as mere scientific deductions. They did not accept Fiske's efforts heartily, and, in fact, he lost some of their support through emphasizing the religious implications of their doctrines. Mr. Clark, on the other hand, delights in this part of Fiske's career and presents it with what seems to the reviewer unnecessary repetition.

3. So much space is given to this phase of Fiske's activity that little is left for a discussion of his historical work. He became interested in history through the discovery that he was a successful lecturer on topics connected with the American Revolution. His *Critical Period of American History*, *American Revolution*, and *Beginnings of New England* were all prepared in the first instance as popular lectures. From being repeated several times in this form they acquired that peculiar roundness of expression that made them a delight to the reader when they appeared in the printed page. It was only after he had established himself as a lecturer that he determined to devote his life to writing a history of the United States. Like many another of our historians, he resolved to become the John Richard Green of this country. In time the plan was changed, and the grand subject was divided into certain large portions, each treated separately but all arranged to make a related whole. Death intervened, in 1901, when the colonial, revolutionary, and "critical" periods had been completed.

This biography, unsatisfactory as it is to the historian, nevertheless

reveals Fiske's good and bad qualities, although it is the reader who must find them without the aid of the author. He was gifted with a remarkable faculty of expression, he was an omnivorous reader, he had an excellent memory, he loved general relations rather than details, he had an unusual appreciation of human action in history, and, finally, he had the point of view of the evolutionist. Darwin and Spencer, whom he undertook to interpret, were scientists primarily. Their theories were built upon research with original material. It is not evident that Fiske had more than a superficial knowledge of biology, geology, palaeontology, anthropology, or any other specific branch of learning that was essential to the making of an evolutionist. It was his brilliant power of absorbing the ideas of others, seizing on the essential points, and presenting them to the average reader with clearness and force that made him useful and prominent among the philosophers. His success and service among the historians were of a similar nature.

Mr. Clark's book leaves us with feelings of disappointment. We are satisfied with his discussion of Fiske the man, Fiske the lecturer, Fiske the letter-writer, Fiske the reconciler of religion and evolution, and Fiske the literary man; but we wish he had discussed more fully and authoritatively Fiske the historian. If such a discussion is beyond the circle of his interest, we must content ourselves with wishing that the task committed to him had fallen to a man more closely related to the development of historical progress in this country during the last thirty years. It is also a matter of regret that the life of a writer as productive as Fiske is not supplied with a complete bibliography of that writer's works.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

National Progress, 1907-1917. By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG, Ph.D., Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin. [The American Nation, a History, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, vol. XXVII.] (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1918. Pp. xxii, 430. \$2.00.)

THIS volume, the last in the series of *The American Nation*, seeks to furnish "organized information" in respect to the history of the decade, 1907-1917. In accomplishing his task the author has sought, as he asserts, to bring together from contemporary sources widely scattered facts, to winnow them, and to build them up into a compact record of the significant actions and achievements of the period.

Numerous foot-note references and a twenty-page "Critical Essay on Authorities" testify to the extensive material utilized in preparation, and six maps (two in colors) aid in explanation. An excellent portrait of President Wilson, as frontispiece, adds to the value of the work, which ends with a carefully prepared index.

The title, *National Progress*, is used in a conventional sense and is to

some extent misleading. The work is not a sociological study of the nation's *progress*, but rather is a narration of the important events in national, economic, and political history during the decade in question. The events narrated are, moreover, chiefly governmental in kind, being for the most part a study of three presidential campaigns and the issues at stake, and of the diplomatic and legislative policies of the national executive and Congress. Aside from Chapter IX., on Democracy and Responsibility in Government, very little attention is given to the general trend of political and economic development in the forty-eight states, nor does the volume seek to trace the economic progress of the nation except in so far as this is indicated by national legislation. As an historical record, however, of national policy in economic matters and in international relations, combined with a study of party changes, platforms, and campaigns, the volume is worthy of a high place in the series of which it forms a part, and should prove well-nigh indispensable to those who wish a careful statement of the developments of the ten years ending in 1917.

The decade under discussion, as the author rightly maintains, was full of deep interest. There was a sharp cleavage between capital and labor and between corporate interests and public welfare. National control passed into the hands of the democratic party, which, though traditionally lukewarm towards international complications, yet found itself confronted with the problem of Pan-Americanism, the expansion of the Monroe Doctrine, the Caribbean Sea policy, the Mexican situation, and the great world war, into which the United States finally entered, taking its place as a leader in world politics and sending its armed forces across the seas to help "make the world safe for democracy".

These several questions the author discusses one by one. He traces carefully the changes in parties and issues in the three presidential campaigns, and shows how changing economic conditions necessitated administrative expansion and an improved civil service. Excellent chapters cover the field of Congressional legislation in respect to such subjects as Currency and Tariff, Railroad Regulation, Corporations and Trusts, Industry, Labor, Immigration, and the Reclamation of Land. A good third of the volume is devoted to a record of American foreign policy in the international questions referred to above, and there is a careful summary, contained in three chapters, of the events leading up to the declaration of war against Germany.

The volume is clear and forceful in style, there is a fine sense of proportion in the presentation of topics and material, and the presentation is dignified and impartial in tone. There is a slight but laudable tendency to favor progressive against conservative policies, and throughout a healthy Americanism, without bombast or froth.

J. Q. DEALEY.

MINOR NOTICES

A Naturalist of Souls: Studies in Psychography. By Gamaliel Bradford. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1917, pp. 292, \$2.50.) This is the sort of writing that American historians need most, and by the same token just the sort of writing that most of them are least inclined to tolerate. It is so uncompromisingly human! Not the physical facts against which man is forever struggling, but man's reaction to those facts, the spiritual—that is to say the creative—forces generated in his reactions: these for Mr. Bradford are the real substance of history. The physical facts are to be ascertained and then taken for granted—a necessary scaffolding for thought, no more. Needless to insist that fashionable history in our day has generally gone the other way round. The physical fact was the great thing; man's reaction, the negligible incident. Hence, to many minds, Mr. Bradford is “unhistorical”—to his own huge amusement.

Equally heretical is Mr. Bradford's tone. It is gay, even jaunty. History, for him, is not a “dismal science”. He appreciates Pater's warning that cultivated men should hold their opinions “lightly”. He understands that one need not be dogmatic in order to be firm. Compared with this blithe, unegoistic attitude toward subject-matter, the bulk of our critical and historical writing betrays its essential provinciality, the failure to perceive—to quote an old topical song—that “there's more than one man in this hall”. Mr. Bradford never forgets that important fact; nor this other, that wisdom is no man's private possession.

The limitations of the book are obvious. Here are eleven essays ranging from the Greek novel to Saint Francis de Sales, and from Clarendon to Dumas. Here, the curiosity of a smiling culture pursues its impulses with such freedom that many readers are bound to consider it desultory. In a way the objection may be conceded. The book's unity is not in subject-matter, but in point of view, in handling. And this is a sort of unity which, to a host of good people, will never reveal itself. If one wants to test by a cross section, so to speak, the book's appeal, or lack of appeal, take the essay on the Novel Two Thousand Years Ago. There is the whole story: Mr. Bradford's range of interest, his amusement over dogmatic criticism, his tolerance, his humor, his humanism.

Only one essay is unconditionally in the historical province, narrowly speaking: the essay on Clarendon, whom he calls “A Great English Portrait Painter”. It is a sympathetic presentation, both of strength and of weakness. Some of us will be delighted because while insisting on Clarendon's place among historical masters, Mr. Bradford talks of him in one breath with Velasquez and Sir Joshua.

N. W. S.

Horace and His Age: a Study in Historical Background. By J. F. D'Alton, M.A., D.D., Professor of Ancient Classics in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1917, pp. xii, 296, \$2.00.) The charm of Horace, like that of every great artist or interpreter of his age, never dies. We have here a book devoted to the age of Horace, in which Professor D'Alton handles in successive chapters: Horace in his Relation to Roman Politics; the Augustan Revival; Religion and Philosophy; Social Problems; and Popular Beliefs. Two other chapters are entitled: The Period of the Epistles, and Literary Criticism. It may be said at once that the writer, who knows his Horace and the age of Horace well, has given us almost everything which properly belongs under these several captions. There is hardly a topic relating to them which does not receive treatment; but it seems strange that a book of nearly three hundred pages should be published on Horace, which contains absolutely no treatment of Horace as a lyric poet, and which leaves largely out of account the literary side of his Satires and Epistles.

Horace's fame and influence have never depended primarily on the information which he gives us with regard to his age; but rather on the form and manner of expression with which he handled his themes. To set forth Horace's literary art is unquestionably an extremely delicate and difficult task; but one really wonders whether it is worth while to have a book on the age of Horace without Horace the literary artist; whatever Horace may tell us about his time—and he certainly tells us much which we must comprehend if we would understand his work, it nevertheless remains true that he was, as he hoped to be regarded, first of all *Romanae fidei lyrae*. Probably the author of the book before us wished to limit himself to the second part of his title, as he seems to imply in his preface, but even so, is it fair by silence to deny the Horace who hoped "to knock the stars with head sublime"?

In the last chapter, on literary criticism, Professor D'Alton discusses primarily the Art of Poetry, and has a considerable amount to say as to Horace's theory of the origin of the drama, taking clear issue with the well-known views of our own Professor Hendrickson. But again, however much Horace's views as to the history of the drama, and his theories of dramatic art, may interest us, we miss a treatment of Horace's practice of literature. In short, we have here a book about Horace's age that contains much about Horace himself; but the side of Horace which most concerns us is quite neglected.

CLIFFORD H. MOORE.

Guide to the Study of Medieval History for Students, Teachers, and Libraries. By Louis John Paetow, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Medieval History in the University of California. [University of California Syllabus Series, no. 90.] (University of California Press, 1917, pp. xvi, 552, \$2.00.) The author feels, and justly so, that "ever since

the fall of 1914 the stream of historical writing on the Middle Ages has become thinner and thinner, so that today it is comparatively easy to keep abreast with the literature on the subject" and that therefore it "is a peculiarly propitious time for the making of inventories of the wealth of historical literature which has been produced in the century since the close of the Napoleonic wars". He does not, however, limit himself to the writings of the last century nor even to the writings on the Middle Ages. Rather he has collected within the covers of one volume a comprehensive select bibliography for the courses which the medievalist in a large university is usually asked to teach. There are bibliographies of medieval history for the freshman student as well as for the graduate student; bibliographies for the introductory course on the Middle Ages, up to 1500 A.D., for a course on medieval civilization through Dante, and for courses on the Crusades, feudal institutions, historical criticism, and historical bibliography. The two last are not treated as exhaustively as are the other phases of the subject but enough is offered to afford a substantial introduction to both. The author includes not only the standard secondary works but also the primary sources, the great "sets", periodicals, and classic works as well as the fugitive articles in periodicals and dissertations. For the monolingual beginner there are also lists of translated sources and source-books. The titles are carefully selected to suit the variety of purposes served, but the principle of selection is a very generous one, including not only the best but also second, third, and, in some cases, sixth and seventh choices as well. In most cases, however, a distinct effort is made to indicate the relative values by the order in which the titles are placed.

The work will be found invaluable to teachers of history in the secondary schools and small colleges, and to any other teachers of the subject who have not had intensive training in the medieval field. It will be found exceedingly helpful even by those who have had the training. To the graduate student preparing for his final examinations it will prove a sheer blessing.

The limits of this review scarcely permit of adverse criticism or corrections. The chief faults, if a work of such infinite utility may be charged with faults, consist of somewhat unsatisfactory paper and less satisfactory binding. Omissions of important titles are few and the errors of citation, chiefly of a typographical kind, to which a work of this nature is peculiarly liable, are likewise relatively few.

A. C. KREY.

The Substance of Gothic: Six Lectures on the Development of Architecture from Charlemagne to Henry VIII. Given at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in November and December, 1916, by Ralph Adams Cram, Litt.D., LL.D., F.A.I.A., F.R.G.S. (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, 1917, pp. xviii, 200, \$1.50.) Six lectures on Gothic architecture in the Lowell Institute course by Ralph Adams Cram have been

published in a volume entitled *The Substance of Gothic*, in which Professor Cram expounds his philosophy of medieval culture and of the architecture in which it expressed itself. The amount of information and suggestion packed into its 200 pages is remarkable, and is expressed in a style that combines fervor and eloquence with conciseness to a commendable degree. It should interest the layman as well as the architect, for it is scholarly without pedantry, and thorough without being unduly technical in its language or dry in matter and expression. It is written with that enthusiasm of conviction which one always expects in Mr. Cram's writings, and which compels attention and respect even from those whom it does not wholly convince.

The author's point of view may be gathered from the titles of the six lectures: *The Quarry of Antiquity*; *The Age of Charlemagne*; *The Great Awakening*; *The Epoch of Transition*; *The Mediæval Synthesis*; *The Decadence and the New Paganism*. Architecture is not mentioned in these titles, for the content of the lectures is concerned with the antecedents and accompaniments, the religious and social ideals, in short the culture, out of which Gothic architecture grew, rather than with its material form and details. The "substance of Gothic" means the *hypostasis* of the Gothic style, its sources and formative conditions and environment.

Wherever the author discusses that architecture, he treats it with great clearness, insight, and breadth, especially in the fourth lecture, on the Transition. Everyone interested in Gothic art should "read, mark, and inwardly digest" pages 114-122; the critical estimates of Bourges, Chartres, and Paris cathedrals on pages 145-146; of Rheims on page 148, and of Amiens on pages 150-153. These passages are in every way admirable.

The greater part of the book, however, deals with the institutions and beliefs of the Middle Ages. The author is a most uncompromising apologist of the medieval culture, and intolerant and even bitter in his condemnation of modern institutions and ideals. Thus he observes that in the twelfth century "Europe was organized on a socialistic basis which is the only possible model for similar movements, now or in the future" (p. 108). "The Middle Ages form the only democracy of record" (p. 183). The modern age is "the return to paganism in society and morals" (p. 186); and Mr. Cram agrees with the late Alfred Russell Wallace that "our whole system of society is rotten from top to bottom".

There will be many to dispute these conclusions, and possibly a less aggressive and sweeping laudation of one age and condemnation of the other would have been more convincing or at least more persuasive. But the scholarship and the fervor with which Mr. Cram sets forth his contentions combine to make this a suggestive and stimulating book.

The King's Mirror (*Speculum Regale: Konungs Skuggsjá*). Translated from the Old Norwegian by Laurence Marcellus Larson, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [Scandinavian Monographs, vol. III.] (New York, the American-Scandinavian Foundation; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917, pp. xvi, 388, \$3.00.) Before the days of Dante the farthest North of the civilized world produced an original and promising literature in the secular language, the saga-work of Snorre towering as the supreme monument. Very different in its political inclination, as well as in its didactic and generalized character, is the contemporary work under review. It is purposely anonymous, with no direct indication of time and place, but it must have been composed in northern Norway, probably about A.D. 1245. The writer poses as a layman, but the translator accepts the theory that he must have been a churchman, this in spite of his strong defense of the king's power over the Church. The work is admittedly the greatest gem in medieval Norwegian literature. A photographic reproduction of the principal manuscript, edited by Professor Flom, was published by the University of Illinois in 1915. Through the American-Scandinavian Foundation, with its programme for a closer cultural contact with Scandinavia, the work is now made available in English. The translator has been working at the task, for which he was well equipped, during several years, and his work is perhaps as accurate and free from uncertainties as is possible under the circumstances. The work has been rendered into modern English, with practically no attempt to reproduce the spirit of the original through any preference for words of Anglo-Saxon origin. Of course, the terse and pithy strength of the original cannot be reproduced; and many an interesting point will escape the student who does not consult the original. (The term "peasant", *e. g.*, does not convey the exact meaning of the Scandinavian "bóndi" or yeoman.) The introduction and the foot-notes trace the sources of the author; and several of the interesting aspects of the work, cultural as well as political, are discussed. The bibliography includes works as remotely connected with the subject as Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

The King's Mirror takes the form of a dialogue between a very dutiful son and a very wise father. It is supposed to consist of four parts, but the last two were probably never completed. The first part describes the life of a merchant and seaman, the second that of the king and his court. The author was familiar with the best knowledge of his time and reveals an unusual modernness of spirit. He accepts the sphericity of the earth and seems to believe in antipodes; but while he is familiar with Iceland and Greenland, as well as Ireland, and imagines Greenland to be connected with some mainland, he appears ignorant of the Vinland of the vikings. Professor Larson points out that this is one of the earliest medieval works which clearly enunciates the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and its exaltation of royal

authority presents a marked contrast to the democratic Icelandic and Swedish literature of the same century. *The King's Mirror* reveals a studious and yet active personality; and the work will remain an important source for the history of Scandinavian culture.

CONRAD PETERSON.

Magna Carta Commemoration Essays. With a preface by the Rt. Hon. Viscount Bryce, O.M. Edited by Henry Elliot Malden, M.A. (London, the Royal Historical Society, 1917, pp. xxxi, 310.) "The memory of the assertion of the principle of government by law was overclouded by the cares of the immense struggle to maintain that principle through force of arms." Thus Mr. Malden in his introduction. Intended celebrations did not take place in June, 1915, and the limitations and character of this volume of essays—most of them written before the War—are accounted for. There is graceful regret touching the contributions which might have been: from the German professor, "once a friend of England", from the Belgian and the French, absent not through choice. The long list of the original Magna Carta Celebration Committee (one hundred and five names) stands on the first pages.

But in spite of stress and distraction, a substantial volume, sure to be notable in Magna Carta literature, has been published. The names of the nine contributors show its importance. The subjects are various, with little relation to one another except that they are strung on the Magna Carta thread, and there appears to be one exception even to that. If one looks for theme or tendency running through the essays, it may be found perhaps in the disposition to react against the great reaction of several years ago which had its extremest expression in Mr. Jenks's *Myth*, or in centring much attention upon what Magna Carta has done in the world since John and Henry III.

Dr. McKechnie's paper, an address delivered before the Royal Historical Society, is an untechnical sketch through the seven centuries with more than one touch of imaginative sympathy. The remaining essays, excepting Señor Altamira's—a slight paper suggesting Spanish analogies and anticipations—are technical, occasionally polemical. Professor Adams appears to have proved that Innocent III. released John on the basis of ecclesiastical rights, not of the papal feudal overlordship. In the essays by Dr. Round, Professor Vinogradoff, and Professor Powicke, the ever famous major and minor barons, *liber homo*, *judicium parium*, *vel*, and *lex terrae* show no falling off in their capacity to provoke discussion. The longer essays are by Professor McIlwain, Dr. Hazeltine, and Mr. Jenkinson, constituting quite a bit more than half the book. The last is a useful and highly technical account of John's financial records, but hardly belongs in this collection. Professor McIlwain's Magna Carta and the Common Law contains an important discussion of the later medieval conceptions of law and law-making in

England. One would like to have had the *consensus utentium* idea traced back of Bracton. Dr. Hazeltine has furnished a serviceable compilation of Magna Carta influences in the history of American law and government.

ALBERT BEEBE WHITE.

The Estate Book of Henry de Bray of Harleston, Co. Northants (c. 1289-1340). Edited for the Royal Historical Society from the contemporary MSS. by Dorothy Willis. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXVII.] (London: the Society, 1916, pp. xxxix, 159.) This well-edited estate book is not only a rarity, but it is an instructive one. In it are disclosed the status, property, interests, and activities of a small landlord, one who owed no military service but was simply a large freeholder. Whereas a £20 rent-roll was the qualification for knighthood, Henry de Bray's annual income was just under £12. Since the lesser gentry of this type formed a substantial group in fourteenth-century England and concrete description of them is scanty, the information here recorded is welcome.

Married at fifteen, Henry de Bray seldom allowed his interests to range beyond the Northamptonshire village in which lay his inherited estate of 500 acres. His only political reference is to the destruction of the Templars in 1307. Genealogies, the transfer of lands, the obligations of his tenants, and his activity in building are the subjects of his record. What we seem to see is the final compacting of a small manor and the provision for it of manor-house and out-buildings. Henry himself does not speak of his property as a manor, although he holds a court for his tenants, and his descendants a hundred years later had a manor in Harleston. As inherited, the estate consisted of eight virgates of the twenty-eight comprised in Harleston fields, and they were held of three of the four lordships into which the village was divided. The virgates were large, averaging some 66 acres each. Six of de Bray's tenants held each a half-virgate or thereabouts, six others had from ten to twenty-two acres apiece, and there were upwards of ten cottagers. A half-virgate paid 20s. a year, but there is no record of labor services due, other than bedrip and hedrip in autumn. Probably most services had been commuted before 1329.

Perhaps the most interesting items of the estate book are those which relate to Henry's building. Beginning in 1289, he constructed a hall with a room on the north at the cost of £12; two years later he added a room on the south for £5 10 s. In each instance, the cost was exclusive of stone and beams, these materials being procured on the estate. In 1299 a mill and fish-pond cost £14; in 1301 a new grange, £15. During twenty years the building went on—a poundfold, a pigsty, a poultry-house, a bakehouse, a dovecot, a fountain, a granary, a sheepfold, connecting walls, several cottages. When the church at Harleston was rebuilt in 1325, Henry supplied the necessary stone and timber. If

this building activity may be taken as at all typical of village transformation in the time of the first two Edwards, the face of England must then have been rejuvenated.

H. L. GRAY.

Portuguese Portraits. By Aubrey F. G. Bell. (Oxford, R. H. Blackwell; New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907, pp. xvi, 14, 144, \$1.75.) Mr. Aubrey Bell has added a small volume of biographies to his many books on Portuguese life and literature. These sketches, seven in number, are slight and unpretentious in character, and not distinguished for critical acumen; but they reflect the spirit and color of the old chronicles from which Mr. Bell has drawn them. The period of discoveries and conquests produced a profusion of supermen in Portugal, who lived dangerously and sometimes horribly in distant lands. From this wealth of material, Mr. Bell has selected, among others, Prince Henry the Navigator, da Gama, and Albuquerque. Of Albuquerque it was said by a contemporary historian that "when angry he had a melancholy look . . . being of a very urgent disposition. . . . He was a man of many witty sayings and in some slight annoyances during his command he said many things the wit of which delighted those whom they did not immediately affect." But the most curious portrait is that of de Castro, viceroy of India, from which one might quote at length. It was this "saint and hero" who borrowed money "with some hairs of his head in pawn, since it was impossible to send the bones of his son, as he had at first intended, his death being but recent".

Mr. Bell has caught and reproduced the rare flavor of old Portugal.

GUERNSEY JONES.

Portugal Old and Young: an Historical Study. By George Young. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1917, pp. vi, 342, \$2.25.) Mr. Young, who was British secretary of legation at Lisbon in 1914, is favorably known to all English-speaking lovers of Portugal for his delightful Portuguese anthology. The second fruits of his Portuguese residence have now appeared under the above title. The best part of the book is at the end, where Mr. Young gives an account of recent Portuguese history, including the revolution and Portugal's entrance into the war. The war zeal of the extreme republicans, an exact reversal of their former anti-British prejudice, has led Mr. Young to assume a far more friendly attitude towards the revolution than was formerly to be found among British residents in Portugal. He is in fact its enthusiastic champion. Recent events have shown that in certain respects at least he has been unduly optimistic. Nevertheless, he has had an exceptionally favorable opportunity to obtain first-hand information from the leaders of all parties, and his account is on the whole the best that I know. His discussion of Portuguese colonial problems is especially illuminating.

Of the rest of the book one must speak with greater reserve. It is indeed the most brilliant part. The reader is almost abashed by the inexhaustible profusion of epigram, which curiously enough disappears when Mr. Young reaches the part that he knows and cares most about. Is it because there he is in earnest? A poor historian who lives upon a somewhat low plane of intelligence where documents must be examined and facts collected feels half resentfully that such dashing generalizations scattered broadcast so lightly cannot be true, or at least cannot be proved. Mr. Young's generalizations do not grow naturally and inevitably out of his subject-matter, but are imported from elsewhere, especially from a study of English history, and made to do service in foreign parts. One is tempted to say that this is less an exposition of the underlying forces of Portuguese history than a revelation of the political ideas now prevalent in English society. Mr. Young is sometimes very successful. His characterization of Prince Henry is wonderful. But for the most part, when he leaves the very modern field he betrays a brilliance and fertility of ideas not derived from a study of Portuguese history.

G. J.

O Dr. António de Sousa de Macedo, Residente de Portugal em Londres (1642-1646). By Edgar Prestage. (Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1916, pp. 94, 500 reis.) *Duas Cartas do Dr. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo.* (*Ibid.*, pp. 28, 200 reis.) Mr. Edgar Prestage, who has lived long in Portugal and devoted much time to historical investigation, has printed two pamphlets which throw new light upon the diplomatic relations of England and Portugal in the years 1642-1646. It is now possible to write upon the subject with more assurance and with some corrections of detail. Nothing of decisive diplomatic importance occurred at this time, but the marked friendship of the two courts and the rôle played by Sousa de Macedo as secret intermediary between Charles I. and his royalist supporters on the Continent lend an interest and importance to this correspondence, which Mr. Prestage has here for the first time summarized and printed in part. The resident had naturally much to say of his relations to Charles and of his strenuous disputes with Parliament when these secret relations were discovered. The negotiations for a Portuguese marriage with Prince Charles also occupied his attention. It now appears that the proposal did not originate in Portugal, but with a party of Charles's advisers who were friendly to France, and that the Portuguese princess was not Catherine, as we have hitherto assumed. So many phases of the Puritan Revolution are touched upon incidentally in these modest pamphlets that no student of the period can afford to neglect them. It is to be hoped that Mr. Prestage can see his way soon to give us similar accounts of other equally interesting material to be found in Portuguese libraries, especially at the Ajuda. Publication *in extenso* is of course to be preferred, but owing to the war its prospects were apparently never more remote.

G. J.

Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records. Edited with Introduction and Notes by James Tait, M.A., President of the Chetham Society. Volume I., *Quarter Sessions Rolls, 1590-1606.* [Remains Historical and Literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester, volume LXXVII., new series.] (Manchester, Chetham Society, 1917, pp. vii, xxxv, 332.) This first volume of the *Lancashire Quarter Sessions Records* forms a welcome addition to the body of English local judicial records which, thus far, includes in published form only more or less complete selections from those for Middlesex, Somerset, and the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. The obvious importance of such legal materials for the student of history the present reviewer aimed to set forth some four years ago (v. *American Historical Review*, XIX. 751-771).

In a brief introduction the editor, after giving a selected bibliography of the subject and sketching concisely the history of the commission of the peace, particularly in the sixteenth century, calls attention to the outstanding features of the Lancashire records. While his discussion of the names of those who served on the commission from 1590 to 1602 is chiefly of local genealogical interest, he tells us much of more general historical importance: for example, that the number of justices in the county varied, during the period in question, from 49 to 57; also, that, in spite of efforts to confine the sessions to the county town, they were held at different times in different places, with the result that, instead of four, there were sometimes twelve and even sixteen sessions in a single year. It will be news to many that the term petty session was in use in the seventeenth century and that "gentleman" was such an inclusive designation (p. xv). New light is thrown on the question of sabbath observance, on the onerous duty of constables, meatless days, and the prevalence of disorder, as well as the survival of such ancient customs as ox-money, watch and ward, and work on roads and bridges. The proof-reading is extremely careful, though a misplaced clause (p. xvi) produces the curious statement "a priest unknown in a barn". Owing to rigid condensation, the entries are rather monotonous, and one yearns for more vivid bits such as the deposition (pp. 289-290).

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

A Calendar of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company, 1655-1659. By Ethel Bruce Sainsbury. With an Introduction and Notes by William Foster, C.I.E. [Published under the Patronage of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, pp. xxxiv, 387, 12 sh. 6 d.) In the troubled years of the Protectorate, the affairs of a great corporation stood exposed to various dangers. On the granting of a new charter depended the terms of financial settlements. The vigor of foreign policies in Europe exposed the Asiatic outposts of English trade and, meanwhile, the character and terms of that trade set new problems of administration

and policy. So much and more Mr. Foster has indicated in a compact and serious digest; and Miss Sainsbury's index is an excellent guide to the details crowding the documents which are here calendared.

The impression is clear that the Company stood in much awe of Cromwell's government, and that the city merchants were humble petitioners before an uncertain but conscientious authority. After long delays, a charter was finally won in 1657; and shortly, through arbitration, the disputes of various stocks were settled. Yet even a financial clearing had its disadvantages. For on several occasions as soon as the Company was in funds the government urgently borrowed from the Company's treasury, not always to return the loan. Nevertheless, toward the end, there were offers of more money for investment in new ventures than the directors could well handle for their subscribers.

These heads of the Company had also to consider the smoldering policies of their Dutch rivals following English success recently won in the first of Cromwell's foreign wars. So out of this continued bitterness there grew larger and pregnant schemes. Here was the germ of a policy which later gained Bombay as a royal dowry and which thus became the basis of territorial interests. For in August, 1659, the Company was already anxious "to procure some place that wee might call our owne and be masters off" in India. A century before Clive, there were English adventurers giving aid and munitions to eastern potentates in their wars. Trade to China and Japan once more became the subject of debate and experiment. Nearer home the Company attempted to gain a lease of the Gold Coast through the Guinea Company, and definitely occupied for the first time St. Helena.

More usually, however, the ordinary questions of subscriptions and customs, of private trade and wages, of providing ships and gaining convoys occupied the attention of the directors. In these years the Company no longer built or bought its ships, but began to charter. In this way, as through the previous weakening of the corporation's monopoly, various private parties again got the notion of trading in the East. At times the results of such unlicensed competition were disastrous for all, since prices were sent soaring in Asia, and later hurried sales of such Eastern cargoes in European ports further served to lessen profits by a temporary glutting of the western market. The whole Oriental trade was a risky one for other reasons as well. Yet we may find reason for the anxious endeavors of the East India Company and its persistence when, as on one occasion, we find the directors complaining that they had had no share in a recent financial adjustment, wherein, as a matter of sober calculation, the prospective profits in an Asiatic venture had been reckoned at ninety per cent.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

William the Second, as seen in Contemporary Documents and judged on Evidence of his Own Speeches. By S. C. Hammer, M.A. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. vii, 272,

\$1.50.) As a diverting sketch of the histrionic utterances and actions of William II., this book is to be commended. In befittingly lively style the Kaiser is displayed petulantly annoying his tutor, zealously developing a cult of the Great Elector, intriguing now against Bismarck, now against Caprivi, restlessly journeying to and fro, pompously addressing recruits, ceremoniously reviewing troops and unveiling monuments, postulating omniscience in history, economics, literature, science, and art, as well as in politics, damning the Japanese, scourging the Chinese, praising Mr. Roosevelt, congratulating "Oom Paul", advising the English how to conquer the Boers, urging the Germans to emulate the English on the seas and overseas, shaking the mailed fist at the Tsar, scolding the infidel in Germany, rushing to the rescue of the infidel at Constantinople and at Tangier, and perpetually preaching to a dizzy world the gospel of his own "anointed person". These and like exploits are pretty faithfully drawn from the best German source-material.

Likewise is the book to be commended as an artistic portrait of the personality and character of William II. The Kaiser is not a great man. He did not make the present war. He is only a *flâneur*, a *poseur*. He represents the spirit of the age—its self-advertisement, its smartness, its competitive eagerness, and not least, its untiring energy in making and breaking records. He is at once the nation's referee, who follows it all the world over, stopwatch in hand, and announces the result, and the imperial champion who has long held the world's record for unexpectedness and who has already, in the first lap, easily spurted past half a score of his royal "cousins". The only respect in which he may be held personally responsible for the present war is that most Germans allowed themselves to take his theatrical versatility seriously and some learned how to profit by it. In the last chapter—that on William the Problem—are the fine touches of the portrait, and an excellent chapter it is.

As a soundly historical work the book is not impressive. Though translated from the Norwegian, it shows a pronounced bias not so much against William II. as against the Germans in general. The author is a publicist rather than an historian, and displays an uncomfortable, almost chronic, lack of insight into the domestic and foreign politics of the German Empire, as, for example, in making Bismarck's dismissal depend "simply and solely on the personality of the Kaiser". The translator, certainly, was quite innocent of any knowledge of German political parties, for Eugen Richter is referred to as the spokesman of the "Liberal" Party (p. 46), Peter Spahn as the leader of the "Moderate" Party (p. 213), and the Social Democratic Party is called the "Labour" Party (p. 149). Our own Staten Island—the scene of the memorable launching of the Kaiser's yacht—is rechristened "State Island" (p. 190); and the late would-be Emperor of the Chinese Republic passes muster under the Byronic appellation of "Juan" (p. 158).

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule. By Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1917, pp. 246, \$1.25.) "The Treaty of Frankfort marks one of the blackest dates in European history." With this statement the author sums up his attitude toward the Alsace-Lorraine question. With practised hand he leads us through the tangled history of the provinces, from the first coming of the Teutonic hordes down to Bismarck's successful re-enthronement of force in 1871, then in a tone growing ever more indignant traces the course of German rule through the successive stages of 1874, 1879, and 1911 to the outbreak of the present war. From Bismarck's early dragooning down to the high-handed acts of Saverne, German methods are lighted up by a forceful and picturesque style, which does not pretend to reflect a judicial temper. Sarcasm and sentimental outburst vary with bitter characterization of German arguments, as "sheer and jejune nonsense" (p. 64), "a campaign of slander and contempt" (p. 94), "lamentable superficiality and fundamental falsity" (p. 152). The annexation of 1871 was an "odious deed" (p. 147), "a monstrous iniquity" (p. 230). This violent tone of partizanship tends to obscure the good points of the book: the skillful unravelling of the tangled threads of earlier Alsatian history, the no less skillful portrayal of the birth of Alsatian particularism about 1890 out of the spirit of protest, and the collision of this movement with the advancing power of Pan-Germanism.

Unfortunately the judicial attitude is altogether lacking. It is surely not fair to speak of the annexation of Saarlouis and the tiny Grafschaft of Saarbruck, the "rape of 1815", as if it were part of a systematic effort to acquire French coal lands (pp. 67, 86). A moment's reflection on the events between the two treaties of Paris will recall that it was Vauban's defensive works at Saarlouis, as at Landau, that made this frontier post desirable. That in 1815 there were prominent Alsations who desired a divorce from France could also be shown (*cf.* Krones, *Zur Geschichte Oesterreichs 1792-1816*; Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1806-1815*, I. 605). Peculiarly unfortunate in the connection used is the mistranslation of A. Wagner's *Das walte Gott* (May God grant it) as "God wills it!" (p. 94). Surprising as it is to hear a seasoned historian cite the vote in Nice and Savoy in 1860 as "overwhelming approval by the people concerned" (p. 219) (even Cavour's greatest apologist finds the unanimity on that occasion suspicious—Thayer, II. 222), it is even more so to note that Hazen would deny to the present people of Alsace-Lorraine the right to vote on their own future (230 ff.).

The absence of authenticated quotations and statistics is one of the chief flaws of the book: the author's citations are for the most part quite uncontrollable. What authority is there for the statement that French is the mother tongue of 20 per cent. of the population of the provinces (p. 172)? The Conservatives in the Reichstag did not co-operate in

granting the constitution of 1911 (p. 181). That "practical joke of doubtful taste" was passed against the vote of 93 Conservatives, only a minority of *Reichsparteiler* voting for it.

ROBERT H. FIFE, JR.

South-Eastern Europe: the Main Problem of the Present World Struggle. By Vladislav R. Savić, Former Head of the Press Bureau in the Serbian Foreign Office. (New York and Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1918, pp. 276, \$1.50.) This volume is the American edition of a similar work that appeared in England. The appeal to Americans is first made in the opening chapter, where the author explains the encouragement to the small nations given by the entrance of the United States into the war, because of the belief in the honesty and disinterestedness of America. In the tenth and eleventh chapters the author discusses the future relations of the United States with the South Slav state which he hopes will emerge from the war, and especially the possibility of interesting Americans in developing the valuable industrial resources of the latter. There is an introduction by President Butler of Columbia University who emphasizes the spirit of unity that exists among the component elements of the South Slavs, namely, the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, as evidenced in the Pact of Corfu which will be the basis for the constitution of the new state. This interesting declaration is given in full in the introduction and unnecessarily repeated in the body of the book.

The title of the book is misleading. With the exception of chapter VIII., on Serbo-Bulgarian relations, *South-Eastern Europe* is devoted exclusively to the affairs of the South Slavs. As such, it is not so satisfactory to the American reader as A. H. E. Taylor's *The Future of the Southern Slavs* which appeared but recently. Chapters II., III., and IV. give a brief history of the South Slavs and their relations with Austria-Hungary, which will probably be satisfactory to the student of the Balkans but too sketchy for the layman. Chapter V. gives a fair and accurate statement of the Austro-Serbian causes of the war and chapter VI. an illuminating and stirring description of the part played by Serbia in the great conflict in which Mr. Savić was a participant. The remaining five chapters are devoted to an intelligent consideration of the domestic problems that will face the new state as a result of the union of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, and of its external relations with Italy and Austria-Hungary.

Mr. Savić is a Serb, but the book is written in a tone of fine restraint and moderation. Its statements are seldom unjustified, though an occasional rhetorical flourish does not conform wholly to the facts, *e. g.*, the boundaries he provides for the new state in the text are not sustained by the excellent map placed in the back of the book. Mr. Savić's book will not add much to the knowledge of the close student of the Southern Slavs who has followed the literature of the subject since

Seton-Watson first drew attention to it, but it ought to make a successful appeal to the average intelligent American who seeks a fair exposition of the subject.

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN.

Life of Abdul Hamid. By Sir Edwin Pears. [Makers of the Nineteenth Century, edited by Basil Williams.] (London, Constable and Company; New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1917, pp. x, 365, \$2.00.) Sir Edwin Pears labored under severe limitations in preparing this book. The Sultan contributed for his biographer's use no series of speeches, no private correspondence, and no public memoirs. The Ottoman personalities surrounding him provided no recollections or table-talk. His intercourse with foreigners was infrequent, abbreviated, and regularly mediated by interpreters. The press and the book-trade of his capital and his country were so completely muzzled as to be practically valueless as a source of information about him. Sir Edwin could not under the circumstances have avoided wholly the fault, which characterizes so many books about Turkey and the Turks, of giving less attention to the subject than to its environment. He has, however, had the great advantage of dwelling in Constantinople during all the thirty-three years of Abdul Hamid's reign, in a position which brought him into contact with many well-informed persons, both native and foreign, and with a responsibility as correspondent of an important English newspaper which led him to search constantly for the facts and their effective expression. The main value of his monograph is indeed in his personal recollections. With well-chosen additions from the books, articles, and experiences of others, the result is perhaps more a history of Turkey during Abdul Hamid's reign than a biography of the man himself, who remains behind the events related almost as much concealed as formerly behind the walls of Yildiz.

Both Sir Edwin Pears and the editor of the new series, *Makers of the Nineteenth Century*, are somewhat embarrassed to explain the inclusion of the Sultan in this group, since he was decidedly an *unmaker* or a *marrer* in nearly all that he did. Almost the only things produced in his favor are that he founded a medical college, could converse well on some subjects, and was fond of cats. On the other hand, he is shown to have been cruel, greedy, vindictive, vacillating, fearful, unstatesmanlike in his dealings with the Balkan peoples, Egypt, and the European powers, an employer of spies and *agents provocateurs*, and an enemy of free thought, free speech, and progress.

The general plan of the book is excellent, but much of its development is necessarily sketchy. In inferring Abdul Hamid's character and motives from his public actions, Sir Edwin is perhaps not always completely just, and reveals a certain amount of "British insularity". For instance, was it merely vacillation, perfidy, weakness, and obstinacy that led the Sultan to decline to participate with England in interfering

forcibly in Egypt in 1882, and in refusing to abide by the Wolff programme of 1885, according to which England was to abandon Egypt at the end of seven years? Had England, a foreign power, the right to propose and carry through the repression of the Egyptian revolution by force, and did Abdul Hamid's refusal to prolong the "temporary occupation" by seven years improve the British title? Had Abdul Hamid no higher aims than self-protection when he resisted by such means as were known to him (often truly infamous) the gradual conquest, by the different great powers of Europe, of his territories, the insidious capture of his people's wealth, the disdainful repression of his religion, and the slow disintegration of his power? Might not Sir Edwin have striven more effectively to grasp the Oriental point of view, and would he not then have found a few items on the credit side of Abdul Hamid's account, in varieties of patriotism, ethical aim, and religious devotion, even though curiously contorted and perverted?

The style is occasionally unfinished and a few of the transliterations are arbitrary. There are several errors as regards the history of the Mohammedans and Turks. A number of these (pp. 143-151) result from following Syed Ameer Ali uncritically. It was not infanticide of sultans' brothers (p. 12), but of sons of sultans' daughters, that lived into the nineteenth century. The janissaries after 1550 were not all sons of Christian parents (p. 13). Morocco was never under the Sultan of Turkey (p. 16). There was more public education, albeit of a medieval type, in Turkey in 1876, than is described (p. 30). The massacre of 1896 in Constantinople did not terminate, but began, with the seizure of the Ottoman Bank (p. 258). Abdul Hamid did not sacrifice Tripoli, which was lost two years after his deposition (p. 347). The bibliography is short and incomplete. The worth of the book, however, is not to be measured by faults of technique, but by the great quantity of sound and reliable material drawn from the experience and personality of the writer.

A. H. LYBYER.

A Journal from our Legation in Belgium. By Hugh Gibson, Secretary of the American Legation in Brussels. (Garden City, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1917, pp. xii, 360, \$2.50.) "This volume is not a carefully prepared treatise on the war. It does not set out to prove anything. It is merely what its title indicates—a private journal jotted down hastily from day to day in odd moments, when more pressing duties would permit. Much material has been eliminated as of little interest. Other material of interest has been left out because it cannot be published at this time." With these words the author introduces his published diary which presents the account of his experiences and observations at the Belgian capital from July 4, 1914, to the end of that year. Extracts from his journal of the following year which contain the recital of the fate of Miss Cavell have been added as a final chapter.

Some ninety-odd illustrations, many of which have been published before, add to the interest of the book.

As might be expected, the diary is written in a very informal and intimate style, and much of the material may be described as chiefly of human interest. The sudden transformation of one of our quietest foreign posts into one of the busiest, the tense atmosphere surcharged with conflicting and exciting rumors, and the kaleidoscopic changes through which life in Brussels passed as the war came upon it are all recounted vividly. The author has made good use of his unusual opportunity to observe the course of events and his descriptions are skillful. His pen-pictures of the pathetically heroic King Albert and Queen Elizabeth, and his portrayal of the vivid contrast in the manners of German, French, Belgian, and English military officials deserve the highest consideration.

While the book reads like fiction, it also contains a considerable amount of valuable information. The author's point of view at the time of the writing was one of official neutrality, which renders his comments all the more weighty. At the tragedy of Louvain he was an eye-witness, and his testimony is of international value. The strange and indirect effort of Germany to treat with Belgium, even after the fighting at Liège, receives additional light. The text of the telegram is reproduced in translation, and the manner in which this matter was handled is told in detail. The story of the Commission for Relief in Belgium has been purposely omitted, but its beginnings are clearly described. The chapter on Miss Edith Cavell, previously published in the *World's Work*, is one of the clearest and fullest descriptions of this much discussed tragedy.

The book is one of the first genuine diaries or journals by a diplomatic official thus far printed, and as such affords not only an interesting but a very valuable supplement to the official documents. It is to be hoped that the whole diary may be published some time, as a permanent source for the history of the war.

A. C. KREY.

My Second Year of the War. By Frederick Palmer. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1917, pp. 404, \$1.50.) Mr. Palmer is a practised war correspondent, and his book will doubtless interest many of the large class of readers for which it is intended. It is regrettable, however, that the impression should be so wide-spread that this sort of thing represents, in any important sense, a history of the war or of any part of the war. It is not that, but a relation of a series of superficial incidents, together with the current and very inadequate impressions which Mr. Palmer happened to pick up of the relations of those incidents to the actual conduct and progress of the war itself.

The fundamental facts are wholly absent from Mr. Palmer's pages; and it is in the nature of things that they should be. It will doubtless

be many years before we can get the documents and other evidence that will show what the great decisions were, on which the conduct of the military operations on both sides has turned. Next in importance to the decisions come the methods whereby those decisions could be brought to realization. In this field more might have been expected of Mr. Palmer than he has placed before his readers. He accepts what he has happened to see of trench warfare in France as the Alpha and Omega of the art. He is not, apparently, familiar with the tactical or strategic ideas of modern war, and is only concerned with the popular and heroic presentation of events.

But after all, the latter field is a perfectly valid one and, within its bounds, Mr. Palmer does well. We like particularly, for its graphic quality, the account of his flight from London to Amiens by airplane. He also catches well the spirit and morale of men and armies, and the little national differences and values that are of special interest for the large mass of American readers to whom Europe is unfamiliar.

Europe's Fateful Hour. By Guglielmo Ferrero. (New York, Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1918, pp. xi, 243, \$2.00.) This volume by the brilliant Italian historian is a collection of essays whose subjects are mostly the affairs of the present day, rather than matters of history, but all are so pervaded with the historian's thinking that they are profitable reading for students of history. The Underlying Causes of the War, Teutonism and Latinism, Ancient Rome and Modern Culture, Italy's Foreign Policy, the Genius of the Latin Peoples, and the Intellectual Problems of the New World (not meaning America but the new world which is to emerge from the present conflict), are the subjects. The essay on Italy's foreign policy, which is the longest, and which is distinctly historical, traces the history of the Italian government, quite as much in domestic as in foreign affairs, from 1896, but considers mostly the process by which Italy entered the present war. The translation and proof-reading have not been of the most careful sort.

Russian Realities and Problems. By Paul Milyoukov, Peter Struve, A. Lappo-Danilevsky, Roman Dmowski, and Harold Williams, edited by J. D. Duff. (Cambridge, University Press, 1917, pp. vi, 229, 5 sh.) These lectures were delivered in August of 1916, at Cambridge, England, and represent the viewpoint of Russian Liberals. Milyoukov, Struve, and Lappo-Danilevsky have long been the leaders of Russian Liberal thought, the first named being particularly prominent in the fields of foreign and internal politics, on which he gave his lectures. Dmowski is the leader of the Polish National-Democrats, who have inspired and organized the Polish national movement during the last decades. Williams is an Englishman; but he has lived in Russia for many years, making a thorough study of the nationality problems of Russia. For years these men have held and expressed their views of the problems

of Russian life, and they have attempted to modify the governmental policies by their writings, and also by political action, through the legislative bodies and the local government institutions. One of the objects of the lectures was to acquaint the English public with the views and policies of Russian Liberals, and also to point out the progress that had been made in the "Movement for Liberation", in which these men were active workers.

When in March of 1917 revolutionary action became necessary, because of the blindness of the governmental authorities, the Russian Liberals took the initiative in the organizing of a new government. The present book, containing lectures given some months before, appeared at that very moment. But the Liberals were pushed to one side by more extreme leaders as the Revolution developed, and the Bolsheviki are now attempting to solve the problems of Russian life by "class struggle" and "social revolution". As the pendulum swings back the Liberals will be able to exert an influence again. To some extent they will have to apply other solutions than those outlined in 1916; but they will not have changed their views very substantially on the fundamental points. Herein lies the value of the present volume. The chapters on the nationality problems are of particular interest in view of the apparent "break-up" of the Russian Empire during the last months. In discussing the economic prospects of the Russian Empire, Struve also touched on this point. He emphasized the fact that Russia is a "complex of territories in different economic conditions and in different stages of economic development". But he added: "It is just this which makes Russia at the present moment an Empire from the economic point of view, no matter what the aims of her State policy may be, and quite independently of any 'Imperialism'."

Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918, pp. xvi, 750.) The publication of this handbook marks a great step forward in the labors of American historiography. Even in these evil times, much good work will be done with its aid which could hardly be done at all without it. The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has been, from the time of its creation twenty years ago, the most important collection of manuscript material for American history, but so rapid has been its growth, under the fostering care of Messrs. Worthington Ford and Gaillard Hunt, that no one, however familiar he may have supposed himself to be with the achievements of those two indefatigable collectors, can fail to be surprised at the enormous riches disclosed by the present manual. Plainly Washington must henceforth be the Mecca of students of the history of the United States. The method followed in the *Handbook* is to avoid all pedantry and all that is superfluous and to give the maximum of practical aid that can be given in the space of 750 duodecimo pages. To this end, the various collections, several hundred in

number, including the great series of European transcripts recently procured, are arranged in an alphabetical order. Those of which calendars have been published are passed over lightly. The history or provenance of each collection is briefly stated. The descriptions, especially in the case of miscellaneous collections, are precise though compact. To the student, they are fascinating reading. The index is so minute as to occupy 204 pages. The paper is too transparent. The book can be obtained by sending 65 cents to the Superintendent of Documents; but the buyer will presently find himself drawn into the expense of a trip to Washington!

History of the Spanish Conquest of Yucatan and of the Itzas. By Philip Ainsworth Means. [Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. VII.] (Cambridge, the Museum, 1917, pp. xv, 206, \$2.00.) This work deals with the closing period of independent Maya history, the Spanish conquest of Yucatan in 1517-1697. It is based upon a critical digest of the principal known contemporary authorities, both published and unpublished, and consists of direct quotations therefrom arranged in chronological sequence and amplified wherever necessary by connecting chapters and passages.

This method of treatment is not without a peculiar advantage in the present case, since it is possible to tell the story very largely in the language of eye-witnesses of the events narrated; and Mr. Means has very wisely confined himself to the weaving of these direct quotations into a continuous narrative by the addition of such explanatory matter as may be necessary for their proper comprehension. Where there is so much "direct evidence" the account wanders very little from the beaten track of events, and the book may be said to get down to the business in hand with a minimum of distracting side-issues. The choice of materials is at once happy and discriminating, and the story of the Spanish conquest of the Maya of Yucatan and northern Guatemala is clearly and convincingly set forth.

The leading authorities consulted are the histories of Bishops Landa and Cogolludo, the former written in 1566¹ and the latter published in 1688; the history of Villagutierre y Sotomayor published in 1701; and the manuscript *Relaciones* of Padres Avendaño and Cano, written about the same time, *i. e.*, 1695-1700, the former now in the British Museum, and the latter in the Brinton collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

¹ Landa's manuscript, or more probably a copy of the original, was found in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid in 1864 by the French antiquarian Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who published it the same year with a French translation. It is the most important original source on the Maya field and its discovery alone has made possible the decipherment of the Maya hieroglyphic writing, which has now proceeded to the point where the meanings of about half the signs are known.

In quoting Avendaño and Cano the writer follows the excellent English translations by Mr. C. P. Bowditch and Señor Guillermo Ribera. The Landa, Cogolludo, and Villagutierre extracts are translated by himself.

The arrangement is convincing and the division into chapters really determined by the necessities of the subject-matter and not only by the need for breathing-spells in the text. The table of contents is unusually complete and in a measure compensates for the lack of an index, with which the book is not provided. There are several pertinent appendixes, a good bibliography, and six plates, reproductions of early maps of the region, etc., three of them being published here for the first time.

In fine Mr. Means has adequately covered a little known though important field of American history; little known because his book is the first in any language to deal exclusively and intensively with the period covered, and important because the Maya of southern Mexico and northern Central America achieved the most notable aboriginal civilization in the New World.

SYLVANUS GRISWOLD MORLEY.

The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763. By Frank Wesley Pitman, Ph.D. [Yale Historical Studies, IV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917, pp. xiv, 495, \$2.50.) In its careful use of the resources of the Record Office this book challenges comparison with Beer's well-known *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*. Pitman is, however, less concerned than Beer with the governmental activities which embody "policy", more with the economic conflicts which evoke it. In the British West Indies in 1700-1763 such conflicts arose chiefly from the circumstance that while the European empires in America, taken as a whole, were nearly balanced in population and reciprocal needs between temperate and tropical parts, no single empire was thus balanced within itself. The British had developed too many North-American farmlands for their sugar plantations, the French and Spaniards too few. The Dutch and the Swedes had lost theirs. The Danes never had any. To effect a profitable equilibrium of commerce among these unbalanced empires was the constant effort of those earliest internationalists, the traders of the Atlantic. Everywhere except among the Dutch they encountered obstacles in mercantilistic imperialism. Everywhere they evaded them. In the British Empire they encountered as well the special opposition of an influential group of planters, vigilant to retain its monopolistic advantage with reference to the British share, at least, of the opulent sugar-trade. The resultant conflict, commercial and legislative, in the sugar islands, and indeed throughout the British Empire, has nowhere been traced in such fullness, with such continuity, and with so firm a grasp upon essentials as by Dr. Pitman. He has placed under obligation all who share his desire "to reach a better understanding of the part those islands played in the development and dissolution of the empire".

The amplitude of his statistics, the clearness of his charts, which observe a happy uniformity of plan and scale, the illuminating character of his documentary appendixes, can be appreciated only through an examination of the book. More easily illustrated is the advantageous perspective which he displays by taking his stand in the West Indies themselves, rather than in Old or New England. He thus shows, for example: that the British-American customs administration was everywhere equally incompetent, or indisposed, to enforce the Molasses Act; that the island merchants sent more foreign sugar home disguised as British than the New England merchants did; that the removal of sugar from the list of enumerated commodities in 1739 was followed by a direct trade to Europe far too small to account for the supposed indifference of the planters, after that date, to the enforcement of the act.

Confirmation of some of Dr. Pitman's suggestions must await the appearance of a similar study of the French islands which shall reveal whether they were merely fortunate in opening to sugar later than did the British a greater area of virgin soil, or were in reality possessed of a superior agricultural technique. If the latter were the case, the choice by Great Britain in 1763 of a course of tropical instead of continental expansion might have altered the subsequent course of American history less than Dr. Pitman seems disposed to suggest.

C. H. HULL.

Sieur de Vincennes Identified. By Pierre-Georges Roy. [Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. VII., no. 1.] (Indianapolis, C. E. Pauley and Company, 1917, pp. 130, 50 cts.) This study is devoted primarily to the genealogy of the Bissot family, and of the related family of Margane de Laveltrie. M. Roy has clearly identified the founder of the post on the Wabash as a member of the former, François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes. In his discussion, however, the author gives most attention to Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes, the father of François-Marie. He has given the elder Vincennes a distinct place in the early history of the "Old Northwest".

The activities of the younger Vincennes are hardly mentioned from the time he passed out of the service of New France into that of Louisiana in the early twenties of the eighteenth century until the description of the battle with the Cherokees in 1736, where he lost his life. The founding of the Wabash post is barely touched upon, and nothing is revealed of its early history. M. Roy drew his information largely from Canadian material while the younger Vincennes belongs to the history of Louisiana. For information concerning him the student must look to those series of the French colonial archives which relate to Louisiana. Transcripts of many of these are now available in the Library of Congress.

M. Roy quotes *in extenso* documents which afford glimpses of social

and economic conditions in New France at the beginning of the eighteenth century. More important is the light shed upon the efforts of the French to control the Indians at a time when the British were beginning to make inroads west of the Alleghanies in their effort to secure the fur-trade of the Upper Ohio.

The proof of the present edition has been carelessly read. A bibliography "of the works which have spoken of the Bissots de Vincennes" is appended. There is no attempt at valuation, although most of the books listed make only a brief mention of Vincennes.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS.

History of the Town of Southampton, East of Canoe Place. By James Truslow Adams, M.A. (Bridgehampton, L. I., Hampton Press, 1918, pp. xx, 424, \$2.65.) This volume is based on the author's *Memoirs of Old Bridgehampton*, published in 1916, but now rewritten, with much new material added. The town records of Southampton having already been published, this work is a welcome addition to the history of this interesting old town. Chapters I. and II. give good accounts of the physiographic conditions and the Indians. Other chapters treat of town-government and social life, piracy, early commerce, the Revolution and the War of 1812, and the growth and decline of the whale-fishery. There is a valuable series of documents in the appendixes, and numerous illustrations of old houses, mills, churches, whaling-ships, and scenes and maps, together with a bibliography and index.

This town, founded in 1640 by some forty families from Lynn, Massachusetts, is an example of the tendency of early New England towns to plant new towns, offshoots of the parent town. It is an early case of the "westward movement", caused by economic conditions, particularly by the desire for cheaper and better lands. It also illustrates another phase of the process of settling the country, where the first emigrants consisted of those who had "passed through a double process of selection".

This book is also an example of the high standards which have been set in recent years by the publication of local histories written in the modern scientific spirit. It is scholarly, based on original sources, with full and exact references to authorities, and treats of the various phases of life of those complex groups that lived in towns. The description of town-government is particularly good, and the interesting chapters on pirates, early commerce, and the whale-fishery leave little to be desired. Among the documents in the appendixes, mention may be made of the various compacts and agreements relating to the founding of the town, some seventeenth-century inventories of estates, "Articles of Association" (1775), and a table of whaling voyages (over seven hundred being mentioned, 1760-1871) which gives the name of the vessel, the captain, the owner, the tonnage, and the results of the voyage.

The narrative runs smoothly and appears to be unusually accurate. The amount of research required to produce a book of this kind is very extensive and laborious, and might be considered out of proportion to the importance of the subject. Nevertheless it is only through detailed and scholarly studies of this kind, that we can secure accurate knowledge of the general history of that most important of our units of local government, the town, and also of the development of that most important characteristic of the native American, the notion of self-government.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

Papers of the American Society of Church History. Second series, volume V. Board of Editors: Joseph Cullen Ayer, jr.; Edward Payson Johnson; John Alfred Faulkner; William Walter Rockwell. Managing Editor, William Walter Rockwell. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, pp. lxx, 147, \$3.00.) This volume contains the new constitution which the society adopted December 27, 1915, after it had decided to incorporate, the statute of incorporation (State of New York, March 30, 1916), minutes and reports of the eighth (1914), ninth (1915), and tenth (1916) annual meetings, lists of members living and deceased, and the following papers: J. A. Faulkner, The Reformers and Toleration; A. C. Howland, Criminal Procedure in the Church Courts of the Fifteenth Century as illustrated by the Trial of Gilles de Rais; H. E. Dosker, Recent Sources of Information on the Anabaptists in the Netherlands; A. H. Newman, Adam Pastor; F. J. F. Jackson, The Work of Some Recent English Church Historians; J. Johnson, Early Theological Education West of the Alleghanies.

Though not a great deal of new matter is presented, the papers are of substantial merit. Professor Howland's résumé of court procedure and of the trial of Gilles de Rais follows Bosard and Maulde (misspelled Moulde) and Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, III. 468-489, but he is not convinced, as they are, of the marshal's guilt. Both Professor Newman and Professor Dosker show the rich material made accessible in the great ten-volume *Bibliotheca Reformationis Neerlandica* edited by S. Cramer and F. Pijper, 1902-1914.

The American Society of Church History now has 159 members. Aside from the general stimulus of its meetings, it has shown its influence in such publications as *Wessel Gansfort, Life and Writings*, by E. W. Miller and J. W. Scudder, and the *Latin Works of Zwingli*, though this latter is now at a standstill. The society is endeavoring also to secure the publication of a manuscript left by the late Dr. Edward T. Corwin, "The Ministers and Churches of all Denominations in the Middle Colonies from the First Settlements to the Year 1800", and the production of a detailed ecclesiastical history of the Scandinavian peoples. The officers and active members of the society have every reason to be proud of the character of its work and to anticipate a still larger usefulness in the future.

Paul Jones: his Exploits in English Seas during 1778-1780. Contemporary Accounts collected from English Newspapers with a Complete Bibliography by Don C. Seitz. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1917, pp. xxi, 327, \$3.50.) The first of the two principal parts of Mr. Seitz's book, pages 3-164, consists of extracts relating to John Paul Jones, taken from London newspapers covering the period April 28, 1778-December 10, 1783. All but two of the extracts are for the years 1778-1780. The newspapers are as follows, *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, *Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser*, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, *London Evening Post*, *General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, and *London Chronicle*. The extracts, which are classified according to subject-matter, relate chiefly to Jones's cruises in the *Ranger* and *Bon Homme Richard*, his stay in Holland after the capture of the *Serapis*, and his return to France. As all the main facts of Jones's naval career in European waters have long been published, these new gleanings add to our knowledge but little of first-rate importance. By massing the information drawn from British sources, they do however make clearer the English view of Jones, and increase our knowledge of the profound alarm created by his movements and of the action taken by the British as a result of them. A parallel between his descents upon the British coast, and the recent raids of the Germans through the air is inevitably suggested to the reader. In collecting and making accessible these extracts the author has rendered a valuable service for the future biographers of the commodore. The information is published without annotation or comment.

The larger part of the volume, pages 167-327, consists of a bibliography of writings respecting Jones, covering the years 1778-1917, which is the most complete that has been issued. It includes not only books, pamphlets, and articles, but also references to the commodore found in historical publications of a general character. Several omissions of articles of more importance than many of these references were noted. The arrangement is chronological.

The two main divisions of the book, described above, are preceded by a "foreword", in which a brief account is given of the papers and biographies of Jones. On the title-page, following the English practice, the author drops "John" from the name of the commodore. It would seem better however to follow Jones's practice and retain it. As a frontispiece, an unusual portrait of Jones is published. There is no index. The book is excellently printed and bound.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio, 1779-1781. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Louise Phelps Kellogg, of the Wisconsin Historical Society. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXIV., Draper Series, vol. V.] (Madison,

the Society, 1917, pp. 549, \$1.50.) The most apparent shortcoming of the present volume lies in the circumscribed sources from which the editors have drawn their materials. No principle of inclusion or exclusion, either by statement or implication, appears anywhere, and the assumption is that no definite one has been held in view. This statement does not apply to the early volumes of this series, which were confined consistently to the publication of documents from the Draper collection. But with the change in editorial policy we observe the inclusion of documents from other sources, notably the Washington Papers, and the adoption of the plan of publishing summaries of documents hitherto printed. In the volume before us, of the 475 items, of which only about thirty-eight are from the Washington Papers, practically the only outside source used, more than 200 are summaries. With reference to this the editors suggest that summaries of such documents as are essential to the history of the period "have been presented at their appropriate place in the unfolding of the story in the present volume". If the editors had merely calendared the documents thus summarized, or had reduced them to foot-notes, thus making them fully as useful, sufficient space would have been saved for the inclusion of a large number of documents from other sources. This plan would have increased greatly the service already rendered by the editors in issuing the Draper series. If, for example, it was pertinent to publish Governor Thomas Jefferson's letter of February 10, 1780, to Washington relative to the Detroit expedition, why was it not equally important to present his two letters of March 30, 1780, one each to Colonel John Todd and Colonel George Rogers Clark? These, with others equally significant, are among the Haldimand Papers. Practically nothing is offered in the volume concerning the British side of the events, yet there are numerous unpublished documents in the Haldimand and other British sources which throw much light on western frontier conditions in the years 1779-1781, such as letters from Haldimand and Colonel Guy Johnson—English officials who directed from Canada the British forces in the West. Having once gone afield the editors should, in the reviewer's opinion, have gone somewhat further. Until this is done we cannot envisage the period as a whole.

The general appearance of the volume, its introduction, annotations, and index are to be highly commended. An unintelligible sentence appears near the bottom of page 30.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

A History of the Pacific Northwest. By Joseph Schafer, Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, University of Oregon. Revised and rewritten. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1918, pp. 323. \$2.25.) Professor Schafer's *History of the Pacific Northwest* was published in 1905 and noticed in the issue of the *Review* for July, 1906 (XI. 949). Since that time he has made important researches in

Oregon history, the results of which he has recently embodied, as far as the scope of a school text-book would permit, in a new edition, which has been thoroughly revised and in large part rewritten. The first part of the book has been somewhat abridged. The body of the book remains much as before. The two chapters on the Oregon Treaty and the coming of the railways have been enlarged and rewritten and three new chapters on agriculture, industry and commerce, and on political and social changes have been added. Professor Schafer is in error in his statements regarding Frémont in his chapter on the railways. It is more than doubtful whether Frémont's third expedition had anything to do with a Pacific railway. He was not employed in the later official surveys and he did not cross by way of South Pass in his private expedition in the winter of 1853-1854.

The general character of the book remains the same. Within the limits prescribed it affords an excellent survey of the history of the Pacific Northwest but it does not sufficiently connect the history of that section with the general history of the country. There is nothing about the "bargain" in the Democratic convention of 1844 and the statement that "fifty-four-forty" was not in the platform is misleading. Professor Schafer still omits to point out that the organization of Oregon as a territory was the result of the Free Soil convention. This lack of adequate background constitutes the chief objection to teaching state and sectional history apart from the history of the United States, an objection that can be met only by careful management of the material. The publishers have greatly improved the format of the book.

F. H. H.

The Papers of Francis Gregory Dallas, United States Navy: Correspondence and Journal, 1837-1859. Edited by Gardner W. Allen. [Publications of the Naval History Society, volume VIII.] (New York, the Society, 1917, pp. li, 303, \$8.00.) It is a pleasure to acknowledge the indebtedness of the historical world to the Naval History Society for this handsome volume. Its contents must be described, however, as of minor importance. Dallas served, but not prominently, in the Mexican War. In 1848 he was dismissed from the navy for fighting a duel. The next year he entered the fleet of the German Confederation, and in 1850 he became commander of a corvette, which, however, did little actual cruising, if any. Late in 1852 the dissolution of the fleet threw him out of employment, and he soon applied successfully for restoration to the American navy. The correspondence presented in the volume relates almost wholly to these matters. Then follows a journal kept by him from May, 1849, to June, 1859, which contains little except personal, naval, and geographical details. During the winter of 1855-1856, however, he was on detached service ashore near Puget Sound, against the Indians; and in 1858-1859 he served nearly a year on the west coast of Africa in the suppression of the

slave-trade. Dr. Gardner W. Allen contributes an extended and interesting introduction, which gives a connected account of the life of Dallas and for background considerable important information about the work of the navy during this period, especially in regard to the slave business. Attention is justly called to the importance of the transition from sail-power to steam-power, and it would have been worth while to mention the influence of the Mexican War in this regard. On page xxv, where the share of the navy in that war is described, we are told that "The Pacific Squadron took . . . Los Angeles"—a statement which, since that is an inland city, might puzzle the reader. The author's meaning is, of course, that the capture was effected by men from the squadron (assisted by a smaller number of soldiers). It might have been well to cite also the brilliant work of the naval men in Lower California. The author goes a little too far in saying that the Home Squadron "maintained a strict blockade" of the eastern coast of Mexico. An appendix quotes from *The United Service* Commodore Phelps's account of the passage of the *Decatur* (on which Phelps and Dallas were shipmates) through the Strait of Magellan, from east to west, which was the first successful attempt of a vessel of her class to make it.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

"Honest Abe": a Study in Integrity based on the Early Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Alonzo Rothschild. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, pp. 374, \$2.00.) The late Alonzo Rothschild was an essayist rather than an historian. What he has accomplished in this, his second book—as in his first, *Lincoln, Master of Men* (1906)—is the writing of an historical essay touched by what Mr. Bliss Perry would characterize as the amateur spirit. Not trained by prolonged preparation for historical research, yet fortified by intensive reading and a love of general literature, the author many years ago became interested in Lincoln's career and times partly through the accident of his birth (October, 1862), partly through his father's admiration for the great President, and partly through his own direct and simple nature which discovered in Lincoln ideals similar to his own. Handicapped by no question of success or failure, Mr. Rothschild rode courageously into the lists where scholars are supposed to be chiefly engaged. In them he made a record that will remain distinctly creditable.

Exactly the extent of the work Mr. Rothschild intended to accomplish is not altogether clear, though a sympathetic tribute (pp. 285-306) by his son, John Rothschild, throws light on the father's ambition. The present volume is the second, we are informed, in "a cycle of works" designed to treat Lincoln's character "from all angles". It is concerned chiefly with Lincoln's early life down to the time (1846) of his election to Congress. Had the author lived, it would have been slightly elaborated and enriched. There are five chapters: I. Pinching Times;

II. Truth in Law; III. Professional Ethics; IV. Dollars and Cents; V. Honesty in Politics. The third and fifth chapters, revealing the larger phases of the general theme, are written with marked freedom. These are likely to afford stimulating reading to students of history and politics. Elsewhere there is occasional indication that the author's judgment is somewhat warped, partly because of his method and partly because of his large admiration for his subject. Inevitably the chapters are constructed after the manner of mosaics. In the way of facts they contain nothing heretofore unknown. But, so far as the facts have been tested, the work appears to be accurate. In matters of judgment it is always intelligent if not quite discriminating. Altogether it may be reckoned an honest and unpretentious contribution to interpretative historical literature.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

The Life and Work of George Sylvester Morris: a Chapter in the History of American Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By R. M. Wenley. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. xv, 332. \$1.60.) Several features of this volume commend it to notice in the *Review*. It is not simply the biography of a distinguished teacher of philosophy in one of our leading American universities, where his influence was strongly felt. Professor Wenley has treated the life and work of Morris in a way which involves wider interests.

Every reader will be impressed at the outset by the account of the ancestry and early life of Morris. The author must have wrought here *con amore*. The result is an admirable picture of the intellectual and spiritual forces that were at work in the best type of "New England Home" in the last century. Those of a later generation who may wonder that a philosophical mind like that of Morris should proceed so slowly to the task of intellectual reconstruction, will do well to study the soil in which his spirit had taken root.

Historical interest also attaches to the impetus which Morris gave to the study of the history of philosophy. This was achieved not only through the successive editions of his translation of Ueberweg's *History of Philosophy* and his other writings, but also through his use of the historical method in his own class room, at a time when the history of thought received but meagre attention in American colleges and universities.

The last chapter of the book contains some impressive tributes from distinguished pupils of Morris, including Professor John Dewey.

From the work as a whole one takes away a vivid, and, we may believe, a truthful picture of the personality of Morris, a personality of unusually fine and strong fibre. Professor Wenley, however, does not lose his critical sense in admiration. In his estimate of Morris's philosophical position he indicates certain fundamental defects. The final synthesis was too easily won; it ignored the hostile forces both in nature

and in man that forbid such a facile identification of reality with Spirit, and of Spirit with perfect Love.

WALTER G. EVERETT.

The Very Reverend Charles Hyacinth McKenna, O.P., P.G., Missionary and Apostle of the Holy Name Society. By the Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M. (New York, Holy Name Bureau, 1917, pp. xiv, 409, \$2.00.) The author of this interesting volume by much labor and laudable diplomacy has saved to American Catholic historical literature the life-story of one of its great men. Perhaps no American priest in the past half-century merits a more honored place in the annals of his church than the Very Reverend Charles H. McKenna, O.P. For fifty years he labored strenuously through the length and breadth of this country, preaching to thousands the message of the Gospel, ministering to souls in distress, and founding, wherever circumstances permitted, Rosary and Holy Name Societies. As a pulpit orator he not only won national reputation but really accomplished his life-work. Those whose privilege it has been to have attended his missions or lectures will never forget the strong personality, the earnest conviction, the able argumentation, the mastered sentiment, and the clear, resonant voice which clothed his words with something of the irresistibleness of his Master. His work lives hidden in the lives of the thousands whom he awakened to new hopes or spurred on to the realization of dormant ambitions. Unlike many endowed with rare oratorical talent, Father McKenna was thoroughly practical. His goal was not to arouse mere enthusiasm but to effect permanent spiritual betterment. Early in his career he realized the value of organization and fortunately Providence placed in his hands a ready means of organizing the spiritual efforts of his men. This was the Holy Name Society, instituted centuries before to foster devotion and respect for the Holy Name and to encourage Catholic men in the diligent practice of their religious duties. To the propagation and development of this society he gave much time; in fact, to the exclusion of all else, the last years of his life. The result was phenomenal: before his death nearly every parish in the United States boasted a branch of the Holy Name Society, the total membership of which was more than a million and a half. Despite his many other estimable labors, this crowning work of Father McKenna's life has given his name to posterity as the "Apostle of the Holy Name in America". That this volume is a labor of love is evident from the author's frequent expressions of his admiration for its subject. The work is well written, though the reader will regret many useless repetitions, the introduction of many platitudinous appreciations, and the omission of much which would help to give an accurate delineation of the character of Father McKenna.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume L., October, 1916–June, 1917. (Boston, the Society, 1917, pp. xv, 524.) As usual in these volumes, there are three varieties of contents to be characterized: historical papers by members of the society, original documents, and memoirs of deceased members. Of the latter, the notable one in this volume is that of the late George H. Monroe, of the *Boston Herald*, an unusual and interesting character. Massachusetts having had a constitutional convention in 1917, the constitutional history of the state was a matter of special interest in the society, and several papers related to that topic: Dr. S. E. Morison's excellent study of the struggle over the adoption of the constitution of 1780—the oldest of the world's written constitutions still operative, his account and analysis of the votes of the state on summoning a constitutional convention, 1776–1916, and Mr. Arthur Lord's paper on some of the objections made in contemporary times to the constitution of 1780. Notable also are Col. Thomas L. Livermore's paper on McClellan in 1861–1862, a paper whose sober and competent analysis it will always be difficult for admirers of that general to meet; that of Dr. Justin Smith on Polk and California; and that of Dr. Schouler on the Whig Party in Massachusetts. A contribution of unusual quality to the most modern period of history is the narrative of the departure of the American mission from Berlin in 1917, by Mr. G. W. Minot, private secretary to Mr. Gerard. Among the documents, the first place in interest might be disputed between the early letters of John A. Dix, 1818–1848, and those of John Stuart Mill to Charles Eliot Norton, 1865–1870, but those sent to Sumner apropos of his oration on the True Grandeur of Nations, 1845, are of much interest, as are also the English journal of Josiah Quincy, 1774–1775, and a body of letters addressed to him in the same years. Useful contributions to the history of American administration are Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse's survey of the marine hospitals in New England, 1817, and the notes of meetings of the Deputy Postmasters General in America (Foxcroft and Finlay) in 1774.

La Vida Colonial Argentina: Médicos y Hospitales. By Ernesto Quesada. (Buenos Aires, Rodrigues Giles, 1917.) This interesting and ably documented pamphlet refers to hospitals in Buenos Aires and Córdoba. Though a hospital was ordered to be established in Buenos Aires in 1701, in 1713 we find the governor writing to the King of Spain that there were no doctors in the city. In 1739 the Cabildo of Córdoba built a church instead of a hospital, though ten years before Bishop Sarricolea had urged that one be established; and not until May 2, 1778, was the "tribunal del protomedicato" established in Buenos Aires by Dr. Gorman, who had arrived in the Rio de la Plata shortly before as surgeon to Cevallos's expedition. Before that date there were no licensed medical practitioners in what is now Argentina, other than "apothecaries". In passing, it is interesting to note that Dr. Gorman,

who seems to have been an Irishman, imported a carriage from the United States to Buenos Aires in 1810.

Vida de Don Francisco de Miranda, General de los Ejércitos de la Primera República Francesa y Generalísimo de los de Venezuela. Por Ricardo Becerra. In two volumes. [Biblioteca Ayacucho bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid, Editorial-America, Sociedad Española de Librería, 1917, pp. 485, 475, 8 pesetas each.) Following the somewhat questionable policy adopted in the more recent additions to the *Biblioteca Ayacucho*, the editor has reproduced a secondary work, rather than a contemporary narrative of the period of the revolution. Its author, a Colombian journalist, diplomat, and politician, was commissioned by the government of Venezuela to prepare it from sources available in the country, supplemented by a few documents from the Spanish archives and a much larger amount of material in English obtained in the United States. It was published at Carácas in 1896 under the title, *Ensayo Histórico Documentado de la Vida de Don Francisco de Miranda*, etc.

The present edition departs in several respects from Becerra's volumes. It omits the portrait of Miranda, the prolix "Discurso Preliminar" of 157 pages, and certain notes comparing the Venezuelan with Nariño, the Colombian, in their respective claims to consideration as the rightful "precursor of emancipation". Discarding, also, the original division of the work into two parts, descriptive, the one of Miranda's activities in America, the other of his career in Europe, with the chapters numbered continuously, it rearranges the subject-matter so as to provide a preliminary chapter, tracing the antecedents of the revolution, and a series of ten "books", separately subdivided into chapters. Each of the "books" is then given a new and appropriate title that enables the reader to note as he goes along the most salient features of Miranda's life.

On the whole the changes are commendable, even if the retention of the long summaries preceding the chapters would seem less desirable than the omission of Becerra's comparison of Miranda with Nariño. Inclusion of the latter may not be "rigorously necessary" perhaps, but the fairness of the parallel drawn between the compatriot of the author and the fellow-countryman of the editor might better have been left to the judgment of the reader. Nor would it have been a piece of impiety to correct the slips in the spelling of English words which mar the original version.

In what purports to be a systematic narrative of a career so interesting as that of Miranda one might expect that the author would have due regard for accuracy, for precision of reference, for avoidance of digression, and for consecutiveness, both in thought and in time. But these are qualities often lacking in Becerra's work. An example of the last point is found in his account of Miranda's expedition of 1806,

which he follows by a description of that officer's deeds a quarter of a century earlier. Historical errors are numerous. Foot-notes, or other means for indicating the source of statements in the text, are nowhere supplied. A tendency to wearisome discursiveness, also, is very marked. Yet, despite the unscientific nature of the treatment of the subject in general, the work of Becerra takes rank as the most elaborate, if not altogether the best, biography of the Venezuelan hero written by a Spanish-American. While not comparable with the scholarly monograph by Robertson, it is a distinctly useful contribution to the historical literature of the period.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

La Epopeya de Artigas: Historia de los Tiempos Heróicos de la República Oriental del Uruguay. By Juan Zorrilla de San Martín. Second edition. In two volumes. (Barcelona, Luis Gili, 1916, 1917, pp. xxxi, 750; 663.) During most of the nineteenth century the memory of the real achievements of José Gervasio Artigas, on behalf of the independence of his native land, fell practically into oblivion. Argentine historians alluded to him as an obscure cowboy chieftain of scant personal merit; and his life of seclusion in Paraguay for thirty years appeared to confirm their unjust opinion of him. Though Uruguayan writers engaged in wordy controversies with their western neighbors about Artigas, little by way of refutation was accomplished because of a lack of definite knowledge as to his actual services. Toward the latter part of the century, however, serious efforts were made to ascertain all that could be learned of his career from documents public and private. Then, as the researches, culminating in the work of Acevedo, brought to light evidence that rehabilitated his memory in a fashion brought thoroughly gratifying to the patriotic sentiment of the Uruguayans, Artigas became in fact and of right their national hero.

The present treatise is the outcome of a presidential decree providing for the erection at Montevideo of an equestrian statue in honor of a man calumniated and well-nigh forgotten, and yet entitled to recognition as one of the eminent figures in the struggle for emancipation from Spain. To this end Dr. Juan Zorrilla de San Martín was commissioned to prepare an exhaustive work, interpretative of the personality of Artigas, which would aid the sculptors whose designs were to be submitted in competition. Accordingly the text has been given the form of addresses delivered before the artists in question.

From the pen of an author famed not only as the greatest of Uruguayan poets but as one of the most celebrated men of letters whom Hispanic America has produced in modern times, a remarkable piece of eulogistic literature was naturally to be expected. It is, in fact, a prose epic, telling in language alike beautiful and eloquent and in a style

singularly fascinating, the story of a character hitherto veiled in mystery and now portrayed in all its heroic proportions. The poet has lent wings to his imagination; yet so sincere is his devotion to truth that he has not lost sight of his duty to state and expound facts as an historian. Both functions he has succeeded in combining most felicitously. What Dr. Zorrilla de San Martín has offered to the Spanish-speaking world should be made accessible to English readers.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

HISTORICAL NEWS

From the date of issue of this number of the *Review* until September 10, the address of the managing editor will be, for mail, North Edgecomb, Maine, for telegrams and express parcels, Wiscasset, Maine.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

At the last meeting of the Association it was voted that the Executive Council should have power to decide by postal vote whether, and where, an annual meeting of the Association should take place in December next. Provisionally, the Council has decided to accept the invitation extended by Western Reserve University and other bodies in Cleveland to hold the meeting in that city, where the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association have also voted to meet at that time. If conditions so greatly change between now and the first of September that it seems wiser to give up the meeting, notices to that effect will go out on that date, with the treasurer's bills. Professor S. B. Harding has been appointed chairman of the programme committee. The other members will be announced later.

Volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1914, being the General Index to *Papers* and *Annual Reports* from 1884 to 1914, is now being bound and will be distributed to members during the summer. It makes a volume of rather less than eight hundred pages. Galley-proof of the *Annual Report* for 1916, in two volumes, will shortly be returned to the Government Printing Office; it is therefore hoped that these volumes may be distributed late in the fall.

An edition of five hundred copies of the Justin Winsor prize essay for 1916, Dr. Richard J. Purcell's *Connecticut in Transition*, has been ordered and will be ready for subscribers within the month. In view of the limited size of the edition all who desire to make sure of securing this essay should order it from the secretary at once.

On account of his engagements in the Historical Section of the General Staff of the United States Army, Major R. M. Johnston has been obliged to withdraw from the chairmanship of the Committee on the Military History Prize, and his place is taken by Professor M. L. Bonham, jr., whose address is Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge. Professor F. M. Anderson has been named as a new member of the committee.

In accordance with the votes of the Finance Committee of the Council, \$2100 has been invested in bonds of the Third Liberty Loan.

Of this amount, \$2000 was secured from subscriptions to the special endowment fund, and \$100 from life memberships.

NATIONAL BOARD FOR HISTORICAL SERVICE

In the last number of the *Review* mention was made of the series of lectures to be delivered on the invitation of the British universities by Professor A. C. McLaughlin of the University of Chicago. Reports so far received indicated that the lectures were proceeding with marked success. On May 6 Professor McLaughlin and Mr. Charles Moore were the guests of honor at a dinner in London at which Lord Bryce presided. Among the speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Connaught. A fuller report of this mission may be expected in October number.

In furtherance of the same object of a better understanding between the United States and the other English-speaking peoples arrangements have been made for a series of lectures this summer at several American universities by Professor George M. Wrong of the University of Toronto. He will speak on Canadian Federalism, Canada's Part in the War, and kindred topics. The first lectures will be given July 2 and 3 at Harvard University and they will be followed by a tour of the group of universities centring about Chicago.

The prize essay contests for teachers in the various states have been completed and the awards have been announced. The essays, by elementary and secondary school teachers respectively, which have been awarded first prizes are now in the hands of two national committees which will award an additional first prize to the best essay in each class.

The results of the plan of co-operation in effect this year between the Board and the *History Teacher's Magazine* are indicated elsewhere in this issue. Arrangements have been made to continue this co-operation during the year 1918-1919. Plans so far developed include a series of articles on Historic Problems of the Near East; the British Empire; Contemporary European Governments; and probably a monthly article of comment on current events.

PERSONAL

Hubert Howe Bancroft, historian of California and the Pacific coast, died on March 3, at the age of eighty-five. Born in Ohio, he acquired a substantial fortune as a publisher in San Francisco, and gathered together a very remarkable collection of books, pamphlets, newspapers, original manuscripts, transcripts from archives, and dictated narratives of pioneers, for a comprehensive history of the Pacific slope. His design, too ambitious to be undertaken single-handed, embraced the organization of a staff of competent historical scholars who, working under his direction, produced in a brief period a series of thirty-nine large

volumes—on the native races of the Pacific states, on the history of Mexico, Central America, the Northwest Coast, California, Oregon, and adjoining states—to which the general title, *History of the Pacific States* (1874-1890), was given. With whatever deficiencies arising from multiple and uncertain authorship, and from amateurish conceptions of their task on the part of some of the writers, it was a great and worthy achievement, and bore in all its sections the marks of Mr. Bancroft's energy, intelligence, and organizing power. Several other works in Pacific history, of less compass and distinction, came from his pen in later years. His library is a much-prized possession of the University of California.

Professor Gustav von Schmoller of the University of Berlin died on June 27, 1917. He was the author of numerous contributions to the administrative and economic history of the Hohenzollern dominions, and had trained many students whose publications have lain in the same and allied fields.

Professor Ephraim Emerton has retired from the professorship of ecclesiastical history in Harvard University which he has held for so many years and with so much distinction, and has been succeeded in that chair by Professor Kirsopp Lake.

Mr. C. W. David, hitherto instructor in the University of Washington, has been appointed associate professor of history in Bryn Mawr College.

Professor N. S. B. Gras of Clark College has been appointed professor of economic history in the University of Minnesota. Drs. Lester B. Shippee and Mason W. Tyler have been made assistant professors in the same institution.

Professor H. Morse Stephens of the University of California has been made dean of the College of Letters and Science; Dr. W. A. Morris has been promoted from an assistant professorship to an associate professorship of English history; Dr. K. C. Leebrick has been made an assistant professor of European history; Dr. J. J. Van Nostrand assistant professor of ancient history, in the place of Professor R. F. Scholz, who has accepted a professorship in the University of Washington. Dr. Charles W. Hackett has been made professor of history in the University of New Mexico.

Dr. E. E. Robinson has been made assistant professor at Stanford University.

Lieutenant Richard A. Newhall, of Minneapolis, formerly instructor in history in Harvard University, is reported as severely wounded in action in the casualty list of June 13.

The following appointments for teaching in summer sessions of universities have come to our notice: Professor St. George L. Sioussat of

Brown University will lecture in Harvard and Boston universities; Professor G. M. Dutcher of Wesleyan University in that of California; Professor W. E. Lingelbach of Pennsylvania in that of Chicago; Professor J. G. Randall of Roanoke in that of Illinois; Professor J. M. Calhahan of West Virginia in that of Colorado; Professor R. P. Brooks of Tennessee in that of Georgia; Professors H. E. Bourne and B. E. Schmitt of Western Reserve in those of Oregon and Wisconsin respectively; Professor Wallace Notestein of Minnesota in that of Michigan; Professor E. M. Hulme of Idaho in that of California; Professors C. E. Chapman and H. I. Priestley of California in those of Washington State and of Southern California respectively.

GENERAL

No publication issued in Germany since March, 1916, has been received by the *Review* or by the libraries whose courtesies are enjoyed by Professor Dutcher, to whom ordinarily we are indebted for notes on German writings. For the present number, however, he has been permitted access to a file for 1916 and 1917 of the *Wöchentliches Verzeichnis*, and to the numbers of volume CXVIII. (1917) of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, so that he is able to make some mention of the publications which have appeared during the two years.

The principal articles in the April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* are a discussion of Conventionality in History, by Professor G. G. Benjamin, and a treatment of the Geographical Aspects of the War, by Professors S. B. Harding and W. E. Lingelbach, together with a number of maps and diagrams. Suggestions for Secondary School History include: Some Roman Trade Routes along the Pathway of the Great War, by S. P. R. Chadwick; How German Intrigue and Napoleonic Militarism produced the Franco-Prussian War, by Louise F. Brown; Internal Problems during the Civil War, by C. R. Fish; and the Irish Question and England, by E. R. Turner. In the May number are: The War: its Practical Lessons to Democracy, by Dr. F. A. Cleveland; President Lincoln and his War-time Critics, by Dr. A. C. Cole; Historical Preparedness, by Dr. S. J. Buck; and Annexationist Germany, by Professor B. E. Schmitt. The War Supplement of the number is Preliminaries of the World Conflict: a Syllabus of a Course of Study, by H. L. Hoskins. The June number includes a valuable article by Professor W. E. Lingelbach on the Russian Revolution and the War; one on England at War, by Professor Conyers Read; a similar one on Italy and the Great War, by Dr. P. V. B. Jones; and a series of Documents relating to France and certain War Issues, arranged by Waldo G. Leland. One group of these documents pertains to Alsace-Lorraine, principal among them being the historic protests of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, through their representatives in 1871 and 1874, against annexation to Germany, and the declaration of the French government in Sep-

tember, 1917. The other group, the most noteworthy of which are a petition of the six great economic associations of Germany to the Imperial Chancellor in May, 1915, and a petition of professors, clergymen, officials, and others, in June of the same year, reveals in the strongest light the German aim to make extensive annexations in the west particularly and to impose heavy war indemnities.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, third series, vol. X. (London, 1916, pp. 240) has for its chief contents a presidential address by Professor C. H. Firth on the Study of English Foreign Policy; a paper by Mr. J. F. Chance on Germany in the Time of George I.; one by Mr. G. P. Gooch on Germany and the French Revolution; one by Miss Caroline J. Skeel on the Influence of the Writings of Sir John Fortescue; and one by Mr. E. Lipson on the Sources Available for the Study of Medieval Economic History.

The April number of the *Military Historian and Economist* contains a brief paper by Lieut.-Col. Paul Azan, on the Historical Section in a General Staff; the paper read by Dr. Victor S. Clark at the Philadelphia meeting of the American Historical Association, on Manufacturing Development during the Civil War; and an article by Commandant René Pinon, on Salonika and the War in the East. Of equally great interest is a translation, printed as a supplement and to be continued in installments, of a confidential memorial, prepared for the German General Staff, on the railroad concentration for the Franco-German war.

In the ethnological series of the *Publications* of the University of Manchester, Mr. W. J. Perry brings out *The Megalithic Culture of Indonesia* (Manchester, University Press; London, Longmans, 1918, pp. xiii, 198), a study constructed along the lines advocated by Dr. Rivers in his writings on culture-mixture; in it the author states the facts respecting megalithic monuments, stone graves, stone seats, and traditions and beliefs respecting stones, in a limited region, and indicates some of the conclusions respecting the transmission of cultures toward which the evidences point.

A committee of the Bibliographical Society of America has for some years been engaged in the preparation of a list of all the incunabula owned in the United States or Canada. The first installment now appears in the April *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, under the title, Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America. The titles are arranged in the order followed by Hain. The present installment, being thirty-two pages of the *Bulletin*, covers the letter A.

Harper and Brothers have brought out a new edition of Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World*, enlarged by the addition of Quebec, Yorktown, Vicksburg, Gettysburg, Sedan, Manila Bay, Santiago, Tsu-Shima, and the battle of the Marne, together with some of the chief events of the Great War.

Professor F. Meinecke has revised his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, Studien zur Genesis des Deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. x, 538) in a fourth edition which has been prepared with due consideration of the large number of new publications on the subject in the last few years. Among the German writings on the subject are A. Gasparian's *Der Begriff der Nation in der Deutschen Geschichtschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917, pp. viii, 64); Stammer's *Rechts- und Staatstheorien der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, Veit, 1917); Strecker's *Die Anfänge von Fichtes Staatsphilosophie* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1917); and Tönnies's *Der Englische Staat und der Deutsche Staat* (Berlin, Curtius, 1917). *Der Staat als Lebensform* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917) is the German translation of a work by Professor F. Kjellén of the University of Gothenburg.

Credit of the Nations (Scribner, pp. 406), by Dr. J. Laurence Laughlin, emeritus professor of political economy in the University of Chicago, reviews the industrial development of the past thirty-five years and discusses the national rivalries and the credit systems of the warring countries.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, has published (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917, pp. xxxii, 940, 15 sh.) *The Reports to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907*, being the official explanatory and interpretative commentary accompanying the draft conventions and declarations submitted to the conferences by the several commissions charged with preparing them, together with the texts of the final acts, conventions, and declarations as signed, and of the principal proposals offered by the delegations of the various powers, as well as of other documents laid before the commissions, edited, with an introduction, by Dr. James Brown Scott, director of the division.

The first of a series to be published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, under the general title, *The Work of the Hague*, is *The International Union of the Hague Conferences*, a translation of Professor Walther Schücking's *Der Staatenverband der Haager Konferenzen*, instructive in its evidence of German official opinion and action respecting peace. The second volume is *The Problem of an International Court of Justice*, translated from Hans Wehberg's *Das Problem eines Internationalen Staatengerichtshofes*.

Dr. Cabanès has recently published what is claimed to be the only comprehensive account of *Chirurgiens et Blessés à travers l'Histoire, des Origines à la Croix-Rouge* (Paris, Michel, 1918, pp. 624). The work forms a quarto volume and is amply illustrated.

ANCIENT HISTORY

El Hombre Fósil (Madrid, Museo de Ciencias Naturales, 1916, pp. 397), by Hugo Obermaier is the ninth memoir issued by the Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas. It contains, in addition to a good general survey of the subject of prehistoric man, a list of "stations" and a bibliography.

E. Mahler's *Handbuch der Jüdischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, Fock, 1916, pp. xvi, 636) will scarcely be accepted as conclusive. Of somewhat sounder scholarship is Weidner's *Studien zur Assyrisch-Babylonischen Chronologie und Geschichte auf Grund Neuer Funde* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1917). Dr. Julius Augapfel has edited a collection of *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes' I. und Darius' II.* (Vienna, Holder, 1917, pp. vii, 119) in the fifty-ninth volume of the publications of the Vienna Academy. E. Bevan's *The Land of the Two Rivers* (London, Arnold, 1916, pp. 126) is a brief manual of the history of Mesopotamia to A. D. 641.

Professor Beloch has issued the second part of the second volume of the revised edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1917, pp. viii, 418), which completes the work to the Peloponnesian War. Julius Kaerst published in 1901 a volume on the Hellenistic period which did not attract much attention. He has now issued the first volume of what he calls a second edition of this *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. xii, 536), but which is so enlarged as to be practically a new work. The work professes to be a study of the general character and significance of the Hellenistic period rather than a detailed account of events. This volume is divided into three sections, on the Greek city, the Macedonian kingdom, and Alexander the Great.

Professor Ivan Linforth of the University of California brings out through the press of that university a small volume on *Solon the Athenian*, containing an essay on Solon's life and works and a critical text of the fragments of his poems, with translation and commentary and various excursus.

An important supplement has been added to the eighth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917), containing Latin inscriptions from Africa. The fourth volume of the *Papiri Greci e Latini* (Florence, Ariani, 1917) has been issued.

Professor E. Pais has published two parts of *Dalle Guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto, Indagini Storiche, Epigrafiche, Giuridiche* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1918, pp. 764).

Cicero: a Biography, by Mr. Torsten Petersson, instructor in Latin in the University of California, will soon be published by the press of that university, in a volume of some 500 pages.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Seymour de Ricci, *Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Égyptologique*, I. (Revue Archéologique, July, 1917); Tenney Frank, *Some Economic Data from C. I. L., volume XV*. [trade-marks on manufactures of metal, clay, and glass] (Classical Philology, April); E. Pais, *Il più Antico Trionfo Romano sui Germani* (Nuova Antologia, February); R. Cessi, *La Crisi Imperiale degli Anni 454-455 e l'IncurSIONe Vandalica a Roma* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XL. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

H. Lietzmann has published some interesting liturgical and archaeological studies in *Petrus and Paulus in Rom* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1915, pp. xii, 189).

The late Mr. Edmund Bishop had, before his death in February, 1917, read most of the proofs of a volume of his occasional essays, prepared during thirty years past, on the liturgy and religious life of the Western Church; these are now published in a volume entitled *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918, pp. xiv, 506). Many of the essays are antiquarian in character, but several are important contributions to ecclesiastical history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. J. Carlyle, *What is the "Historic Episcopate"?* (Contemporary Review, March).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

In the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XL. 3, will be found two important critical studies of the textual problems of the Lex Salica, by Bruno Krusch and by Claudius, Freiherr von Schwerin.

K. A. Bernoulli has published from the papers of Franz Overbeck, *Vorgeschichte und Jugend der Mittelalterlichen Scholastik, eine Kirchenhistorische Vorlesung* (Basel, Schwabe, 1917, pp. xii, 315).

W. M. Peitz, S.J., has published *Das Register Gregors I., Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Päpstlichen Kanzlei- und Registerwesens bis auf Gregor VII.* (Freiburg, Herder, 1917, pp. xvi, 222). In Eichmann's *Quellensammlung zur Kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht*, the third volume is devoted to *Der Papst und die Römische Kurie*, for which Professor G. J. Ebers has edited the first part dealing with *Wahl, Ordination, und Kronung des Papstes* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1916).

Bernhard Schmeidler has prepared the third edition of Adam of Bremen (Hannover, Hahn, 1917, pp. lxviii, 353) for the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*.

A handsome and valuable volume of *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, edited by Charles Singer (Oxford, Clarendon

Press, 1917, pp. xiv, 304), contains fruits of researches centred in a new room for the history of science provided in the Radcliffe Camera by Dr. and Mrs. Singer. The chief studies are: The Scientific Views and Visions of St. Hildegard, by Dr. Singer; A Study in Early Renaissance Anatomy, by the same, with text and translation of the *Anothomia* of Hieronymo Manfredi; Dr. John Weyer and the Witch Mania, by Dr. E. T. Withington; and, by Mr. Reuben Levy, The *Tractatus de Causis et Indiciis Morborum* attributed (wrongly, he holds) to Moses Maimonides.

The *Morale Scholarium* of John Garland, professor in the University of Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century, edited with introduction and notes by Professor L. J. Paetow, of the University of California, will shortly be published by the press of that university.

Weltimperialismus und Nationale Regungen im Späteren Mittelalter (Freiburg, Speyer and Kaerner, 1916, pp. 64) is an interesting address by H. Finke.

Dr. Eleonore von Seckendorff, in *Die Kirchenpolitische Tätigkeit der Heiligen Katharina von Siena unter Papst Gregor XI., 1371-1378* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1917, pp. xvi, 162), has given special study to the determination of the dates of the saint's letters.

The career of *Pabst Hadrian V., Kardinal Ottobuono Fieschi* (1276) (Heidelberg, Winter, 1916, pp. viii, 360) has been the subject of exhaustive study by Nathalie Schöpp. To the volume of the *Repertorium Germanicum* for Eugenius IV. (1431-1447), published in 1897 by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome, Professor Emil Göller has now added a volume which covers the pontificate of Clement VII., 1378-1394, at Avignon (Berlin, Weidmann, 1916, pp. xvi, 172, 250).

L. K. Goetz has compiled a volume of *Deutsch-Russische Handelsverträge des Mittelalters* (Hamburg, Friedrichsen, 1917). An important contribution by F. Frensdorff on the "Stadtrecht" of Wisby appeared in the twenty-second volume (1916) of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Schlumberger, *Une Prise de Possession Chrétienne de la Ville de Jérusalem en l'An 1229* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 19).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A somewhat extended contribution to the Erasmus literature is Mestwerdt's *Die Anfänge des Erasmus, Humanismus und "Devotio Moderna"* (Leipzig, Haupt, 1917).

I. von Powa has made a German translation of *Der Kampf um den Ostsee, 1544-1621* (Munich, Neue Deutsche Bücherei, 1916, pp. 292) of Professor Adam Szelagowski.

Deel XXXVIII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Historical Society of Utrecht contains important material, from the Public Record Office in London, respecting the second Dutch war against England and the invasion of the Medway; namely, the reports, in English, of Arlington's agents in the Low Countries on the preparations for war, and a body of letters, official and private, in Dutch, written on board a Dutch man-of-war, and intercepted by the English through the capture of a despatch boat. It also contains minutes of the general meetings of the Dutch clothworkers.

Hermann, Freiherr von Egloffstein, has edited *Carl Bertuch's Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongress* (Berlin, Paetel, 1916, pp. viii, 288); and Ernst Molden has a volume *Zur Geschichte des Oesterreichisch-Russischen Gegensatzes: die Politik der Europäischen Grossmächte und der Aachener Konferenzen* (Vienna, Seidel, 1916, pp. 184) in the publications of the Gesellschaft für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs.

In *The Lost Fruits of Waterloo* (Macmillan, pp. 289), the author, Professor John S. Bassett, discussing the question of permanent peace, deals with the problems of the Napoleonic era, Europe under the concert of the powers, the Balkan question, German ideals and organization, and presents the arguments for and against a federation of states.

Pietro Silva has made a considerable contribution to the history of the policy of Louis Philippe and of French influence in Italy during his reign in *La Monarchia di Luglio e l'Italia, Studio di Storia Diplomatica* (Turin, Bocca, 1917, pp. xvi, 456).

Important contributions to the history of Europe since the middle of the nineteenth century have recently been published. The more notable are: *Weltgeschichte von 1840 bis 1916, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Weltmachtsentwicklung und der Weltmachtsgegensätze* (Nuremberg, Koch, 1917) by Schrepfer; Professor T. Lindner's *Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung*, which is completed to the outbreak of war in 1914 by the ninth volume on *Die Zeit Bismarcks* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1916, pp. xiv, 524); the seventh volume of Alfred Stern's *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (*ibid.*, pp. xxv, 797) dealing with the revolutionary years 1848-1850; and Jean Larmeroux's *La Politique Extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie, 1875-1914*, of which the first volume (Paris, Plon, 1918) covers the events from the Bosnian rising in 1875 through the formation of the Triple Alliance.

The *Revue Historique*, March-April, prints the text of the letter which the Empress Eugénie addressed in October, 1870, to King William of Prussia, and of King William's reply of October 26, the original of which the aged empress has lately presented to the Archives Nationales. The king's letter is significant as to Prussian aims in the war then proceeding.

The third volume of A. Gauvain's *L'Europe au Jour le Jour* (Paris, Bossard, 1918) carries the sub-title *Le Coup d'Agadir*. Various articles, chiefly from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, are reprinted by A. Gérard under the title *La Triple Entente et la Guerre* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1918). Various topics in the history of the last half-century are treated. *Avant 1914, Pendant, et Après* (Paris, Payot, 1918) is a translation of a Swedish work by A. Nyström. Comte de Fels has written on *L'Entente et le Problème Autrichien* (Paris, Grasset, 1918).

Professor W. S. Davis of Minnesota has published a substantial survey of recent European history, chiefly of the period from 1870 to 1914, under the title, *The Roots of the War* (Century Company).

Mgr. Gauthey, now archbishop of Besançon, has edited the memoirs of Cardinal Perraud with the title, *Mes Relations Personnelles avec les Deux Derniers Papes, Pie IX. et Léon XIII., Souvenirs, Notes, Lettres, 1856-1903* (Paris, Tequi, 1917, pp. 417). Mgr. Gauthey formerly held a canonical post in close personal relations with the cardinal and promises to supplement the memoirs with a careful biographical study. Hilengas's *Die Gesellschaft vom Heiligen Herzen Jesu* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1917) is a posthumous publication.

Recent works on Alsace-Lorraine, all written from the French viewpoint, are: *Alsace-Lorraine* (Putnam, 1917, pp. 60), by Daniel Blumenthal; *The Question of Alsace-Lorraine* (Hodder and Stoughton), by Jules Duhem, translated by Mrs. R. Stawell; and *The True Story of Alsace-Lorraine* (London, Chatto and Windus), by E. A. Vizetelly.

New Europe, in its issues for April 4, 11, 18, 25, and May 9, presents articles on the newspaper press of Germany, Italy, Spain, and Sweden, characterizing the different newspapers as to party affiliations, tendencies, and the like, briefly, but in a manner to be useful to students of recent history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Foster Watson, *Erasmus at Louvain* (Hibbert Journal, April); *id.*, *A Friend of Sir Thomas More* [Vives] (Nineteenth Century, March); N. Weiss, *Luther et la Réformation Française* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, October); V. L. Bourrilly, *Charles-Quint en Provence* (Revue Historique, March); G. Drei, *Il Card. Ercole Gonzaga alla Presidenza del Concilio di Trento* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XL. 3); C. Bessonnet-Favre, *Leibniz et la Colonisation Germanique de la Russie* (Mercure de France, April 16); Edward Krehbiel, *The European Commission of the Danube* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Brada, *L'Ambassade Anglaise en 1870* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 12); A. Nekludow, *Souvenirs Diplomatiques de l'Entrevue de Bjoerkoe* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); "Politicus", *Alsace-Lorraine* (Fortnightly Review, March); "A French Soldier", *Alsace-Lorraine and Democracy* (Edinburgh Review, April).

THE GREAT WAR

General reviews: the *Historische Zeitschrift* (CXVIII. 3, pp. 541-542) cites general reviews of books on the war by E. Stadler in *Hochland* (XIII. 2, 1916), by R. Siegel in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (XXXVII., 1916). It also commends the reviews of war books in *Deutsche Politik*, and of the "Flugschriften" in *Literarisches Echo*.

Former Ambassador J. W. Gerard's new book, *Face to Face with Kaiserism*, has appeared (New York, Doran).

Fighting for Peace (Scribner), by Dr. Henry van Dyke, former minister to Holland, gives a vivid account, from personal knowledge, of such subjects as the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium, submarine warfare, the sinking of hospital ships, and the bombardment of hospitals.

It is understood that the German government is preparing a new and enlarged edition of the *White Book*, which it put forth at the outbreak of the war. The Foreign Office published some time since a collection of *Diplomatische Schriftstücke aus der Zeit vom 12. XII. 1916 bis 19. III. 1917* (Berlin, Heymann, 1917, pp. 73).

The Secret Treaties and Understandings, from March, 1915, to March, 1917, which became public after the Russian Revolution, and the main outlines of which are now familiar through the press, have been edited by F. Seymour Cocks and published by the Union of Democratic Control, London.

For publication by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Professor Munroe Smith, of Columbia University, is preparing an annotated edition of Prince Lichnowsky's recently famous memorandum, accompanied by related documents.

The Way of Honour, announced by Messrs. Allen and Unwin (London), is a translation of a collection of papers and addresses by M. H. Carton de Wiart, Belgian minister of justice, *La Politique de l'Honneur*, showing the historical reasons for his country's resistance to Germany. Two publications from the Swiss point of view are promised by the same firm, *Germany her Own Judge: Reply of a Cosmopolitan Swiss to the German Propaganda in the World War, 1914*, translated from the German of H. J. Suter-Lerch; and *Dangerous Optimism*, a pamphlet by Otfried Nippold, professor of international law in the University of Bern, who aims to bring home to his country the perils of Pan-Germanism.

The Direct Costs of the Present War, by Professor E. L. Bogart of the University of Illinois, is the latest issue in the pamphlet series of *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and described in our last number.

Volume II. of the *History of the World War*, by Frank H. Simonds, the first volume of which has been reviewed in this journal (p. 701 of the present volume), has appeared under the title, *The Making of Middle Europe* (Doubleday, Page, pp. 253).

The third volume (1916) of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The British Campaign in France and Flanders* (London, Hodder and Stoughton; New York, Doran) has appeared.

German versions of the history of the war now include H. Stegemann, *Geschichte des Krieges* (vol. I., Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1917); Von Ardenne and Helmolt, *Das Buch vom Grossen Krieg* (vol. I., Stuttgart, Union, 1917); Hoetzsch, *Der Krieg und die Grosse Politik* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917) of which the first volume includes events prior to the entrance of Bulgaria into the war; Müller-Meiningen, *Diplomatie und Weltkrieg* (vol. I., Berlin, Reimer, 1917); and Hofer, *Die Keime des Grossen Krieges* (Zürich, Schulthess, 1917). *Zum Geschichtlichen Verständnis des Grossen Krieges, Vorträge* (Berlin, Sigismund, 1915, pp. 132) contains addresses by Count Reventlow and Professors A. O. Meyer, H. Uebersberger, C. H. Becker, G. Küntzel, and F. Meinecke.

The Making of a Modern Army and its Operations in the Field (Putnam, pp. 163) is a translation by Henry P. Du Bellet of a study based on the experience of three years on the French front by René Radignet. Other recent books on modern applications of military science are: *Raising and Training the New Armies* (London, Constable, pp. 312), by Capt. Basil Williams; *Warfare of Today* (Houghton Mifflin, pp. 351), a translation by Maj. Julian L. Coolidge of eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute by Lieut.-Col. Paul Azan; *The Case for Compulsory Military Service* (Macmillan, pp. 378), by George G. Coulton; and *The Business of War* (Lane, pp. 319), by Isaac F. Marcossan.

Collier's New Photographic History of the World's War (Collier, pp. 128) contains photographs by official photographers accompanying the armies. Other pictorial works on the war are: *War Work in America* (Lippincott), a collection of lithographs made by Joseph Pennell; *Generals of the British Army* (London, Country Life, pp. 32), portraits in colors by Francis Dodd, with biographical notes; Muirhead Bone's *War Drawings* (*ibid.*), parts IV. and V., from the collection published by authority of the War Office and presented to the British Museum; *British Artists at the Front* (*ibid.*, pp. 40), by C. R. W. Nevinson; and *Australia in the Great War* (London, Cassell, pp. 192), a collection of photographs, edited by H. C. Smart.

A limited edition of *The Despatches of Lord French* has been printed by Chapman and Hall, London. The despatches cover the operations of Mons, the Marne, the Aisne, Flanders, Neuve Chapelle, the second battle of Ypres, Loos, and the Hohenzollern redoubt, and a complete list is given of the officers and men mentioned in the despatches.

From Bapaume to Passchendaele (London, Heinemann, pp. 384), by Philip Gibbs, brings together a series of this well-known correspondent's vivid and almost daily accounts of the battles of the Somme, Arras, Messines, and of Flanders; Grosset and Dunlap (New York) have published, under the title, *Paths of Glory* (pp. 465), Irvin S. Cobb's lively impressions of war, written at and near the front.

The number of books of personal narrative, recounting the war experiences of the authors, grows to an extent that precludes mention of all. Nearly all have their value and are interesting, especially during the period of active fighting, before the personal record is merged into the larger story that will be written after the war. One of the best of such narratives is *Attack* (Macmillan, pp. 114), in which the author, Edward G. D. Liveing, gives an infantry subaltern's impressions of the attack on the fortified village of Gommecourt which began the battle of the Somme. Other recent publications of this kind, from European pens, are: *The Last Days of Fort Vaux, March 9-June 7, 1916* (Nelson, pp. 227), by Henry Bordeaux, tr. Paul V. Cohn; *The Real Front* (Harper, pp. 308), by Arthur H. Chute; *A Subaltern's Share in the War* (London, Constable, pp. 177), the home letters of the late Lieut. George W. Devenish, R. A., with introduction and notes by Mrs. Horace Porter; *For France* (Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 176), by Capt. A. J. Dawson; *The Big Fight* (Watt, pp. 301), by Capt. David Fallon, M. C.; *The Soul of a Soldier* (Revell, pp. 208), sketches from the western front, by Thomas Tiplady; *Some of My Experiences in the Great War* (London, Newnes, pp. 187), by E. Ashmead-Bartlett, describing the destruction of Rheims cathedral and the operations around Nieuport-Dixmude, Gallipoli, and Forts Douaumont and Vaux; *The Breaking of the Storm* (London, Methuen, pp. 232), by Capt. C. A. L. Brownlow, D. S. O., who fought at Mons, Le Cateau, the Aisne, around La Bassée, and in the first battle of Ypres; and "*Over There*" with the Australians (Scribner, pp. 339), by Capt. R. Hugh Knyvett, Anzac scout, intelligence officer, 15th Australian Infantry, who has since succumbed to wounds received in service.

Experiences of Americans in the war are told in *The A. E. F.* (Appleton, pp. 297), by Heywood Brown; *Gunner Depew* (Reilly and Britton, pp. 312), by Albert N. Depew; *Battering the Boche* (Century, pp. 120), by Preston Gibson; *Just Behind the Front in France* (Lane, pp. 171), by Noble F. Hoggson; *Surgeon Grow* (Stokes, pp. 304), giving the experiences of Malcolm C. Grow, an American, in the Russian fighting; *Shellproof Mack* (Small, Maynard, pp. 224), by Arthur J. Mack, late of the 23d Battalion, London Regiment; *Over There and Back* (Dutton), by Lieut. Joseph S. Smith; and *Over the Threshold of War* (Lippincott), by Maj. N. Monroe Hopkins, U. S. A., an interesting account of early war occurrences in England, Germany, France, and Belgium, before the entrance of the United States into the conflict.

Above the French Lines: Letters of Stuart Walcott, American Aviator, July 4, 1917, to December 8, 1917 (pp. 93), has been published by the Princeton University Press. The writer was killed in action at the close of last year, and was the son of Dr. Charles D. Walcott, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, who has added a biographical note to the volume. Other aviation experiences are told in *Cavalry of the Clouds* (Doubleday, Page, pp. 266), by Capt. Alan Bott; *A Soldier of the Sky* (Chicago, Davis Printing Co., pp. 232), by Capt. George F. Campbell of the Royal Flying Corps; *Flying for France* (Grosset and Dunlap, pp. 176) with the American Escadrille at Verdun, by James R. McConnell; *A Flying Fighter* (Harper, pp. 338), by Lieut. E. M. Roberts; *With the French Flying Corps* (London, Constable), by C. D. Winslow; and *War Letters of Edmond Genet* (Scribner), edited by Grace E. Channing, giving the adventures of a descendant of the first minister from the French Republic, and the first American aviator killed flying the American flag after the United States entered the war.

Among similar English books, *Captain Ball, V. C.* (London, Herbert Jenkins, pp. 320), by Walter A. Briscoe and H. Russell Stannard, gives the career and letters of Flight-Commander Ball, V. C., D. S. O., with an introduction by Mr. Lloyd George and appreciations by Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Maj.-Gen. Sir Hugh Trenchard, and Brig.-Gen. J. F. A. Higgins; another such is *Winged Warfare* (Hodder and Stoughton), by Maj. W. A. Bishop, V. C., D. S. O., M. C.

The Story of the Anzacs (Melbourne, Ingram) is an account of the part taken by the Australian and New Zealand troops in the war, especially in the fights for the Dardanelles.

The operations of the British navy in the war are dealt with in *The British Fleet in the Great War* (London, Constable, pp. 250), by Archibald Hurd; *The Navy in Mesopotamia* (*ibid.*, pp. 211), by Conrad Cato; and John Leyland's *The Achievement of the British Navy in the World-War* (Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 94).

Col. George G. Nasmith, C. M. G., who went with the first Canadian contingent as an authority on sanitation, has written *On the Fringe of the Great Fight* (Toronto, McClelland, Goodchild, and Stewart), a most interesting account of the training hardships of Salisbury Plain, of London in war time, of the work of the Canadian travelling laboratory, of the second battle of Ypres, and of other experiences.

Experiences of war nurses are given in *A War Nurse's Diary* (Macmillan, pp. 115), and in Yvonne Fitzroy's *With the Scottish Nurses in Roumania* (London, John Murray, pp. 165).

The Undying Spirit of France, an address based upon the letters of young French soldiers, and delivered before the British Academy by Maurice Barrès, has been translated by Margaret W. B. Corwin, and published by the Yale University Press.

A Soldier Unafraid (Little, Brown, pp. 110) contains letters from the trenches on the Alsatian front, by Capt. André Cornet-Auquier, of the 133d Infantry, French army, edited and translated by Theodore Stanton; *A Crusader of France* (Dutton) contains the war letters written from the French front to his family by Capt. Ferdinand Belmont, covering the period from August, 1914, until he was killed in action, December, 1915.

Maj. E. Alexander Powell, U. S. A., in *Italy at War* (Scribner), portrays the efforts made by that country in the present struggle; Fisher Unwin, of London, has announced for early publication *Italy's Great War and Her National Aspirations*, by six prominent Italian publicists, with an introduction by H. Nelson Gay.

The first volume of *Serbia's Part in the War* (London, Simpkin, Marshall), by Crawford Price, details the three Austrian invasions. The second volume will comprise accounts of the Austro-German-Bulgarian invasion, British missions, the Salonika expedition, and the recapture of Monastir.

To Bagdad with the British (Appleton, pp. 295), by Arthur T. Clark, gives an account of the Mesopotamian and Persian Gulf campaigns. Other experiences in the Eastern operations are narrated in *From Gallipoli to Baghdad* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1917, pp. 306), by William Ewing, chaplain to the forces; in *A Gallipoli Diary* (Allen and Unwin) by Maj. Graham Gillam, D. S. O.; in *With Manchesters in the East* (Manchester, University Press, Longmans, pp. 112) by Gerald Hurst, which gives the record of a Manchester battalion in the Gallipoli campaign, in Egypt and the Soudan, and in the fighting around the Suez Canal; and in *With the R. A. M. C. in Egypt* (London, Cassell) by "Sergeant-Major, R. A. M. C.", which tells of the fighting down to the Turkish evacuation of El Arish and of the battle at Rafa.

An interesting volume of souvenirs of the campaign in German East Africa is P. Daye's *Avec les Vainqueurs de Tabora, Notes d'un Colonial Belge en Afrique Orientale Allemande* (Paris, Perrin, 1918).

Swiss Internment of Prisoners of War, announced by the Columbia University Press, is a report by Surgeon-General Hauser, of the Swiss army, covering the treatment of Belgian, British, Austrian, and German prisoners interned in Switzerland, to the end of last year.

Outwitting the Hun (Harper, pp. 283), by Lieut. Pat O'Brien, an American volunteer with the Royal Flying Corps, relates the author's exciting adventures in his escape from a German prison camp after he had been wounded and captured on the western front. An equally interesting account of prison experiences and an escape is to be found in *The Escape of a Princess Pat* (Doran, pp. 227), by Corp. George Pearson, of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry. In *Captured* (*ibid.*, pp. 195), Lieut. John H. Douglas tells of his imprisonment

in Germany for sixteen months; while *Desperate Germany*, to be published by Hodder and Stoughton (London), gives the observations of Ernest L. Pyke, a London business man who for three and a half years was a prisoner at Ruhleben and, as inspector of the kitchen committee, made, under escort, many visits to Berlin to buy utensils for the camp.

A German Deserter's War Experience (London, G. Richards, pp. 254), first published in the New York *Volkszeitung*, has been translated by Julius Koettgen.

Captain von der Goltz, who was imprisoned in England for fifteen months and released to testify concerning his part in the Welland Canal plot, has written *My Adventures as a German Secret Service Agent* (London, Cassell).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Did the German Great General Staff force the Kaiser into War?* [letter of Paul Erhardt] (National Service, February–March); J. Reinach, *L'Année de Verdun* (Revue de Paris, February 1, 15, March 1, 15); H. Bidou, *Les Batailles de la Somme, I. 1^{er} au 12 Juillet 1916* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); Marcel Prévost, *D'un "P. C. de C. A.", Bataille de l'Ailette, 23 Octobre–2 Novembre 1917, Notes d'un Témoin* (Revue de Paris, December 15, January 1, 15); General Malleterre, *La Frontière Militaire du Nord-Est* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); R. Worms, *Les Prises Maritimes et la Troisième Année de la Guerre* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, January); F. L. Schoell, *La Propagande Allemande en Suisse Française* (Revue de Paris, March 15, April 1); A. Gauvain, *L'Italie et la Guerre* (*ibid.*, February 1); T. Tittoni, *I Rapporti tra il Parlamento e il Governo durante la Guerra* (Nuova Antologia, February 1); J. H. Breasted, *The Bridgehead of Asia Minor* (Nation, June 8); C. Stiénon, *La Conquête de la Palestine, de Suez à Jérusalem* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 1); Lord Sydenham of Combe, *The Plain Truth about Mesopotamia* (New East, Tokyo, January); Sir Valentine Chirol, *Islam and the War* (Quarterly Review, April); *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* [cont.], (World's Work, April, May, June); J. Flach, *La Participation Militaire du Japon et ses Intérêts Vitaux* (Revue Hebdomadaire, February 23); *id.*, *L'Idéal du Japon et sa Participation Militaire* (*ibid.*, March 2).

(See also p. 946)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Publications of the Thoresby Society* for 1915 and 1916 (two volumes) contain a rental of Leeds in 1425 (ed. W. T. Lancaster); correspondence relating to the Maudes of Hollingshall, 1594–1599, and a paper on the same family by Mr. Baildon; and a continuation of the wills of Leeds, and the extracts from the *Leeds Mercury*, 1729–1737.

Volume III. of Rev. H. E. Salter's *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist* (Oxford, University Press) contains, besides a history of the hospital compiled from the Patent and Close Rolls and from Twyne's MSS., a mass of documentary information regarding the administration of that institution, lists of Oxford deeds in the Cartulary and in Magdalen College, and a study of the architectural remains of the hospital by R. T. Gunther.

The Old Guilds of England (London, Weare, pp. 226) is a general study, by Frederick Armitage, of the early religious and other guilds of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In *The English Middle Class* (London, Bell, pp. 250), R. H. Gretton traces the rise of this class, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to a predominant position in the eighteenth century.

The Manchester University Press has published *Finance and Trade under Edward III.*, by members of the history school of the university. Professor George Unwin, the editor, has written the first three chapters, dealing with social evolution in medieval London, London tradesmen and their creditors, and the estate of merchants, 1336-1365. The remaining chapters are essays on the London lay subsidy of 1332, by Margaret Curtis; the societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, by E. Russell; the taxation of wool, by F. R. Barnes; the wine trade with Gascony, by F. Sargeant; and Calais under Edward III., by Dorothy Greaves.

The History of an East Anglian Soke, by Christobel O. Hoar (Mrs. Ivo Hood), (Bedford, Beds Times Publishing Co., pp. 553) is a study of Gimingham, on the northern coast of Norfolk, based on original documents, and containing material heretofore unpublished on the peasants' rising of 1381, and on bondage and bond tenure.

The second issue in volume III. of the *Smith College Studies in History* is a careful paper, of great value, on the *Finances of Edward VI. and Mary*, by Mr. Frederick C. Dietz.

John Lane, London, has in preparation the personal account of Sir Andrew Melvill's adventures as a soldier of fortune, published in Amsterdam in 1704, translated under the title, *The Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melvill, 1624-1672*, by Torick Ameer Ali, who has added a survey of the wars of the seventeenth century.

The Hon. J. W. Fortescue has brought together a body of extracts from his *History of the British Army* to form a volume entitled *British Campaigns in Flanders, 1690-1704* (Macmillan).

The fathers of the Birmingham Oratory have edited *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others* (Longmans, 1917, pp. ix, 413), letters not among those published in 1890 by Miss Anne Mozley.

Mr. John Murray announces the expectation of completing the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, by Monypenny and Buckle, in two more volumes, the fifth and sixth, to be published simultaneously; and has lately published *The Story of My Life*, by the Right Hon. Sir Edward Clarke, K. C., the eminent legal practitioner.

Sir Francis Allston, first Lord Channing, in *Memories of Midland Politics, 1885-1910* (London, Constable, 454 pp.), has set forth his political reminiscences of an interesting period of parliamentary history.

The Mind of Arthur James Balfour (Doran, 407 pp.), edited by Wilfrid M. Short, contains writings, speeches, and addresses, during the period 1879-1917. There are special sections on America and Germany.

Sir Horace Plunkett has said that Irish history is for Irishmen to forget and for Englishmen to remember, but few Americans have paid to it due attention; to them *The Last Independent Parliament of Ireland*, by Dr. George Sigerson of Dublin, is to be commended as an honest, judicious, and instructive account of the period 1782-1800.

British government publications: *Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention; Historical Records of Australia*, series I., vol. XI. [despatches to and from Sir Thomas Brisbane, January, 1823-November, 1825] (Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament).

Other documentary publications: *Diocesis Lincolniensis, Rotuli Ricardi Gravesent* (pars secunda), *Diocesis Londoniensis, Registrum Simonis de Sudbiria* (pars secunda), and *Diocesis Herefordensis, Registrum Edmundi Lacy, Registrum Thome Poltone* (Canterbury and York Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Morris, *The Office of Sheriff in the Early Norman Period* (English Historical Review, April); C. H. Firth, "The British Empire" [history of the expression] (Scottish Historical Review, April); T. M. Maguire, *British Freedom of the Seas: an Historical Retrospect* (United Service Magazine, April); R. L. Schuyler, *The Abolition of British Imperial Preference, 1846-1850* (Political Science Quarterly, March); Sir Philip Hamilton-Grierson, *The Appellate Jurisdiction of the Scottish Parliament* (Scottish Historical Review, April); H. M. Allen, *Louis Botha: Boer and Briton* (Sewanee Review, April-June).

FRANCE

General review: H. Hauser, *Histoire de France, Époque Moderne, 1494-1661* (Revue Historique, March).

A life of *Sainte-Radegonde, vers 520-587* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1918), by Abbé R. Aigrain, has been added to the series *Les Saints*.

K. Voigt has made an extensive study of *Die Karolingische Klosterpolitik und der Niedergang des Westfränkischen Königtums* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1917).

L'Échec de la Réforme en France au XVI^e Siècle, Contribution à l'Histoire du Sentiment Religieux (Paris, Colin, 1918), by Dr. A. Autin, is a work of historical rather than theological character in spite of the title.

Henri Martin, assistant archivist of the department of the Haute-Garonne, has edited the volume of *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux du Département de la Haute-Garonne* (Paris, Leroux, 1916, pp. lxxxvii, 648) in the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française*. The editor has taken great pains with the introduction, the analytical statistical tables, and the index.

A fifth volume of *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France* (Paris, Hachette, 1918) has been published by J. Hayem, which contains materials relating chiefly to the commerce of Le Havre.

French Catholics in the Nineteenth Century, a study by Rev. W. J. Sparrow Simpson, is published in London by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Joseph Reinach has published three volumes of *Mes Comptes Rendus, Discours, Propositions, Rapports* (Paris, Alcan, 1918) which cover his parliamentary career from 1889 to 1912.

The recent affairs of Bolo, Caillaux, and others are recounted in *Le Défaitisme et les Manœuvres Pro-Allemandes, 1914-1917* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1918, pp. 128) by the Marquis de Roux. Charles Maurras treats the same group of topics in the fourth volume of *Les Conditions de la Victoire*, which he entitles *La Blessure Intérieure, de Janvier à Fin Mai 1916* (*ibid.*, pp. 320).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Calmette, *Le Siège de Toulouse par les Normands en 864* (*Annales du Midi*, July, 1917); J. Miret y Sans, *Lettres Closes des Premiers Valois* (*Le Moyen Âge*, January, 1917); Alfred von Martin, *Motive und Tendenzen in Voltaires Geschichtsschreibung* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXVIII. 1); A. Mathiez, *Les Pèlerins de la Liberté* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, March); L. Dubreuil, *L'Idée Régionaliste sous la Révolution*, III., *Le Départementalisme* (*ibid.*); E. Seillière, *Une Théorie d'Hippolyte Taine sur la Révolution Française* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15); A. Chuquet, *Paris en 1810* (*Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, January, February); D. Cochin, *Louis-Philippe avant 1830, Lettres Inédites* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); O. Festy, *Le Conseil d'Encouragement pour les Associations Ouvrières, 1848-1849* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, December); V. Giraud, *Un Demi-Siècle de Pensée Française* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, March 1); G. Goyau, *Ce que le Monde Catholique doit à la France* (*ibid.*, November 15, February 1); H. Bordeaux, *Le Chevalier de l'Air, Georges Guynemer* (*ibid.*, January 15, February 1, 15, March 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

The *Anglo-Italian Review*, edited by Edward Hutton and shortly to be published by Constable, is designed to create a better understanding between England and Italy. The first number will include a message from Mr. Lloyd George; an article on the British Empire by Professor Crespi; Casanova and Venice, by Arthur Symons; and an account by Signor Bedolo of the Italian labor battalions on the British front in Flanders.

L'Italia che Scrive, a new Italian monthly published at Rome, contains a statement by Signor Fumagalli, librarian of the University of Bologna, that his library has over 6000 books and smaller pieces on the war. Larger Italian collections of war material, he reports, are those of the Comitato Nazionale and of the Ufficio Storiografico della Mobilitazione, both at Rome.

Vol. III., no. 3, of the *Smith College Studies in History* is *The Ministry of Stephen of Perche during the Minority of William II. of Sicily* (pp. 186), by Professor John C. Hildt.

G. Gallavresi has edited the *Mémoires et Lettres* (Turin, Bocca, 1917, pp. 610) of Marshal Sallier de la Tour, which are of interest for the history of Italy in the Napoleonic period and the early years of the Restoration.

Austria e Toscana, 1824-1859 (Turin, Bocca, 1917), is by L. Capelletti; *Roms Letzte Tage unter der Tiara, 1868-1870* (Freiburg, Herder, 1917, pp. vii, 319) is a volume of memoirs by K. A. Eickholt.

F. Codera has brought out a second volume of *Estudios Críticos de Historia Árabe Española* (Madrid, Maestre, 1917).

A life of Kardinal Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, 1436-1517, *Erzbischof von Toledo, Spaniens Katholischer Reformator* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1917), is a recent publication by Kissling.

L'Espagne en Face du Conflit Européen (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1917, pp. 242) is a translation from the Spanish original of A. Alcalá Galiano, by A. de Bengoechea.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. S. Morgan, *The Development of Italy* (Edinburgh Review, April); Anna Benedetti, *Mazzini e Margherita Fuller* (Nuova Antologia, January 16); P. Carcano, *Ricordi Garibaldini del 1866* (*ibid.*); J. La Bolina, *Cinquante Ans de Vie Italienne* (Revue des Nations Latines, April); E. Armstrong, *Pasquale Villari* (English Historical Review, April); J. Miret y Sans, *La Esclavitud en Cataluña en los Últimos Tiempos de la Edad Media* (Revue Hispanique, October); C. Oman, *The Irish Troops in the Service of Spain, 1709-1818* (Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, February); A. Barthe, *La Gestion Financière et Économique de Joseph Bonaparte en Espagne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, December); A. F. E. Bell, *The Third Portuguese Revolution* (Contemporary Review, February).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Professor Georg von Below's *Die Ursache der Reformation* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. xiii, 187) is the thirty-eighth issue of the *Historische Bibliothek*, while the thirty-seventh was P. Kalkoff's *Das Wormser Edikt und die Erlasse des Reichsregiments und einzelner Reichsfürsten* (*ibid.*, pp. x, 132). The latter is also the author of *Luther und die Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation* (Munich, Müller, 1917). Other quadricentennial literature includes T. T. Neubauer's *Luthers Frühzeit* (Erfurt, Keyser, 1917); Etzin's *Martin Luther, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917); and W. Kohler's *Martin Luther und die Deutsche Reformation* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917), which is no. 515 of the series *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt*. Mention may also be made of F. Gess's edition of the *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen* (vol. II., 1525-1527, *ibid.*, pp. xx, 924).

An exhaustive study of *Dalbergs und Napoleons Kirchenpolitik in Deutschland* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1917), by Bastgen, deals with a subject hitherto quite neglected.

The fourth volume of the English translation of Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century* (London, Allen and Unwin; New York, R. M. McBride), lately published, covers most of the third volume of the original work.

The Hohenzollerns and their dominions are the subject of the following recent publications: Ziesemer, *Das Marienburger Aemterbuch* (Danzig, Kafemann, 1917); O. Meinardus, *Protokolle und Relationen des Brandenburgischen Geheimen Rates aus der Zeit des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm* (vol. VI., Dec., 1659-Apr., 1663; Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917, pp. xxx, 1013); R. Droysen, F. Caussy, and G. B. Volz, *Nachträge zu dem Briefwechsel Friedrichs des Grossen mit Maupertuis und Voltaire nebst verwandten Stücken* (*ibid.*, pp. vi, 119), these two being the eighty-ninth and ninetieth volumes of the *Publikationen aus dem Königlich Preussischen Staatsarchiven*; Dr. F. Peukert, *Die Testamente Friedrichs des Grossen und ihr Militärische Inhalt* (Münster, Coppenrath, 1917, pp. viii, 120); *Die Stadt Cöln im ersten Jahrhundert unter Preussischen Herrschaft, 1815-1915*, published by the city (Cologne, Neubner, 1916, pp. x, 707; viii, 540; viii, 731); L. Kaas, *Die Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit der Katholischen Kirche in Preussen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Westens der Monarchie* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1915-1916, pp. xl, 488; x, 482); and Dr. H. Wendorf, *Die Fraktion des Zentrums im Preussischen Abgeordnetenhaus, 1854-1867* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1916, pp. vii, 141).

From the recent contributions to the history of the lesser German states, the following may be cited: M. Doeberl, *Entwicklungsgeschichte Bayerns*, of which the first volume (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1916, pp. x, 637) has appeared in a revised third edition; Dr. B. Rode, *Das Kreisdirektorium im Westfälischen Kreise von 1522 bis 1609* (Münster, Cop-

penrath, 1916, pp. viii, 115); R. Naumann, *Das Kursächsische Defensionswerk, 1613-1709* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917, pp. xix, 304); W. Lippert, *Beiträge zur Politik Ferdinands von Köln im Dreissigjährigen Kriege bis zum Tage von Schleusingen im Juli, 1624* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1916, pp. iii, 107); Rotherth, *Hannover unter dem Kurhut, 1648-1815* (Hannover, Sponholtz, 1917); Sello, *Die Territoriale Entwicklung des Herzogtums Oldenbourg* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1917, with atlas); K. Rubel, *Geschichte der Grafschaft und der Freien Reichsstadt Dortmund* (vol. I., to 1400; Dortmund, Ruhfus, 1917, pp. xvi, 681); and P. Reinhardt, *Die Sächsischen Unruhen der Jahre 1830-1831 und Sachsens Uebergang zum Verfassungsstaat* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1916, pp. ix, 320).

G. Egelhaaf has issued a revised edition of his valuable *Bismarck, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Stuttgart, Krabbe, 1917, pp. x, 491); and Professor Dietrich Schäfer has brought out an illustrated work on *Bismarck, ein Bild seines Lebens und Wirkens* (Berlin, Hobbings, 1917, 2 vols., pp. 284, 244).

Professor Georg von Below has reviewed the tendencies in German historical writing in the past century in *Die Deutsche Geschichtschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unseren Tagen, Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1916, pp. xiii, 184). Max Cornicelius has issued the first part of the third volume of his edition of Heinrich von Treitschke's *Briefe* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1917, pp. vii, 302), which covers the years 1866-1871.

Grund- und Zukunftsfragen Deutscher Politik (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1917, pp. 392) by Stier-Somlo is a clear presentation of the German view of recent events and current problems of an international character. O. R. Tannenberg's much quoted exposition of German national and racial aims is now available in a French translation under the title *La Plus Grande Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1917).

The German opposition which is living and printing outside Germany is represented more recently by H. Fernau's *Durch! Zur Demokratie!* (Bern, 1917), which is available in the French translation, *Allemands! En avant vers la Démocratie!* by F. L. Schoell (Paris, Cres, 1917, pp. 388); by K. L. Krause's *Wofür Stirbt das Deutsche Volk? Von einem Deutschen* (Geneva, Atar, 1917, pp. 282); and by H. Schlieben's *Die Deutsche Diplomatie: Wie Sie Ist, Wie Sie Sein Sollte* (Zürich, Orell Füssli, 1917, pp. 44). Abbé E. Wetterlé, the former deputy from Alsace, has published *Les Couloisses du Reichstag, Seize Années de Vie Parlementaire en Allemagne* (Paris, Bossard, 1918, pp. 240).

Among the recent French publications relating to Germany are *L'Impérialisme Économique Allemand* (Paris, Flammarion, 1918) by Professor H. Lichtenberger and P. Petit; *L'Allemagne de Demain* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917), by A. Chervin, which belies its title by being a somewhat careful study of Germany's recent past; and *La Barbarie*

Allemande: les Faits, les Origines, les Causes, la Théorie (Paris, Plon, 1918), a catalogue of German misdeeds by P. Gaultier.

The fourth volume of L. Bittner's *Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Oesterreichischen Staatsverträge* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1917, pp. xlviii, 350) contains the index and appendixes. It appears as the fifteenth volume of the publication of the Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Oesterreichs.

For the first volume of his *Die Innerösterreichische Zentralverwaltung, 1564-1749*, Dr. V. Thiel has the subtitle *Die Hof- und Zentralbehörden Innerösterreichs, 1564-1625* (Vienna, Holder, 1916, pp. 210).

The bi-centenary of the birth of Maria Theresa was marked by the publication of Eugen Guglia's two-volume *Maria Theresia, ihr Leben und ihre Regierung* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. vii, 388; iii, 418). Count Khevenhüller-Metsch and Dr. H. Schlitter have issued the sixth volume of *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1917, pp. iii, 727), containing the diaries of Fürst J. J. Khevenhüller-Metsch for the years 1764-1767.

The close of the reign of Francis Joseph has called forth some contributions to its history, among which are Dr. A. Kohut's *Kaiser Franz Josef I. als König von Ungarn* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1916, pp. vii, 448); A., Freiherr von Czedik's *Zur Geschichte der K. K. Oesterreichischen Ministerien, 1861-1916* (Teschen, Prochaska, 1917, pp. xxx, 592), of which the first of the three volumes of recollections promised covers the years prior to 1893; and B. Molden's *Alois, Graf Aehrenthal, Sechs Jahre Aeusserer Politik Oesterreich-Ungarns* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1917, pp. 242).

Professor F. von Šišić has published the first volume of a *Geschichte der Kroaten* (Agram, Hartmann, 1917, pp. xiv, 407) which carries the narrative to 1102; and also a brief article on *Die Wahl Ferdinands I. von Oesterreich zum König von Kroatien* (Agram, Suppan, 1917, pp. 47).

One of the best accounts as yet written of the food situation in Germany and Austria is to be found in *The Iron Ration* (Harper), by George A. Schreiner.

The publication of the *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sankt Gallen*, ed. Traugott Schiess (St. Gall, Fehr, 1917) has reached the years 1442-1448 in the first part of the sixth volume.

J. Dierauer has completed his *Geschichte der Schweizer Eidgenossenschaft* (Gotha, Perthes, 1917, pp. xxxvi, 807) by a fifth volume which brings the narrative to 1848.

A. Rufer has issued the second volume of documents on *Der Freistaat der III. Bünde und die Frage des Veltlin's* (Basel, Geering, 1917, pp. 533) which covers events to the incorporation of the Valtelline with the Cisalpine Republic.

Professor Alfred Chapuis and co-workers have published a *Histoire de la Pendulerie Neuchâteloise* (Paris, Attinger, 1918) in a fully illustrated quarto volume.

Some insight into the recent history of Switzerland may be obtained from the *Histoire du Parti Radical Suisse* (Bern, Wyss, 1917, pp. 176, 32) by G. Chaudet.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adolf Hofmeister, *Die Jahresversammlung der alten Sachsen zu Marklo* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXVIII. 2); G. B. Volz, *Die Krisis in der Jugend Friedrichs des Grossen* (ibid., CXVIII. 3); K. A. von Müller, *Probleme der Neuesten Bayerischen Geschichte, 1799-1871* (ibid., CXVIII. 2); Paul Wentzcke, *Thüringische Einheitsfragen in der Deutschen Revolution von 1848* (ibid., CXVIII. 3); Ludwig Riess, *Abekens Politischer Anteil an der Emser Depesche* (ibid.); Friedrich Meinecke, *Zur Geschichte des älteren Deutschen Parteiwesens* (ibid., CXVIII. 1); C. B. Turrone, *L'Idea del "Weltreich" negli Scritti degli Economisti Tedeschi* (La Riforma Sociale, January); D. J. Hill, *Impressions of the Kaiser*, I., II. (Harper's Magazine, May, June).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

An account of *Het Leven van Prins Willem II., 1626-1650* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1917), is by Eysten.

In a *Petite Histoire de l'Invasion et de l'Occupation Allemande en Belgique* (Brussels and Paris, C. van Oert, pp. 125), Professor Léon van der Essen presents vividly and fully the facts of the German régime in Belgium.

The Triangle of Terror in Belgium (London, Murray, pp. 105) by Maj.-Gen. Sir George Aston, K. C. B., who was in command of the British force occupying Ostend in August, 1914, is a record of German occupation and rule within the territory of which the angles were Malines, Charleroi, and Liège.

The Secret Press in Belgium (London, Unwin, pp. 106), by Jean Massart, contains facsimiles of, and extracts from, prohibited newspapers and pamphlets, as well as reproductions from German publications in Belgium.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Professor H. Vander Linden, *Belgium and Luxembourg, 1831-1839* (Quarterly Review, April); Comte L. de Lichtervelde, *Heures d'Histoire, le 4 Août 1914 au Parlement Belge* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); Henri Davignon, *Germany and the Flemings* (Contemporary Review, April).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Fiske collection of Islandica at Cornell University being so remarkable, no American student of Northern historical literature can fail

to prize the admirable *Catalogue of Runic Literature* in that collection (Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. ix, 105) prepared by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, in which more than a thousand books and articles relating to runes and their study are described with care, and with proper indexes—a work of first-rate scholarship.

C. Weibull has published a critical study of Saxo Grammaticus relating to the history of Denmark from the reign of Svend Estridsen to that of Knut VI., filling nearly three hundred pages in successive issues of the *Historisk Tidskrift för Skäneland* in 1914.

The first volume (1917, pp. li, 432) of a German translation by I. von Powa of the memoirs of Stanislas Poniatowski has been issued in the *Polnische Bibliothek*, edited by A. von Guttry and W. von Kościelski. W. Feldmann has made a careful study of the *Geschichte der Politischen Ideen in Polen seit dessen Teilungen, 1795–1914* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1917, pp. xii, 448). Of special interest are the three long chapters on movements and tendencies since 1878. The same period is surveyed by Dr. L. Čwikliński in *Das Königreich Polen vor dem Kriege, 1815–1914* (Vienna, Deuticke, 1917, pp. vi, 237), which is composed of ten lectures delivered in Vienna in March, 1917.

Otto Hoetzsch has issued a revised edition of his *Russland, eine Einführung auf Grund seiner Geschichte vom Japanischen bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917, pp. xx, 439).

America's Message to the Russian People is the title given to a collection of the addresses delivered by members of the special diplomatic mission of the United States to Russia in the year 1917. Most were delivered before various bodies in Russia; a few after the return of the mission to the United States; and naturally they are principally the addresses of the head of the mission, Mr. Elihu Root. In interpreting the thought of America to the Russian people Mr. Root's addresses are admirable. The characteristic note is faith in democracy; and with expressions of faith in Russian democracy are now and again skillfully joined wise admonitions. The addresses delivered by Mr. Root after his return touch not only upon conditions in Russia but strike deep into the heart of conditions in America and the meaning of the war for us (Boston, Marshall Jones Company, pp. 154).

Professor E. A. Ross's articles on Russia, some of which have appeared in the *Century Magazine*, are soon to be published as *Russia in Upheaval*, by the Century Company.

Professor M. Hruschewsky has issued the first volume of a *Geschichte der Ukraine* (Lemberg, Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine, and Vienna, Frick, 1916, pp. viii, 224). Of broader scope in territory and topics is *Die Ostprovinzen des Alten Polenreichs* (Vienna, Gerold, 1917, pp. 364), which deals with Lithuania, White Russia, and Eastern Galicia as well as with the Ukraine. The volume is by L. Wasilewski.

The lectures on the Serbs which R. G. D. Laffan delivered to the companies of the Army Service Corps attached to the Serbian army in Macedonia, have been published under the title of *The Guardians of the Gate* (Oxford, Clarendon Press). The book summarizes Serbian history from the Turkish conquest to the return of the reorganized Serbian army from Corfu in 1916, and also develops the growth of the Yugoslav idea.

In *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1917, 2 vols., pp. v, 565; 310), L. von Thallóczy has collected a number of valuable articles which had appeared in minor languages and in reviews of limited circulation, mostly between 1912 and 1914. Though many of the articles relate to Albanian history and problems, other questions, such as the origin of the Rumanians, are treated.

Dr. Romulus Candea has given an account of *Der Katholizismus in den Donaufürstentümern, sein Verhältnis zur Staat und zur Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, Voigtländer, 1917, pp. x, 139).

Antonoff's *Bulgarien vom Beginn seines Staatlichen Bestehens bis auf unsere Tage* (Berlin, Stilke, 1917); Bain and Miladinovitch's *Précis d'Histoire Serbe* (Paris, Delagrave, 1917, pp. xxxiv, 104); and M. Zebitch's *La Serbie Agricole et sa Démocratie* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1917) afford some account of the history and conditions of these two small Balkan states. *Le Monténégro, Pages d'Histoire Diplomatique* (Paris, Figuière, 1917), by Veritas, is apparently an inspired attempt to exculpate Nicholas and his dynasty from blame for the collapse of the little state.

The recent events in Greece are narrated by R. Recouly in *M. Jonnart en Grèce et l'Abdication de Constantin* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. 220).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. C. Jacobsen, *Interskandinavisk Handelspolitik* (Nationaløkonomisk Tidsskrift, November); E. Daudet, *Soixante Années du Règne des Romanoff, Notes et Souvenirs, 1821-1881*, I.-II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15); L. Pasvol'sky, *Russia's Tragedy* (Russian Review, April); A. Michailovsky, *Kerensky and Kornilov* (*ibid.*); Paul Herre, *Rumäniens Vertragsverhältnis zum Dreibund* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXVIII. 1); Jules Bois, *Venizelos* (Century, May); R. M. Burrows, *Greece and the Balkan Settlement* (Quarterly Review, April).

THE FAR EAST, INDIA, AND PERSIA

Rising Japan (Putnam), by Jabez T. Sunderland, traces the relations between the United States and Japan during the past seventy years, and discusses the new conditions affecting this relationship by reason of the present war.

The Expansion of British India (London, Bell, pp. 196), by G. Anderson and M. Subedar, is the first of a series of three volumes which,

under the general title, *The Last Days of the Company*, are intended to treat of the period of British India between the Mahratta wars and the Mutiny, 1818-1858. The present volume, giving extracts from Queen Victoria's letters, parliamentary papers, government records, speeches and papers of statesmen, and the literature of the country, gives about equal space to the expansion of the territory acquired by the British and to the Mutiny of 1857-1858.

The Treasures of the Magi (Oxford University Press) is a study of modern Zoroastrianism, by Dr. James H. Moulton, who in this volume sums up his views on the significance of ancient Zoroastrianism, and describes the religious life and practices of the modern Parsis.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Gérard, *Ma Mission en Chine* [1893-1897] (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, April 6); *id.*, *Les États-Unis et l'Extrême-Orient* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, February 15).

AFRICA

The twenty-fourth volume of *Archives Marocaines* contains the second part of *Nachr al-Mathani de Mouhammad al-Qadiri*, translated and edited by E. Michaux-Bellaire (Paris, Leroux, 1917). The period covered extends from 1641 to 1688.

Adolf Hasenclever is the author of a detailed study of the *Geschichte Aegyptens im 19. Jahrhundert, 1798-1914* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1917, pp. xv, 497).

Franz Stuhlmann, the companion of Emin Pasha, has begun the publication of the *Tagebücher* of the famous African explorer, which will extend to five volumes. The work is issued under the patronage of the city of Hamburg.

A small volume of *Lebenserinnerungen* (Hamburg, Rüsch, 1917), of Dr. Carl Peters, one of the pioneers of German exploration and colonization in Africa, has been issued.

The second edition of Jean Melia's *L'Algérie et la Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1918, pp. v, 289), has appeared.

The operations in the province of Sus, the hinterland of Agadir, are described by H. Dugard in *La Conquête du Maroc, la Colonne du Sous, Janvier-Juin 1917* (Paris, Perrin, 1918).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress are: miscellaneous personal papers (1774-1826) of Thomas Jefferson, being mainly his letters to Thomas Mann Randolph; a group of Revolutionary correspondence and papers, namely: letters (1782) of Thomas Townshend relating to the peace negotiations, Pitt's

motion in May, 1777, and the secret instructions to the Earl of Carlisle for the peace commission of 1778, and a few letters (1771-1781) from Henry Broderick, aid to Cornwallis; account of Mons. de Francy, agent of Beaumarchais (1777-1784); miscellaneous letters (1809-1852) of Richard Rush; the papers (1826-1863) of James L. Petigru; the very important papers (1836-1889) of Jeremiah S. Black; miscellaneous papers (1830-1852) of Robert Mills; miscellaneous letters of Reverdy Johnson, Hamilton Fish, and Francis Lieber; additions to the papers (1815-1869) of Samuel F. B. Morse; letters from John Trumbull to his wife, January to March, 1819 (27 pieces); miscellaneous papers relating to the northeast boundary negotiations, 1827-1828, and of Morton McMichael, sheriff of Philadelphia, relating to the riots of 1834 and 1845; some Massachusetts anti-slavery broadsides, 1819-1863; some Connecticut broadsides relating to the militia in the war of 1812; William Blathwayt's Journal of all that passes in the Office of Trade and Plantations, 1682-1688 (one volume); Accounts of Her Majesties Revenues in America, as brought in and presented to the Honorable Commissioners of Accounts by William Blathwayt, 1702-1712 (one volume); the letter-book of Captain-General Don Martin de Mayorga, of the first years of his administration of Central America, 1773-1775 (one volume); and considerable additions to the series of transcripts from British, French, and Spanish archives.

Harper and Brothers have brought out an edition of *The History of the American People* (ten volumes), by President Woodrow Wilson, enlarged by the addition of original documents in American history, including narratives of explorers, charters, treaties, state papers, etc.

The trustees of Columbia University have lately awarded the prizes endowed by the Duc de Loubat for the best two works on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, and numismatics of North America which have been published in the English language during the five-year period since April, 1913. The first prize, of \$1000, has been awarded to Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, for his book entitled *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, the second, of \$400, to Professor Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California, for his *José de Gálvez*.

This June's award of the Pulitzer prize (\$2000) for "the best book of the year upon the history of the United States" was to Dr. James Ford Rhodes for his one-volume *History of the Civil War* (Macmillan).

D. Appleton and Company have just brought out an important volume on *American Negro Slavery*, by Professor Ulrich B. Phillips of the University of Michigan.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* (vol. IV., no. 1) contains two articles on interesting personalities, the first on the philanthropist Cornelius Heeney of New York (1754-1848), one-time

partner of Astor, by Thomas F. Meehan, the second on Father Anthony Kohlmann, S. J. (1771-1836), vicar-general of New York and professor at Georgetown and at Rome, by Father J. Wilfrid Parsons, S. J.; and two articles commemorating centenaries, that of the oldest Catholic church in Ohio, St. Joseph's, near Somerset, by Father Victor O'Daniel, O. P., and that of the installation of Bishop Du Bourg as St. Louis's first bishop, by Rev. C. M. Solvay, C. M. Many archives have been drawn upon for these articles. The documentary section in this number consists of three long and very interesting letters, 1833-1834, of Father Benedict Roux, first priest at what is now Kansas City.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* contains a discussion, by the Right Rev. Philip R. McDevitt, bishop of Harrisburg, of Some Paintings in the Capitol Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; an installment of the diary of Bishop Flaget, who took possession of the see of Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1811; and a continuation of the papers concerning the San Domingo Refugees in Philadelphia (1830-1833).

The April number of the *Journal of Negro History* includes a biographical sketch, by Henry E. Baker, of Benjamin Banneker (1731-1806), the Negro Mathematician and Astronomer, who assisted in laying out the District of Columbia; an article, by John W. Davis, on George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers; part I. of a paper, by Dwight O. W. Holmes, entitled Fifty Years of Howard University; and some correspondence (1814-1824) of Governor Edward Coles bearing upon the struggle of freedom and slavery in Illinois.

Geographic Factors in American History, a laboratory manual to accompany the study of United States history, by H. A. Bone, is published at Sioux City, Iowa, by the author.

Mr. Ralph Page's *Dramatic Moments in American Diplomacy* (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1918, pp. xl, 284) is a group of slight sketches, written with little care or knowledge but with much highly colored rhetoric—sketches, in short, of the kind which are found in every "Sunday supplement", and promoting the cause of history in the same degree.

America's Foreign Relations, by W. F. Johnson, furnishes the text for a series of animadversions on the United States and its policies by E. Daniels in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* for May, June, and July, 1917.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Moffat, Yard, and Company have published a *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, by Lewis A. Leonard.

Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence, in two volumes, by Elizabeth S. Kite, has been issued by Richard G. Badger.

The Oxford University Press announces *The Controversy over Neutral Rights between the United States and France, 1797-1800*, edited by Dr. James Brown Scott. The volume combines contemporary documents of the controversy with subsequent opinions of the attorney-general and judicial decisions.

Recent volumes on Lincoln are: *Lincoln the Politician*, by T. Aaron Levy (Badger), and *Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln and War-Time Memories*, by Ervin Chapman (Revell).

A Woman's War-Time Journal, by Dolly Summer Lunt (Mrs. Thomas Burge), relates chiefly to Sherman's march through Georgia. Julian Street furnishes an introduction and notes (Century Company).

A Lieutenant of Cavalry in Lee's Army, by G. W. Beale, is from the press of Richard G. Badger.

The Story of Hampton Institute, by Francis G. Peabody, besides relating the history of the institution during the fifty years of its existence, gives some account of the career of General Armstrong, its founder, and also of the part which the negro played in the Civil War and Reconstruction (Doubleday, Page).

The *Review of Reviews* has performed a useful service by bringing together, in one inexpensive volume of 490 pages, *President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses*, embracing some seventy of the President's notable utterances or documents, extending from the beginning of his administration into February, 1918, and bearing upon various public matters, but of course chiefly upon the war.

The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey, First Prince of the Church in America, 1810-1885, by Cardinal Farley, is published by Longmans, Green, and Company.

The late Henry Adams, before his death, gave over to the Massachusetts Historical Society his notable privately printed autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams*; it will be published for the society in the autumn by the Houghton Mifflin Company, with a preface by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army, of whose establishment under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Weeks mention was made in our last number, has been enlarged by the detail of Lieut.-Col. H. H. Sargent and Major John Bigelow, U. S. A. retired, and of Professors R. M. Johnston of Harvard and Fred M. Fling of Nebraska, now commissioned as majors. Major Johnston has proceeded to France, with a view to organizing the collecting of material for the works contemplated.

In the *War Information Series* of pamphlets put forth by the Committee on Public Information, five more issues are to be recorded, all more or less occupied with historical facts or arguments: no. 12, *American and Allied Ideals*, by Professor Stuart P. Sherman, of the University of Illinois; no. 13, *German Militarism and its German Critics*, by Charles Altschul, with many extracts from German newspapers; no. 14, *The War for Peace*, by Arthur D. Call, secretary of the American Peace Society; no. 15, *Why America Fights Germany*, by Professor John S. P. Tatlock, of Stanford University; no. 16, *The Study of the Great War*, by Professor Samuel B. Harding, a second edition of the valuable syllabus published by him in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January last.

Under the fantastic and unsuitable title, *Transatlantic War Congress in 1917* (Government Printing Office), the assistant superintendent of the document room of the House of Representatives, W. R. Loomis, presents a useful review of legislation, given numerically and by subjects, of the Sixty-fifth Congress, second session. The compilation appears in parts, somewhat irregularly.

The National Security League has issued *America at War* (Doran, pp. 425), by Albert Bushnell Hart, a handbook of references useful in the promotion of patriotic education.

Professor Eduard Meyer has published a small volume on *Der Amerikanische Kongress und der Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Curtius, 1917). *La Propagande Germanique aux États-Unis* (Paris, Chapelot, 1917) is a brief account by L. Rouquette. P. L. Hervier has prepared a volume on *Les Volontaires Américains dans les Rangs Alliés* (Paris, *Nouvelle Revue*, 1918).

Messrs. Harper have published *In Our First Year of War* (pp. 166), containing President Wilson's messages and addresses from March 5, 1917, to January 8, 1918. From Ginn and Company comes *War Addresses of President Wilson* (pp. 129), with notes by Arthur R. Leonard, covering the period, January 22, 1917–February 11, 1918.

The United States and Pan-Germania (Scribner), by André Chéradame, is a companion volume to the author's *The Pan-German Plot unmasked*, and develops the growth of Pan-Germanism in many countries.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Among the articles in the January–March number of the *Granite Monthly* are: New Hampshire's Contribution to Naval Warfare, by John Henry Bartlett; the Scotch Presbyterians in the American Revolution, by Jonathan Smith; and the Beginnings of New England, by Erastus P. Jewell.

The Massachusetts Historical Society again reports large progress in the reproduction, by the photostat, of early Boston newspapers. It has sent out during the last year, to those who subscribed for these reproductions, the issues of the *Boston News-Letter* for the years 1723-1732, and expects during the next twelve months to send out at least nine years more, running to 1741. From various sources, but especially from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, it has secured negatives which, with its own originals, make up the greater part of a file of the *Boston Gazette* from 1724 to 1741. Another interesting application of the photostat has been made by the society in issuing for Mr. Charles P. Bowditch, in limited edition, five vocabularies or devotional works exhibiting Indian languages of Mexico and Central America, and prepared or translated by Spanish fathers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus linguistic records hitherto unique and almost inaccessible have been placed in the libraries of our leading universities.

In the January-February serial of the same society Mr. W. C. Ford prints a group of interesting documents of Virginian origin, on Captain Wollaston and his associates in New England. Mr. C. N. Greenough contributes a paper on Algernon Sidney and the motto which Massachusetts derived from him.

Under the title *Lemuel Shaw* (Houghton Mifflin), Mr. Frederick H. Chase presents a biographical study of a noted chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, who occupied that position from 1830 to 1860.

An illustrated pamphlet entitled *The Colony House, or the Old State House*, by Norman M. Isham, has been issued by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

The *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for April includes an account, by Francis B. C. Bradlee, of the Salem Iron Factory (about 1795 to 1858), and the second of Sidney Perley's papers on Hathorne: Part of Salem Village in 1700.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has acquired a series of thirty-eight photographic reproductions of the Civil War flags which are preserved in the State House, and also a collection of facsimiles of the Rhode Island manuscripts which were exhibited at the Jamestown exhibition. Several hundred miscellaneous manuscripts of the period 1750-1800, recently acquired by the society, have been arranged chronologically and mounted.

The Romance of Newport, a paper by Miss Maud L. Stevens, dealing with William Coddington and the early history of Newport, Rhode Island, constitutes the principal part of *Bulletin* no. 24 of the Newport Historical Society. The *Bulletin* also contains an illustrated account, by Simon Newton, of the postage-stamp currency used in Newport during the Civil War.

It is announced that an alphabetical list of the 11,150 Revolutionary pensioners who served from Connecticut, compiled from the records in the office of the commissioner of pensions in Washington by Mrs. Amos G. Draper, will soon be accessible in the Connecticut State Library. The list occupies two substantial typewritten volumes. This index will supplement the index, comprising eight typewritten volumes, already compiled or in preparation from the materials in the Connecticut State Library.

The Connecticut Historical Society has in press, as one of its series of *Collections*, the first of two volumes of *Correspondence and Documents during Thomas Fitch's Governorship, 1754-1766*. The volume contains much that is of interest in relation to the French and Indian War, including many letters obtained from the British archives. Among the manuscripts recently obtained by the society are some papers pertaining to the lands claimed by Connecticut and known as the Delaware Purchase; rolls of militia companies and other military papers, 1798-1815; and a number of letters (1798-1800) relating to the collection of the direct tax in Connecticut.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* includes an account, by Henry F. Depuy, of the seventeenth-century Americana in the library of the society, some material collected by the late William Kelby relating to the site of the execution of Captain Nathan Hale, the facsimile of a deed signed by James, Duke of York (1669), and a facsimile of two orders of Washington, April 24, 1775. Among the manuscripts acquired by the society are a number of documents (1728-1826) pertaining to the history of Albany, a letter of Philip Schuyler to Alexander Hamilton (1799), and a letter of Rufus King to William Cooper (1805).

It is perhaps worth while to mention that, while the copies of Messrs. Peterson and Edwards's *New York as an Eighteenth Century Municipality*, sent to us for review, lacked preface and index (as stated, pages 665-666, *supra*), the volumes as published contain an excellent index, a preface making clear the authors' points of view, and several appendixes.

In a handsome and well-written volume from the practised hand of Mr. Joseph B. Bishop, *A Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years* (Scribner), the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York commemorates its foundation in 1768 and a subsequent history marked by notable public services as representative of the mercantile class in state and city.

Mr. Robert H. Dodd announces the early publication of a new and greatly enlarged edition of Benjamin F. Thompson's *History of Long Island*. The greater part of the new matter is from a manuscript left by the author practically ready for publication at the time of his death in

1849. The new edition is under the editorial supervision of Mr. C. J. Werner, a member of the Long Island Historical Society, who contributes many notes of his own.

History of the Rockaways from the Year 1685 to 1917, etc., by A. H. Bellot, is a "complete record and review of events of historical importance" in about a dozen villages of the Rockaway peninsula (Far Rockaway, N. Y., Bellot, 1918).

Mr. Arthur C. Parker, New York state archaeologist, has given to the Buffalo Historical Society a collection of papers of his uncle, Gen. Ely S. Parker, a Seneca Indian, who was on General Grant's staff during the Civil War and was commissioner of Indian affairs from 1869 to 1871. Mr. Parker has written an extended memoir of General Parker, which is now in the hands of the Buffalo Historical Society for early publication.

The Archives of the State of New Jersey, first ser., vol. XXIX., being the tenth volume of Extracts from American Newspapers relating to New Jersey (1773-1774), now edited by A. Van Doren Honeyman, has come from the press.

Notes on Old Gloucester County, New Jersey, compiled and edited by F. H. Stewart, is a volume of historical records published by the New Jersey Society of Pennsylvania (Camden, Sinnickson Chew and Sons Company).

The manuscripts received by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania during the year 1917 number 60,540; the maps, charts, etc., 2468. The war service committee of the society announces that one evening of each week the building will be open for the reception of soldiers and sailors. A feature of these evenings will be brief historical addresses by distinguished speakers.

Under the title *The Story of a Small College*, President Isaac Sharpless relates the history of Haverford College, giving also an account of the early settlement and environment of the town of Haverford, Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Winston).

The contents of the second (April) number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, published by the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh), include an account of Eldersridge Academy, by Miss Marguerite M. Elder; the Dawn of the Woman's Movement: an Account of the Origin and History of the Pennsylvania Married Woman's Property Law of 1848, by Charles W. Dahlinger; a continuation (1816-1833) of Mr. Dahlinger's transcript of the commonplace book of Rev. John Taylor; and a continuation of the Diary of a Young Oil Speculator (1884-1885).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Vol. XXXVII. of the *Archives of Maryland* has come from the press, being the Proceedings of the General Assembly of Maryland, May, 1730–August, 1732, edited by B. C. Steiner.

The Maryland Historical Society has received as a bequest from the late Charles P. Mallory a manuscript volume entitled *Bohemia Manor Collections*, comprising personal investigations of Mr. Mallory and letters received from persons interested.

New articles in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are: the Retreat from Petersburg to Appomattox: Personal Recollections, by Joseph Packard; and a sketch, Hon. Daniel Dulany, 1685–1753 (the Elder), by Richard H. Spencer. Proceedings of the Committee of Observation for Elizabeth Town District (1777), and Extracts from the Carroll Papers (1770) are continuations.

The *Fourteenth Annual Report* of the Library Board of the Virginia State Library, 1916–1917, includes as its principal part (paged separately) *A Register of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776–1918, and of the Constitutional Conventions* (pp. 450), by Earl G. Swem and John W. Williams. The register comprises the following lists: sessions of the general assembly (beginning and ending dates); governors of Virginia; members of the general assembly arranged by date of session; speakers or presidents, presidents *pro tempore*, and clerks of the senate; speakers and clerks of the house of delegates; members of the constitutional conventions, arranged by date of convention; members of the house of delegates, arranged by counties; and a combined alphabetical list of the members of the house of delegates, of the senate, and of the constitutional conventions. This register, which is presumed to be practically complete for the period, will be an exceedingly useful book of reference.

The general assembly of Virginia, in March of this year, passed a law authorizing public officials in the state to deposit in the Virginia State Library for safe keeping such documents as may not be of use in the current work of the respective offices. The Confederate Records collected by former secretaries of Virginia military records (an office now abolished) have been transferred to the Virginia State Library, and the work of indexing these records (comprising twenty large volumes) will be pushed to completion as speedily as may be. The state archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, reports that the class of archival apprentices in the library numbers twelve this session and that they have been especially engaged in identifying undated legislative petitions.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes among its various contents some letters of William Byrd, the First, in 1689 and 1690; letters and papers of Thomas Jones, 1719–1736; the commission to Lord Culpeper as governor of Virginia, No-

vember 27, 1682; an excerpt from the account of the tax on vehicles in Northumberland County, 1773-1776, together with lists of wheel chairs in Elizabeth City County, 1775-1776, in the county of Charlotte, 1776, and in Northampton County, 1776; and some papers from the auditor's office. In the latter category is an extract of a letter from the Virginia delegates in the Continental Congress, to which is attached the conjectural date, 1781. The action of Congress to which the letter specifically refers was on December 6, 1782. The letter itself, from the delegates to the executive, is mentioned by Madison in his letter to Edmund Randolph, December 10, 1782 (Hunt, *Writings of Madison*, I. 277). The letter was therefore written between December 6 and 10, 1782.

E. Alfred Jones contributes to the April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* sketches of two William and Mary College professors, Rev. Thomas Gwatkin (1741-1800) and Rev. Samuel Henley (1740-1815), both loyalists. A. L. Keith's account of the German Colony of 1717 is concluded.

Judge Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* an extended paper on Charlestown and Charlestown Neck: the Original Grantees and the Settlements along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. The paper is accompanied by a map of the peninsula. Miss Mabel L. Webber's contributions of marriage and death notices from the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* and the register of Christ Church Parish are continued.

The Secession and Co-operation Movements in South Carolina, 1848 to 1852, is the title of a monograph, by C. S. Boucher, which constitutes vol. V., no. 2, of the *Washington University Studies*. The study is based upon an extended examination of the newspapers, pamphlets, and correspondence of the period. This is a companion study to the author's *Sectionalism, Representation, and the Electoral Question in Ante-Bellum South Carolina*, which was published in the *Washington University Studies* in 1916.

The *Proceedings*, vol. II. (1917-1918), of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge contains a number of papers of interest, principal among which are: Louisiana's Seizure of the Federal Arsenal, 1861, by Professor M. L. Bonham, jr.; the Secession of Louisiana, by C. C. Wheaton; With the Spanish Records of West Florida, by H. A. Major; the True Etymology of "Bulldoze", a sketch of the Louisiana Regulators, by T. Jones Cross; the Constitutional Convention of 1852, by Mrs. A. M. Goforth; the Ram *Arkansas* and the Battle of Baton Rouge, by G. W. Burgess; and a Sketch of Major Robert L. Pruyn, C. S. A., by Miss C. Z. Winters.

WESTERN STATES

The eleventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at St. Paul on May 9, 10, and 11. The presidential

address, on Andrew Johnson and the Homestead Bill, was read by Professor St. George L. Sioussat, now of Brown University. Many other papers of much interest were read, chiefly relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley. On the final day, the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of Minnesota into the Union, the exercises for dedication of the new building of the Minnesota Historical Society were held. The chief address, on Middle Western Pioneer Democracy, was delivered by Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University. Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, was elected president of the association.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* embodies a series of letters from Thomas Corwin to William Greene, a close personal friend, during the period 1841 to 1851. It is understood that this selection from the Greene Papers will be followed by others.

The January and April numbers of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are occupied entirely with a History of Educational Legislation in Ohio from 1803 to 1850, by Edward A. Miller. The text of the history is contained in the January number. The April number contains a classified collection and abstract of the educational legislation of the period 1803-1850, an index to the same, and a bibliography.

Chief among the contents of the April, 1917, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Transportation: a Factor in the Development of Northern Illinois previous to 1860, by Judson F. Lee; papers by D. C. Smith and Homer C. Cooper concerning the Lincoln-Thornton debate at Shelbyville, Illinois, in June, 1856; an address, by Norman G. Flagg, at the unveiling of the Lincoln portrait at Shurtleff College, February 12, 1917; and sketches, by Rev. A. Zurbonsen, of the Catholic bishops of the diocese of Alton, Illinois.

Illinois in the Fifties: or a Decade of Development, 1851-1860, by C. B. Johnson, M.D., is published in Champaign by the Flanigan-Pearson Company. It is perhaps proper to remark that, although the volume is described on its title-page as "Illinois Centennial Edition", it is not an official publication of the Illinois Centennial Commission.

The Anti-Slavery Movement in Kentucky prior to 1850 (Filson Club, pp. 165), by Asa Earl Martin, dwells most on those phases of the anti-slavery movement which centred about the idea of gradual emancipation. In the opinion of the author, historians have too generally fixed their attention narrowly upon the activities of the radical abolitionists and have given but inadequate treatment to the efforts of the gradual emancipationists, whose numbers were too considerable and whose activities were too noteworthy to warrant such neglect. While the Garrisonian abolitionists were restricted to the free states the

gradual emancipationists were found in all parts of the Union, and particularly in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri formed a large and respectable element. It is the author's purpose to carry the study down to 1870 in a second volume.

The December number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains an article by Professor Archibald Henderson on the Spanish Conspiracy in Tennessee, which throws some new light upon the negotiations carried on by Gardoqui and Miró with Sevier, Robertson, and others. The document of chief interest in the article is a letter from Sevier to Gardoqui, September 12, 1788. The *Magazine* also prints the address delivered November 9, 1917, by Mr. John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, at the dedication of the monument upon the site of Fort Loudon. The documentary offering of the number is a third selection of letters (1846-1856) from the papers of Andrew J. Donelson. All but three are letters written to Donelson. Twelve are from James Buchanan, five from Lewis Cass, four from William G. Brownlow, two each from John C. Calhoun, Millard Fillmore, and Francis P. Blair.

The April number of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains a report on the archives in the executive department at the state capitol, Lansing; an article on Michigan in the Great War, by Major Roy C. Vandercook; one on the Creation of Michigan Territory, by William L. Jenks; one on the History of Prohibition Legislation in Michigan, by Floyd B. Streeter; one entitled James Burrill Angell and the University of Michigan; a brief paper on Early Catholic Missions in Emmet County; and the Pageant of Escanaba and Correlated Local History, "a patriotic, idealized community epic history", by Superintendent E. F. King, of the Escanaba schools.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out *The Historical Geography of Detroit* (pp. 356), by Almon Ernest Parkins, Ph.D. Beginning with a chapter on the geographic setting of Detroit, followed by one summarizing the events which led to the founding of the settlement, the author relates its history under the successive control of the French, the British, and the Americans, with special attention to geographic influences. A separate chapter is devoted to the local geography of the region. Other chapters deal with the development of the carrying agent and facilities for transportation, development of waterways and water-routes, of land transportation, and the growth of manufactures. The book closes with a review of the factors in the growth of population and the development of manufactures. Although the material is somewhat loosely put together the book presents a good comprehensive view of the commercial and industrial history of Detroit, with its geographical and political setting.

The Michigan Historical Commission has also brought out the *Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875*, by Wilmer C. Harris, Ph.D.

The author presents Chandler as a typical product of his time, a "fire eater" and representative of the radical spirit of the Northwest during the epoch of the Civil War and Reconstruction, and withal a very pronounced example of what is known as a practical politician.

The Wisconsin War History Commission, consisting of John W. Oliver, director, and seven other members, has been organized under the direction of the State Council of Defense. This commission is the outgrowth of the suggestion made early in the war by the National Board for Historical Service urging the collection and preservation of war materials. For this purpose local war history committees are being formed in every county in Wisconsin. The commission has issued two bulletins: *Collect Material for Wisconsin's War History Now* and *Directions for Organizing War History Committees and Collecting Material*.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has obtained through the courtesy of the University of Illinois a photostatic reproduction of the files of the *Illinois Intelligencer* published at Kaskaskia and later at Vandalia in the period 1817-1831. The society has also acquired a file for the period 1869-1874 of the *Milwaukee Index*, later known as the *Christian Statesman*. The papers of Rev. Matthew Dinsdale, a pioneer emigrant from England to Wisconsin and later a gold-seeker in California, have been presented to the society by his daughter, Mrs. Magnus Swenson. The papers consist principally of diaries and letters.

The University of Wisconsin is endeavoring to make a comprehensive collection of materials relating to the Great War, and the sum of \$5000 annually has been appropriated by the university for this purpose. Dr. Asa C. Tilton has been appointed curator of the war collection and will have charge of the undertaking.

The February number of the *Minnesota History Bulletin* contains a memorial address upon James J. Hill, by Joseph G. Pyle, and a paper, by John D. Hicks, upon the Organization of the Volunteer Army in 1861, with special reference to Minnesota.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has issued a volume entitled *Old Fort Snelling, 1819-1858*, by Marcus L. Hansen, and has in press a volume dealing with *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, by Thomas Teakle. In the society's series *Iowa and War* two numbers have recently appeared: *Border Defense in Iowa during the Civil War*, and *The Spirit Lake Massacre*, both by Dan E. Clark. The society has recently issued a ten-page bulletin on the *Collection and Preservation of the Materials of War History: a Patriotic Service for Public Libraries, Local Historical Societies, and Local Historians*.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* has for its principal content a paper by Earl S. Fullbrook on Relief Work in Iowa during the Civil War. A brief but interesting contribution is a letter from Major D. W. Reed, secretary and historian of the Shiloh

National Military Park Commission, to General Basil W. Duke, a member of the commission, describing the visit, in 1896, of Senator Isham G. Harris of Tennessee to the battlefield of Shiloh for the purpose of fixing the place where General Albert Sidney Johnston fell.

The Missouri Historical Society has recently received a body of the personal and business correspondence of George P. Harrington, assistant secretary of the treasury, 1861-1865, and United States minister to Switzerland, 1865-1869. The society expects to publish a volume of these letters, of which there are more than a thousand.

The secretary of state of Nebraska has issued a *Roster of Veterans of the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars residing in Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1916, pp. 122).

In the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* is an account, by Philip C. Tucker, 3d, of the career of the United States gunboat, *Harriet Lane*, taken by the Confederates at Galveston, January 1, 1863. The writer makes the erroneous statement that the lady for whom the gunboat was named (1859) was the niece of Senator, afterward President, Andrew Johnson. She was a niece of President Buchanan. (Some Reminiscences of the *Harriet Lane*, by Captain of Engineers F. H. Pulsifer, appeared in the *Journal of the U. S. Coast Guard Association* for January-March, 1917.) Other important articles in the *Quarterly* are: continuations of Miss Holladay's paper on the Powers of the Commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department and of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Barker. There is also a sketch, by Ben C. Stuart, of Hamilton Stuart, pioneer editor and newspaper publisher of Galveston.

Articles in the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are a biographical and genealogical sketch, by William S. Lewis, of Archibald McDonald, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and an Oregon pioneer; an account, by Judge F. W. Howay, of the Dog's Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish; a further selection, edited by T. C. Elliott, from the journal of David Thompson of his journeys in the Spokane country; and a continuation of Professor Edmond S. Meany's papers on the Origin of Washington Geographic Names. The *Quarterly* contains also a first installment of the proceedings of the convention of 1878 which framed a constitution for the state. The proceedings, here presented with an editorial introduction, are reprinted from the *Walla Walla Union*, June 15 to August 3, 1878.

The principal contents of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are a series of articles, by R. A. Booth, G. B. Kuykendall, Austin Mires, and J. H. Booth, on the history of Umpqua Academy, which flourished at Wilbur, Douglas County, Oregon, from 1857 to 1900; and a paper on the Early History of Southern Oregon, by Binger Hermann.

Mr. Fred W. Powell has reprinted from the *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, under the title *Hall Jackson Kelley, the Prophet of Oregon* (Portland, Ivy Press, pp. 185), the valuable articles on that extraordinary pioneer which we have mentioned as from time to time they appeared in the pages of the Oregon journal.

The University of California brings forth, in a series of Semi-Centennial Publications commemorating the anniversary of its origin, a volume by Professor Bernard Moses on *The Breakdown of Spanish Rule in South America*, and the *Favores Celestiales* of Father Eusebio Kino, published for the first time in the original Spanish and edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton. An English translation of the Kino manuscript, also edited by Professor Bolton, appears at the same time, in two large volumes, from the press of the Arthur H. Clark Company in Cleveland. Of Professor Chapman's *Catalogue of Materials*, about to be issued in the same group, we have already spoken.

CANADA

In connection with the Public Archives of Canada a Board of Historical Publications has been established at Ottawa, consisting of Professor Adam Shortt, C.M.G., chairman, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, C.M.G., the archivist of the Dominion, Professor Charles W. Colby of Montreal, Hon. Thomas Chapais of Quebec, and Professor George M. Wrong of Toronto. The chairman is the only salaried official of the Board, and is expected to devote all his time to its work. A large programme of documentary publication is contemplated, continuing what has hitherto been done in this field, in a less systematic manner, by the Dominion Archives, and illustrating amply the history of the constitution, exploration, settlement, external relations, finance, commerce, industries, and defense of Canada. In other words, the plan is closely similar to that which in 1909 was laid before Congress by the Committee on the Documentary Historical Publications of the United States Government appointed by President Roosevelt, but to which Congress has paid no attention. Once more, as in the matter of a National Archive Building, the intelligent Canadian government has taken the lead.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The title of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* was chosen as distinctly embracing Portuguese as well as Spanish America. In the second or May number the major portion of the contents relates to Brazilian history. Professor William R. Manning, under the title, *An Early Diplomatic Controversy between the United States and Brazil*, narrates the disputations in which Condé Raguet, representing the United States in Rio de Janeiro, became involved with the Brazilian government over its Uruguayan quarrel with Argentina. Professor Percy A. Martin has a paper on the Influence of the United States

on the Opening of the Amazon to the World's Commerce. Professor Herbert E. Bolton contributes two letters of Wilkinson, 1822, advising Iturbide as to commercial relations and as to Texas. Professor Charles E. Chapman presents a description of certain *legajos* in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, relating to California and northern Mexico.

A *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Mexico; Personal Reminiscences, Present Conditions, and Future Outlook*, by John Wesley Butler, son of the founder of Methodist missions in Mexico, has been published by the Methodist Book Concern.

Colonel Dr. Krumm-Heller has recorded his experiences in Mexico during the recent period of revolution and civil war, in *Für Freiheit und Recht* (Halle, Thiele, 1917, pp. xi, 244).

E. Seler's *Die Ruinen von Uxmal* (Berlin, Reimer, 1917, pp. 154) was the third number of the 1917 volume of the *Abhandlungen* of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. The publication is amply illustrated.

While Dr. Dana G. Munro's *The Five Republics of Central America*, prepared for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (New York, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xviii, 332), is mostly devoted to the description and present public affairs of the republics indicated, there is much good history of each of them and of the various efforts made toward union or permanent harmony.

Santo Domingo: a Country with a Future, by Judge Otto Schoenrich, includes an historical sketch of Santo Domingo (Macmillan).

The January number of *Caribbeana*, a journal devoted to the history, genealogy, topography, and antiquities of the British West Indies, contains a "Humble Address and Petition" of members of the assembly and other inhabitants of Antigua, January 8, 1708/9, together with Queen Anne's reply; a continuation of the list of Barbados wills down to 1800; a letter of William Mackinnen, September 3, 1782, relative to the suspension of a member of the council; a number of genealogical items, etc.

In July, 1916, the American Congress of Bibliography and History met in Buenos Aires, in commemoration of the centenary of Argentine independence. It is planned to publish the whole body of material appertaining to the congress, but, because of the time required in compiling the material and putting it through the press, it has been deemed proper to issue a preliminary account of the organization of the congress and the general results. This has appeared in a booklet of 93 pages: *Congreso Americano de Bibliografía é Historia y Exposición del Libro: Organización y Resultados Generales* (Villa del Rosario, 1917).

Dr. J. P. Otero presented *La Révolution Argentine, 1810-1816* (Paris, Bossard, 1917), as his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne.


Analytical and Critical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and Adjacent Territory, by John M. Cooper, is Bulletin 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. The author offers this monograph as a working guide to the sources for Fuegian and Chonoan anthropology, analyzing and evaluating the written sources, and endeavoring at the same time to use available evidence toward clearing up obscure points. The work is divided into three parts: the introduction, setting forth the present conditions of the tribes and giving a short history of Fuegian investigations; a bibliography of authors; and a bibliography of subjects, embodying some accounts of culture, relations, etc.

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